WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 704

8 January 1999

Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

The following leaflet was issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. on 16 December 1998, the day the U.S. and Britain began the terror bombing of Iraq, and distributed at protest demonstrations around the country.

The massive bombing attack on Iraq launched by Clinton on Wednesday, with the eager support of British Labour prime minister Tony Blair, is a display of naked imperialist terror. More than a million Iraqis, overwhelmingly young children, have already been killed by the United Nations starvation blockade imposed under U.S. diktat since the 1991 . imperialist "desert slaughter." Now American and British bombs are crashing into heavily populated areas of Baghdad, slaughtering Iraqi men, women and children. The Spartacist League calls on working people around the world, especially in the heart of U.S. imperialism, to stand in defense of Iraq: ***Dawn with the imperialist terror bombing! Down with the starvation blockade! U.S./Britain: Get your bloody imperialist hands off Iraq!***

continued on page 7

Anti-Sex Witchhunt Threatens Right to Privacy for All

Clinton Impeachment and U.S. Imperialism

Ashe/Time

Congress delayed debate on Clinton impeachment to rally behind U.S. terror bombing of Iraq.

AP photos

Break with the Democrats and Republicans, Dual Parties of Capital!

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Last month's Congressional vote to impeach Bill Clinton over lying about his goings-on with Monica Lewinsky has elevated the Republican Party's drive against the Democratic president into a political crisis for the capitalist ruling class. The purpose of the "family values" crusade and accompanying anti-sex witchhunt, pushed for years by both the Democratic and Republican parties, was to socially regiment working people, not threaten the stability of the bourgeois state!

For the population as a whole, there is a truly sinister aspect in the impeachment of the U.S. president for a consensual sexual affair with the White House intern. As we noted in "Impeachment Drive Threatens Right to Privacy for All" (*WV* No. 697, 25 September 1998): "At issue is one of the most fundamental democratic rights, the right to privacy—which in practice comes down to the right to a private sex life without meddling or snooping by state and church authorities." But at the same time, the weakening of the constitutionally strong American presidency, which stands at the apex of the capitalist state apparatus, would not be a bad thing from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and the oppressed.

This is not lost on more farsighted sections of the American ruling class which openly worry that Clinton's impeachment will only further erode "public confidence" in the governmental institutions of American capitalist rule. As expressed in an editorial in the *New York Times* (16 December 1998):

> "If impeachment by the House and removal by the Senate would simply harm him and not the Constitution, we would be all for it. But under the present circumstances of a polarized party-line vote, it would assault the Constitution as well as public confidence in that most precious American asset, the orderly, quadrennial surrender of power from one Chief Executive to another and often from one party to another.
>
> "That transfer of power without gunfire or legislative chicanery is the jewel in the crown of American democracy. It should not be sacrificed over Bill Clinton's inability to resist looking at thong underwear. If the Republicans remove him by simple force of numbers, the debate over whether this was a political

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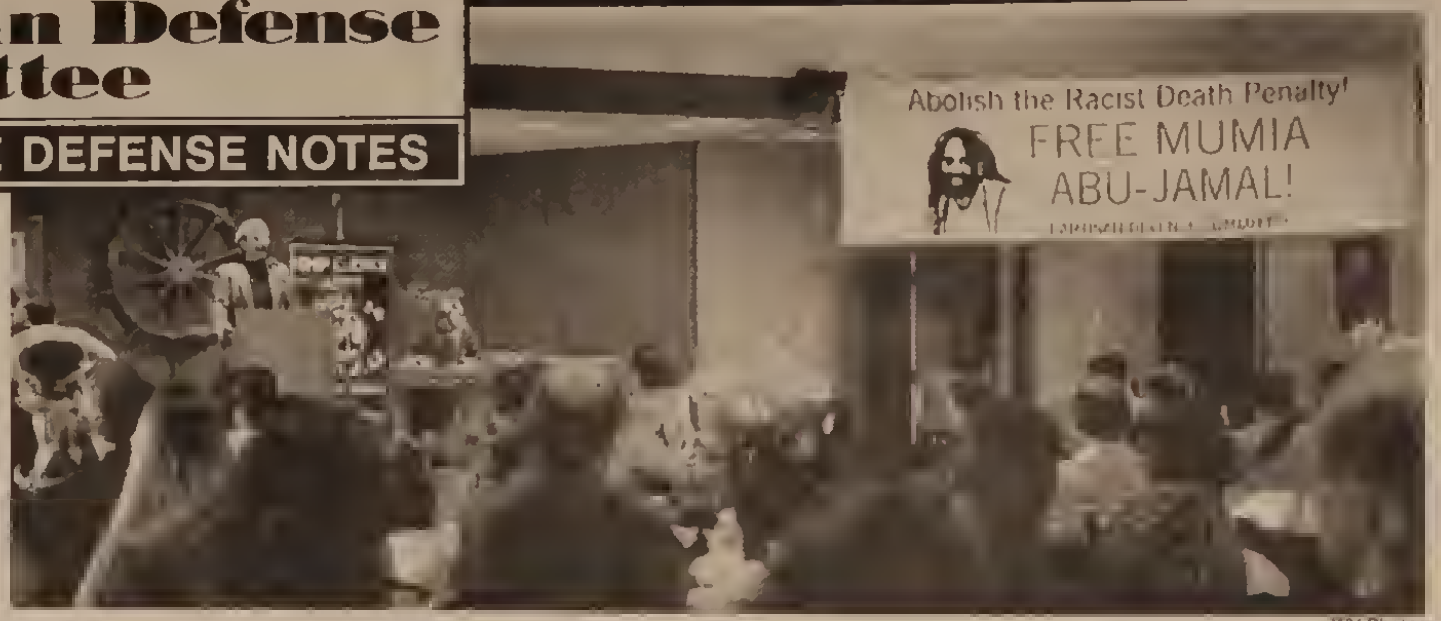
Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES



WV Photos

December 6 San Francisco benefit for class-war prisoners. PDC gatherings nationally drew trade unionists, anti-racist youth as part of labor-centered campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

PDC Holiday Appeal Benefits Mobilize for Mumia

This year marked the 13th annual Holiday Appeal, which raises funds for the Partisan Defense Committee's program of sending monthly stipends and holiday gifts to class-war prisoners and their families. Thousands of dollars were raised, every penny of which goes to the 16 imprisoned black activists, labor militants, members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune and their families. With this act of solidarity the PDC has revived and kept alive the tradition of non-sectarian, class-struggle defense of those imprisoned for championing the rights of labor and all the oppressed, begun by the International Labor Defense in the 1920s.

The Holiday Appeal benefits were held in early December under a felt sense of urgency with the possibility that Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge could sign a death warrant for black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at any moment. At union halls in New York City, Chicago and the Bay Area over 300 trade unionists, students, socialists and other activists came together to express their solidarity, to organize, and to discuss revolutionary politics and the class-struggle fight necessary to stop the "legal" lynching of Mumia Abu-Jamal and to free this eloquent and courageous fighter against racist injustice. Gatherings were held in other cities as well.

In greetings Mumia sent to the gatherings, he stated:

> "I want to thank the many for contributing to the Holiday Appeal and by supporting it, supporting those of us who cannot be with you this year. The various struggles that we are involved in unite around a central core: the freedom of people to resist the stranglehold of the state and capital. All of us struggle for that freedom that is tightly bound with your own, the freedom to resist, to fight back, to live in a society that increasingly sees us all as unworthy of life. To that end we fight. I salute you all and thank you. On behalf of myself and those whose names you do not know. Ona MOVE."

The extent of the state's vendetta against Jamal was brought home to many when Mumia's own son, Jamal Hart, was sentenced to 15 1/2 years in prison last February on bogus firearm charges after being targeted for his prominent activism to free his father. Participants in this year's Holiday Appeal gatherings in New York and the Bay Area heard a letter from Jamal Hart, one of the PDC stipend recipients, and updates on him and other class-war prisoners.

Those attending in New York included Eben Lugo, a bus operator threatened with arrest by NYC cops for honking his horn in support of a rally for Puerto Rican independence last July. Among the speakers was Mumia's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass. A highlight of all the gatherings was eyewitness reports on the PDC-initiated labor/black demonstration in Chicago on November 21, which was held under the slogans "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" and endorsed by a wide range of trade unions in the U.S. and abroad. That protest drew primarily black working-class militants, representing a hard core of the powerful Chicago proletarial (see "Chicago Rally Demands: 'Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!'," *WV* No. 702, 4 December 1998).

Indeed, this year's Holiday Appeal in Chicago was in every respect a continuation of the PDC's call for mobilizing *labor's power* on behalf of Mumia and against the racist death penalty. Among those attending were transit, auto, hospital and phone workers. Speakers included Marcellus Barnes, the president of the Black Caucus of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), and Richard Ziebell, president of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 477. A half-dozen ATU and UAW locals bought books of benefit tickets, and individual trade unionists sold many tickets in efforts which raised over $3,000 for the Holiday Appeal.

Also addressing the Chicago event was one of the two trade unionists arrested at a UPS facility in suburban Chicago while

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Communist Fight Against Imperialist Subjugation

From the terror bombing of Iraq to the colonial subjugation of Puerto Rico, U.S. imperialism is a deadly enemy of the world's oppressed. Among its 21 conditions for admission, Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International insisted that Communists fight for the liberation of the colonies and split with social-patriotic and pacifist "socialists" who covered for the predations of the capitalist rulers. Defense of the oppressed colonial and semicolonial masses is key to imbuing the proletariat of the imperialist centers with the consciousness of its historic task to sweep away the capitalist system through socialist revolution.

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International is duly bound to expose not only overt social patriotism but also the duplicity and hypocrisy of social pacifism; to explain systematically to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international courts of arbitration, no treaties of any kind curtailing arms production, no manner of "democratic" renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent new imperialist wars....

8. In countries whose bourgeoisies possess colonies and oppress other nations, it is necessary that the parties have an especially clear and well-defined position on the question of colonies and oppressed nations. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to expose the tricks of "its own" imperialists in the colonies, to support every liberation movement in the colonies not only in words but in deeds, to demand that the imperialists of its country be driven out of these colonies, to instill in the hearts of the workers of its country a truly fraternal attitude toward the laboring people in the colonies and toward the oppressed nations, and to conduct systematic agitation among its country's troops against all oppression of colonial peoples.

—"Conditions of Admission to the Communist International" (August 1920)

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The closing date for news in this issue is January 5.

No. 704 **8 January 1999**

Stop Execution of Gary Graham!

We print below a January 4 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to Texas governor George W. Bush.

We demand a halt to the impending execution of Gary Graham scheduled for January 11. Five years after massive evidence of Mr. Graham's innocence came to light, the State of Texas continues in its vicious bloodlust for his life. Three witnesses to the 1981 murder for which Mr. Graham is scheduled to die failed to identify him in a police lineup, while three others are confident that he was not the gunman. The prosecution's case rested on the testimony of a single witness who observed the gunman for only "a split second" from a distance of 40 feet. Four individuals, who the court-appointed defense attorney refused to call to the stand, signed affidavits saying that Mr. Graham was with them at the time of the shooting. All four have passed lie detector tests.

The death penalty is a racist and barbaric throwback to the days of slavery. It is the legalized version of lynch rope "justice." Executing the innocent is nothing new for the State of Texas. In 1993, the U.S. Supreme Court found in the case of another Texas death row inmate, Leonel Herrera, that evidence of innocence is no constitutional bar to execution. Four months later, Herrera was put to death. Similarly, in 1995 Jesse Jacobs was executed despite the prosecution's acknowledgement that he was an innocent man. With the impending execution of Gary Graham, the State of Texas is once again boasting of its status as the capital of racist legal lynchings. We demand: Stop the execution of Gary Graham! ■

Riverside, California

Coldblooded Killing by Racist Cops

JANUARY 3—In the early morning hours of 28 December 1998, 19-year-old Tyisha Miller pulled into a Riverside gas station to call her cousin, Anthonete Joiner, for help with a flat tire. Miller rolled up the car windows, locked herself in and waited for her cousin. When Joiner and a friend arrived at the station, they found Miller reclining in the car with a pistol in her lap, unconscious, trembling and foaming at the mouth. Shouting and banging on the window failed to rouse her cousin, so Joiner called 911 for an ambulance. But instead of medical help, four Riverside cops showed up minutes later. After getting no response from the black teenager, the cops smashed the car window and opened fire, killing the young woman in a hail of at least 27 bullets, even stopping to reload.

The cops' ever-changing account of these events can't hide the cold-blooded racism of this execution. As a friend of the family, Rev. Bernell Butler, rightly raged, "First they say she shot a gun, then she didn't shoot. What will it be tomorrow? That she made a gun? They shot a sleeping woman." In an interview with the *New York Times* (30 December 1998) Rev. Butler commented, "They might as well have lynched her. This might as well be Mississippi."

Located 60 miles east of Los Angeles, Riverside is racked with racial tensions which have only been heightened by the killing of Tyisha Miller. Significant numbers of blacks from the Los Angeles area have migrated to this predominately white, conservative area over the past 15 years in search of affordable housing and better schools, but have found naked bigotry from racist skinheads and cops. In 1996, the videotape of the brutal battering of an immigrant couple by Riverside County sheriff's deputies—evocative of the Los Angeles police beating of Rodney King—provoked nationwide outrage. In 1997, two cops beat a Latino man nearly senseless and dumped him in a lake. As one black community activist said, "My lifetime philosophy is to avoid the police. To us these guys are a public hazard." A year ago, there was a bitter debate over a proposal to name a new high school after Martin Luther King Jr., with many whites objecting on the grounds that the rest of the country might think that there is a "black school" in Riverside County!

More than a hundred outraged people turned out for a community meeting about the killing of Tyisha Miller on 31 December 1998 organized by the NAACP, the Urban League and People Reaching Out, an "anti-violence group." Family member DeWayne Butler said emotions have understandably been running high and objected to calls some community "leaders" have made "to be cool." Butler said, "If it was your daughter, your girl, you would be excited" (*Press-Enterprise*, 1 January). The pro-capitalist black leaders push diversionary pressure tactics such as a civilian police review board to "monitor" cop terror. But such agencies are merely a way of making the system of racist capitalist repression more efficient and "credible" while the cops carry out their daily reign of terror against working people and minorities.

The truth is that the cops are an armed force defending the whole system of class exploitation and racial oppression. As a key component of the bourgeois state, their function is to defend the property and privilege of the ruling class against the working class and the poor. Once this basic truth is grasped, it becomes clear that this apparatus of repression cannot be reformed. It must be completely smashed as part of a struggle to put the working class in power, so that those who produce the wealth shall also rule society.

Riverside mayor Ron Loveridge alibied his police force while trying to blame Miller for having a gun for self-protection. "Guns have serious and sometimes deadly consequences, for carrying as well as for using them," he intoned, as if Miller's murder doesn't itself prove that the hired guns of capital are the deadly threat to minorities. As we said in "Defend the Right to Bear Arms—Clinton Whips Up Hysteria Over 'Assault Weapons'" (*WV* No. 601, 27 May 1994):

> "Americans have good reason to want to keep their guns. The whole history of this country is strewn with examples of *ruling-class* violence: wiping out the Indians, mowing down strikers from Cripple Creek and Ludlow miners to Little Steel, the brutal suppression of ghetto rebellions from Watts '65 to South-Central L.A. in 1991. And when blacks defend their homes against racist terror, when workers defend their picket lines against scabs and gun thugs, the forces of the bourgeois state are mobilized against them."

The Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of capitalist class rule, serve the interests of this racist profit-driven system. A multiracial workers party is desperately needed to lead a socialist revolution and establish an egalitarian society in which racist atrocities like the killing of Tyisha Miller are a distant, painful memory.■

AP

Tyisha Miller

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leafletting for the November 21 demonstration in defense of Jamal. Cops from at least two area police forces poured out of nine squad cars, supposedly to issue a traffic "violation." In mid-December, the charges against the two were dropped. This case underscores the link between the struggle for black rights and those of the working class. Our fight to mobilize the labor movement to free Jamal and all class-war prisoners is part of the struggle to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party which will destroy the whole system of racist capitalist repression through socialist revolution.

We print below excerpts, slightly edited for publication, from two speakers at the December 6 Holiday Appeal benefit in Chicago.

Kevin Quirk

Member of ATU Local 241

I just want to briefly report on something which I think is very important and significant. At the end of September, the 52nd convention of the international Amalgamated Transit Union was held in Chicago. At that convention, a resolution was passed overwhelmingly to endorse the efforts of a number of locals in the ATU, the international women's caucus and the black caucus of the ATU, in their efforts to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal. On the eve of that convention, the international Latino caucus of the union unanimously endorsed a resolution that was submitted by Local 308 here in Chicago, which called for freeing Mumia Abu-Jamal and committing the union's resources for the mobilization to free him. Also, during the convention the black caucus met and renewed their commitment to fight for Jamal's freedom by endorsing the 308 resolution.

The resolution that was submitted by Local 308 was the result of the efforts of a lot of people, some of the people in this room, and a lot of people in both Locals 308 and 241 that have been in the forefront to make the fight for Jamal's freedom labor's fight. And it's very important and significant that the international union went on record to endorse these efforts to defend him.

Now paper resolutions are all well and good, but they're not worth the paper they're put on if they're not put into action. The power of labor is absolutely crucial and central. The ATU represents hundreds of thousands of workers, a key sector of the urban proletariat in this country and in Canada. In some of the major cities of this country, these are overwhelmingly blacks and other minorities. It has power to move people, it has power to stop people. It has the social power which all of labor has. And that is what we're talking about when we're talking about mobilizing labor to fight and make Jamal's name a household name, that we will not let this man die. That we will fight this racist frame-up and we will make it the cause of every champion of the oppressed and of the labor movement.

It was very interesting in the discussion that took place at that convention, because three local presidents, the president of the international Latino caucus, the president of the international black caucus took the floor and told that convention how important this cause was. And I will just recall the words of the local president from Detroit, who made the point that part of the reason the labor movement is in the funk that it's in is because it has not taken up the causes of all the oppressed, let alone, in a lot of cases, its own causes. And that really echoed something that the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League have hammered away at: Labor and black rights will go forward together, or they will fall back separately.

Ed Clarkson

Spartacist League

Mumia Abu-Jamal is on death row because he was and is seen by the powers that be in this society, by our capitalist masters and their racist cops and courts, as a black revolutionary. For that reason, the FBI unleashed the COINTELPRO terror campaign resulting in the assassination of dozens of members of the Black Panther Party, including Fred Hampton and Mark Clark here in Chicago. Racism, the race-caste segregation of blacks in this society, has since the 19th century been used by America's capitalist rulers as a wedge to divide working people, especially when they are beginning to struggle against this system of racism and exploitation.

The labor-centered strategy you've heard about today is based on our appreciation as communist revolutionaries that this decaying capitalist system is incapable of lasting reform, that this system must be overthrown by a socialist revolution led by the only class with the social power to bring the capitalist system to its knees—the working class. In this country, this requires that the wedge dividing the laboring masses be destroyed by linking the cause of black liberation to socialist revolution. This requires the mobilization of the trade unions, which are significantly black at their core and integrated on the shop floor, as fighting regiments for socialism. This cannot be done unless the current trade-union leadership is replaced by class-struggle fighters committed to socialist revolution. Most of all, what is required is the forging of a revolutionary workers party to educate the working class in its tasks, to organize the struggles against exploitation and injustice, and to lead the overthrow of rotting American imperialism.

Given these tasks, it is our understanding that blacks must play a significant role in the American revolutionary working-class party. The primary obstacle to forging such a party, it must be said, is illusions in the Democratic Party. In the trade unions, these illusions are fostered by the union tops and in the ghettos by Jesse Jackson, the Congressional Black Caucus and their local counterparts. Both Jesse Jackson, a left liberal, and the anti-Semitic demagogue Louis Farrakhan argue that the ghetto masses must pull themselves up by their bootstraps, pushing the cynical myth that black capitalism will lead to empowerment. AFL-CIO head John Sweeney peddles racist "America First" protectionism against workers in other countries, organizes the armed guards of the capitalist state—cops and prison guards—into the trade unions, and also seeks the intervention of the capitalist state into the trade-union movement by forced arbitration and no-strike clauses.

We should remember black former Chicago mayor Harold Washington. I understand Democratic Congressman Bobby Rush, a former Black Panther, would like to follow in his footsteps. Washington was a fairly ordinary Democratic Party politico. He didn't promise much, he didn't give much. My friends in transit tell me they remember him not so fondly because he attacked their pension funds. That's simply a fact. He is held in reverence to this day—and I'm sure by not a few in this room—not for his accomplishments, but because the hopelessness of the ghetto, the rampant racism in "Segregation City," makes his personal success as an agent of a foreign class seem like it has the potential for every black person. Unfortunately, that's not true.

One union brother mentioned very nicely the International Socialist Organization (ISO). How is the working class going to fight in this society when the cops, who stand on the other side of the picket lines, inhabit the trade-union movement? How are we going to fight for Jamal's freedom when the prison guards who torture him in Pennsylvania are part of the trade-union movement? And yet the ISO supports all of these things.

I would mention another group, recently formed, the Black Radical Congress, which chose not to endorse our demonstration last week. Fine, that's their choice. But I promise you that these people, who were formed by elements from the Communist Party and Committees of Correspondence, will be out hyping Bobby Rush's campaign. Is there anyone in this room that really thinks that Bobby Rush as mayor is going to make a difference?

The way forward is to forge the multiracial proletarian party necessary to lead the American socialist revolution. Only a victorious socialist revolution can end for all time bloodsoaked imperialist rule. The commitment of the Spartacist League to these ends stands in the sharpest contrast to the politics of the liberal reformers and the sham socialist left. You should join us.■

Clinton Impeachment...

(continued from page 1)

> coup will continue for decades and could become a bigger threat to civic stability than Mr. Clinton's mendacity."

These concerns were echoed by former U.S. presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter in an op-ed piece in the *Times* (21 December 1998) which opined, "Our political institutions are called into question. Public confidence erodes.... Our political system, too, is on trial." Leading the push in the Senate to censure Clinton as an alternative to impeachment, New York Democrat Daniel P. Moynihan warned, "There has to be a Commander in Chief.... That's an institution that has to be stable, not in dispute" (*New York Times*, 25 December 1998).

In the American political system, much constitutional power originally given to Congress has been transferred to the imperial presidency. This corresponds to the needs of the U.S. imperialist rulers to assert themselves as the world's top cop, without having their wars and military adventures held up by the bother of seeking the approval of Congress, much less that of "the people." This was demonstrated most recently in the renewed, four-day terror bombing of Iraq in mid-December, which *nobody* thought might require a Declaration of War! At the same time, the invocation by *New York Times* editorialists of the "transfer of power without gunfire" and the "threat to civic stability" is not mere hyperbole. Rather, it expresses the concerns by a section of the American bourgeoisie over the vulnerability of its class rule.

Having secured a fabulous increase in their wealth and profits over the past two decades through increasing the exploitation of the working class and slashing virtually all social programs benefiting the poor, particularly the ghetto masses, America's rulers are quite cognizant that they are sitting on top of seething discontent among the masses at the bottom of this society. Fearful that the spark of social protest could ignite a conflagration, the bourgeoisie has vastly increased the powers of state repression. At the same time, the ruling class recognizes the need to maintain the illusion that the capitalist state—its cops, courts and army—is some kind of neutral entity representing the interests of all classes in society.

Now they fear that the illusion of "democracy" is being threatened by the recklessness of the Republicans in their impeachment of Clinton. Opinion polls continue to show that the majority of the population opposes impeachment, partially reflecting the justifiable fear that if the long arm of the sex cops can reach into the White House, then no one is safe. Already, faced with a population which in its overwhelming majority does not vote—a crude reflection of a perception that the interests of working people and the poor are not represented by either of the dual parties of American capitalism—the bourgeoisie worries that the drive to remove Clinton from office could shatter the myth that "the people" choose their rulers.

Library of Congress

New York Historical Society

Reconstruction Congress in 1868 impeaches President Andrew Johnson, who fought extension of rights to emancipated blacks following Civil War. Right: Abolitionist senator Charles Sumner beaten by pro-slavery Congressman on floor of Senate, 1856.

The Fraud of Bourgeois "Democracy"

Spokesmen for both parties are tripping over each other to insist that lying is a breach of the public trust. In fact, every one of these politicians lies for a living—and the biggest lie of all is that "the people" have any control over this society. Over 80 years ago, Bolshevik revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin neatly skewered the fraud of bourgeois democracy in his book *State and Revolution*: "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics."

Americans are taught from their first civics lesson in grammar school that the U.S. has the best, most democratic government in the world. Certainly from the U.S. rulers' standpoint, it has its advantages. Unlike a parliamentary system, where a prime minister and his party can be suddenly thrown out of office by a vote of no confidence, the U.S. electoral system with its "orderly quadrennial surrender of power" provides a great deal of stability for capitalist rule. The best feature for the American ruling class is that the "choice" in this two-party system is between two capitalist parties. In other words, there is no basic choice at all, as the Democrats and Republicans simply represent two wings of one party—in the words of author Gore Vidal, the property party.

The wealth of this country is overwhelmingly concentrated in less than 1 percent of the population, whose property and profits derive from the exploitation of those who labor. This capitalist class runs the Republican and Democratic parties, whose main difference is not *what* they do but *how* they do it. The Republicans make no bones about being the party of "big business" in viciously going after the working class, blacks, immigrants and the poor. The Democrats lie and do the same thing, but sometimes with a bit of bread and/or circuses, as the Roman emperors sometimes gave the Roman plebeians. America is ruled by the dictatorship of a single class, the bourgeoisie. The façade of democracy is simply designed to obscure the fact that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized force and violence—consisting at its core of the police, army, courts and prisons—for maintaining capitalist property and profits through the suppression of the working class and the oppressed and fending off foreign challengers.

Nearly a century ago, Lenin captured the raw brutality behind the cynical proclamations of capitalist democracy in America. Speaking of the U.S. and Switzerland, he wrote:

> "Nowhere does capital rule so cynically and ruthlessly, and nowhere is it so clearly apparent, as in these countries, although they are democratic republics, no matter how prettily they are painted and notwithstanding all the talk about labour democracy and the equality of all citizens. The fact is that in Switzerland and the United States capital dominates, and every attempt of the workers to achieve the slightest improvement in their condition is immediately met by civil war...when there is a strike the bourgeoisie arms, hires soldiery and suppresses the strike; and nowhere is this suppression of the working-class movement accompanied by such ruthless severity as in Switzerland and the U.S.A., and nowhere does the influence of capital in parliament manifest itself as powerfully as in these countries. The power of capital is everything, the stock exchange is everything, white parliament and elections are marionettes, puppets."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "The State" (July 1919)

Without necessarily realizing a Marxist understanding of the class character of the capitalist state, any worker who engages in class struggle in this country has either seen or been on the receiving end of precisely what was described by Lenin. Whenever workers fight for the slightest improvement in wages and working conditions, they are immediately met with the forces of the state—from union-busting court injunctions to armed police squads violently busting up picket lines with tear gas and clubs, often augmented by private professional strike-breaking thugs. And what is the response of the trade-union bureaucrats? Their only perspective is to tell the working class, "We'll throw the bums out in the next elections."

Fostering illusions in the "democracy" of capitalist rule is the job of labor misleaders whose purpose is to *prevent* the independent mobilization of the proletariat in defense of its own class interests. Particularly through the agency of support to the Democratic Party, the labor bureaucracy serves to maintain the rule of capital by tying the working class to its exploiters. The union tops are the agents of U.S. imperialism, in whose interests they seek to police and discipline the labor movement. This was directly expressed in a December 16 rally at the Capitol organized by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy of John Sweeney together with black Democrats led by Jesse Jackson protesting Clinton's impeachment—at the very time that the Commander in Chief was raining cruise missiles down on Iraq.

Democrats Fostered Right-Wing Shift

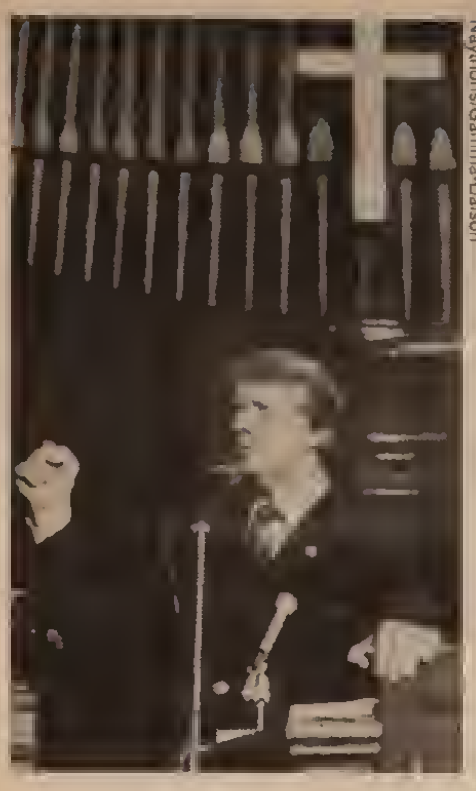
The labor bureaucrats echo liberal politicians and media pundits in sanctimoniously decrying the threat of Republican "extremism" behind the impeachment drive. An example of this liberal outrage was expressed by *New York Times* (20 December) columnist Bob Herbert: "The G.O.P. can no longer conceal that it is a party of extremists, of right-wing absolutists, a party out of step with the political and cultural orientation of most Americans." There are extremists, all right. The question is where did they come from? The shift to the right in American bourgeois politics did not begin with the Republicans but with the Democratic Jimmy Carter administration.

Coming to office in the mid-1970s, the Carter administration kicked off an onslaught of domestic social reaction and the renewal of U.S. imperialism's Cold War drive aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. These policies, packaged domestically as the "moral" rearmament of America and internationally as a crusade for "human rights," reflected a consensus of the American ruling class. The aim was to overcome widespread public mistrust of the government following the Watergate events, which forced the resignation of Republican president Richard Nixon in 1974, and to refurbish the tarnished

Ebony

WV Photo

Left: Civil rights protests of 1950s and '60s helped shatter Southern Jim Crow segregation but could not attack roots of racist oppression in capitalist system. Right: Spartacists join 1978 Washington, D.C. protest against Supreme Court's racist Bakke decision aimed at dismantling affirmative action.



Naythons/Gamma-Liaison

Ledru/Sygma

Democratic president Jimmy Carter helped bring Bible Belt bigotry into mainstream of American politics, pushed renewed war drive against USSR. Right: Carter's national security advisor Brzezinski at border of Afghanistan inspecting weapons for anti-Soviet Islamic reactionaries.

credentials and military might of U.S. imperialism following its defeat by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The rulers' primary concern was to reverse the *economic* decline of American imperialism. Emerging victorious out of World War II, the U.S. ruling class had proclaimed the "American Century." But by the 1970s, the arrogant U.S. rulers had let their industrial infrastructure become technologically obsolete. Particularly with the economy distorted by "defense" spending for the Vietnam War, the U.S. was no longer the world's undisputed capitalist powerhouse, as signaled by the devaluation of the dollar in 1971. To reverse its declining fortunes, the American ruling class launched a campaign to increase profitability by cracking down on the working class—closing auto and steel factories, moving production to low-wage plants in the "open shop" South and to neocolonies in Latin America and Southeast Asia, raising productivity by smashing union-protected work rules, instituting "two-tier" wage packages.

For the American bourgeoisie, which had carried out a "red purge" in the unions in the late 1940s and early '50s—the domestic reflection of the Cold War against the Soviet Union—the radicalism of the 1960s was a dangerous "bubble," with social protest threatening to spill over into an aroused labor movement. To counter the "permissiveness" of the '60s, a major ideological assault was launched aimed at instilling an unquestioning acceptance of capitalism, god and family, including the desirability of dying for one's country.

Today, the impeachment of Clinton is presented as the revenge of right-wing Christian fundamentalists of the Republican Party against the dope-smoking, sexually promiscuous, antiwar generation of the '60s. But it was the Carter administration that first brought these fundamentalists into the White House. "Born agains" and biblical references suddenly became mainstream. Sexual "morality" and redemption were introduced as Carter confessed to "lusting in his heart." Attacks on abortion rights were instigated by Carter's Catholic secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Joseph Califano. In 1977, federal funding of abortions for poor women was cut off, a move mandated by the Hyde Amendment passed by Congress the year before.

Both parties shifted to the right, bringing reactionary social layers to political ascendancy. The fundamentalist Christian right (including a Catholic church politically mobilized by the Polish pope of counterrevolution) has become mainstream. As a political force, it represents backwardness and social reaction. It's anti-science, anti-evolution and pro-creationism, for prayer in the schools and the subjugation of women and children in the family: the antithesis of the values of the Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th century. The resurgence of these forces on the American political terrain occurred long before the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the bourgeois triumphalism over the "death of communism" gave such reactionary themes international currency.

Racist Reaction and Class Exploitation

Clinton is the first American president to be impeached in 130 years, the last being Andrew Johnson in 1868. Coming in the period immediately following the Civil War which smashed the Southern slave system, Johnson's impeachment posed real questions of social significance, centering on the fight for full equality for the newly freed slaves. Opposing the Reconstruction amendments and the 1866 Civil Rights Act, Johnson sought to conciliate the former slavocracy and curtail efforts to grant land, civil rights and suffrage to blacks. His impeachment, which failed by only one vote to remove him from office, reflected an era in which the American bourgeoisie still represented a progressive social force. But the Northern capitalists increasingly undermined the great democratic effort of Radical Reconstruction, culminating in the Compromise of 1877 which sealed the betrayal of the aspirations of the black masses, prelude to the White Man's Burden, the great White Fleet and, in general, the arrival of American Imperialism.

Since that time, the forcible subjugation and segregation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of this society has served as a fundamental pillar for the maintenance of American capitalism. Whipping up raw racial and ethnic hatred (before it was the blacks, it was the Catholics) has long served the U.S. rulers to obscure the class divide between capital and labor in order to further the exploitation of the entire working class. Of all the expressions of social protest in the 1960s, the American ruling class was particularly alarmed by the stirrings of black revolt. When the civil rights movement "came North," to the major urban areas, where black workers form a strategic core of the labor movement, the bourgeoisie feared that this could ignite a political mobilization linking the fight for black freedom with the social power of the working class. But the liberal-led civil rights movement, while dismantling formal Jim Crow segregation in the South, could not address the roots of black oppression in the capitalist system.

At the same time, the shape of bourgeois politics in America was fundamentally altered in the wake of the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The "New Deal" Democratic Party alliance between labor, Northern liberals and the Southern segregationists cemented by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1930s was blown apart. Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater—who voted against the Civil Rights Act—authored the Republican Party's "Southern Strategy," persuading racist Southern Democrats—the Dixiecrats—to defect. For the past 35 years, every presidential election has centered on race, with the Democrats desperately working to reverse the perception that they were beholden to "special interests" like blacks and labor.

UPS picket line in Rhode Island attacked by cops during 1997 strike. Cops and courts are agencies of capitalist class enemy.

The nomination of Southern Baptist Jimmy Carter to head the Democratic Party ticket in the 1976 elections was not accidental. Fomenting racist reaction, Carter openly proclaimed the virtues of "ethnic purity." Busing for school integration, which had just gone down to flaming defeat at the hands of racist mobs in Boston, was killed in city after city. The murderous message was brought home in the blood of five leftist anti-racist militants in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979 who were gunned down in broad daylight by a group of Ku Klux Klan and Nazis led by an "informer" for the Feds.

After the Democrats were trounced by Reagan and Bush in the 1980s, the Democratic Leadership Council came up with a policy aimed at competing with the Republicans on their own terms to win back the white racist voters, not only in the South but in the expanding suburbs. In 1992, the Democrats fielded a ticket of two Southerners—Clinton and Gore—to win back the White House through a campaign of outright racism. Clinton promised to "end welfare as we know it" and issued calculated insults of Jesse Jackson as the representative of black influence in the Democratic Party. This racist effort was symbolized by Clinton's flying back to Arkansas during the election campaign to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Ricky Ray Rector.

With this contest for the white racist vote, the Southern and Southwestern states achieved new prominence. This region, largely non-union, also contains the "bible belt" of the United States, the stronghold of the Christian fundamentalists who, formerly regarded as a yahoo fringe, now started to become a potent force in national politics. Within each party, the former right wing became the mainstream. As the more conservative (and whiter) of the two parties, the Republicans have a larger constituency of the Christian right, which was instrumental in turning out the vote for the Republican sweep of the 1994 Congressional elections and installment of Newt Gingrich as the Speaker of the House.

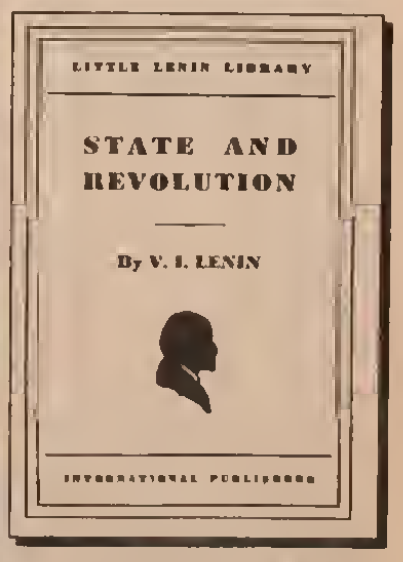
Gingrich made it clear that the intent was to undo the "excesses" of Lyndon Johnson's 1960s "Great Society" legislation, in particular welfare and affirmative action programs which gave only token amelioration to conditions of life for blacks and the poor. In response, the reformist left such as the Communist Party (CP) and Workers World Party (WWP) raised a frenzied cry to defeat Gingrich's "Contract on America" which was a barely concealed call to support Clinton's Democrats. Today, the CP's *People's Weekly World* (19 December 1998) editorializes that the Republicans' impeachment move is "an abuse of power that flouts the national interest for cynical partisan advantage." The "national interest"? The article went to press the very day that the American bombers began attacking Iraq. Meanwhile, in protests against the bombing of Iraq, speakers from the WWP and International Socialist Organization also helped sow illusions in the capitalist state, pronouncing that the Congress should be impeaching Clinton for his attack on Iraq! By that logic, why don't these reformists demand that the bourgeois government simply resign?

Forward to a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The reactionary themes of white Christian "family values" are hardly the property of some extremist fringe of the Republican Party, as the liberals and reformists would have it. These are the common coin of *both* capitalist parties. The Democrats and Republicans have

continued on page 6

K. A. Kuznetsov



V.I. Lenin, leader of 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, explained that capitalist state is an instrument of violence for suppression of proletariat and must be swept away through socialist revolution.

Begging the Imperialists for "Peace"

Reformist Left and the Attack on Iraq

Not content with killing more than one million Iraqis through over seven years of starvation sanctions, the U.S. imperialists and their British allies once again subjected Iraq to murderous terror bombing last month. While the latest round of slaughter stopped after four days, a huge U.S. naval force remains in the Persian Gulf, where it has been staging provocations against Iraq almost daily.

In the aftermath, sections of the bourgeoisie, particularly on the right, are questioning the utility of the attack. *U.S. News and World Report* (28 December 1998) sneeringly opined that it was "a short, satisfying little air war, but what did it achieve?" Others talked of the "Wag the Dog" syndrome, claiming that Clinton ordered the bombing to divert attention from his domestic travails over impeachment. Still others worried that the starvation sanctions are no longer a useful means of "containing" Iraq. But for all the tactical squabbles among the bourgeoisie, it is notable that Congress put off its impeachment hearing for 24 hours in order to unanimously endorse the bombing.

The capitalist rulers are of one mind when it comes to asserting America's strength as the pre-eminent imperialist power in the world today, especially in its quest to control Near East oil supplies. With mounting competition from its imperialist rivals, chiefly Germany and Japan, Washington unleashes its military might to terrorize semicolonial peoples and project its power throughout the world.

Calling to "Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution!", the Spartacist League intervened in demonstrations against the bombing in cities throughout the U.S. Other sections of the International Communist League joined in protests from Mexico to Britain and Japan. We sought to impart to workers and youth outraged by the crimes of the U.S. and British capitalist rulers the understanding that imperialism is not merely a "policy" of a wing of the bourgeoisie but an organic outgrowth of the profit system—the "highest stage of capitalism," as the Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described it. As we wrote in an emergency leaflet dated 16 December 1998 (reprinted on page 1):

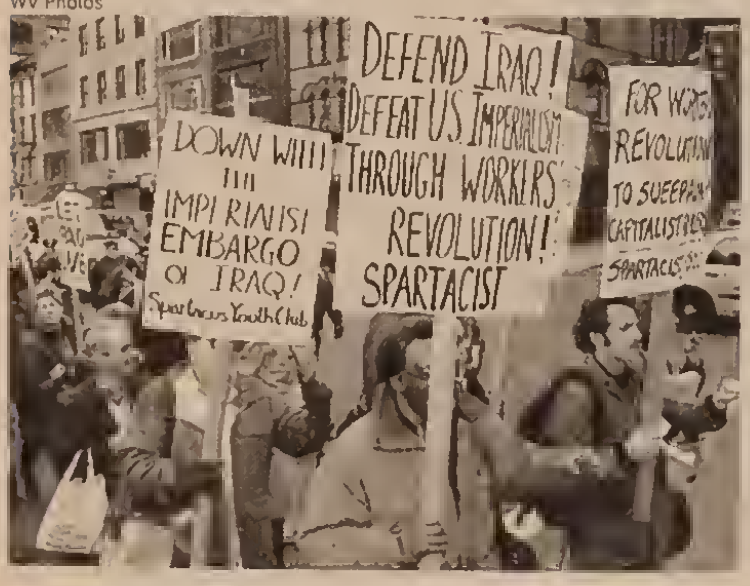
> "The death and destruction being wreaked upon the people of Iraq right now show what imperialism is all about, a rapacious system based on the exploitation, subjugation and murder of the workers and semicolonial masses in order to expand the profits of a handful of filthy rich capitalists.
>
> "This system cannot be 'reformed,' as liberals and reformist 'socialists' would have it. It cannot be pressured into being more peaceful and humane."

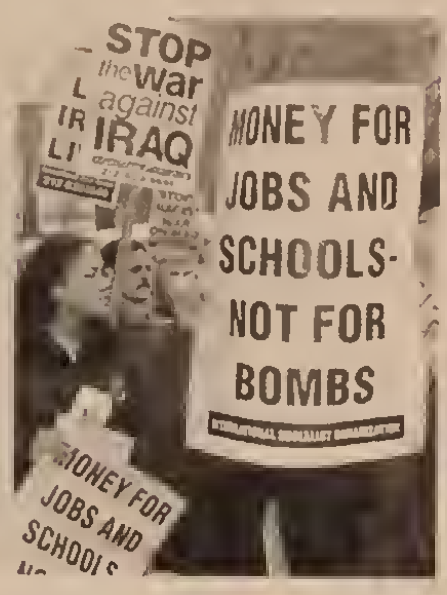
Reformist Illusions in "Democratic" Imperialism

Our revolutionary intervention stood in sharp contrast to that of reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Workers World Party (WWP). These groups raised nearly identical calls to pressure the imperialists to carry out more humane policies—"Money for Jobs" (WWP) or "Money for Jobs and Schools, Not for Bombs" (ISO). The ISO peddles the chimera that imperialist war can be stopped by a "movement to stop the bombings and end the sanctions now" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 December 1998). In a New York City leaflet, the ISO makes the ludicrous claim: "Thousands protested last February to stop the slaughter and we can stop it again." In fact, the only reason the U.S. (temporarily) refrained from bombing last February was because Saddam Hussein, faced with the devastating might of the U.S. war machine, acceded to its imperial diktat.

The ISO has always tailored its supposed "socialist alternative" to fit bourgeois public opinion. Thus on the eve of the 1991 Gulf War, *Socialist Worker* (October 1990) pointedly refused to call for the defense of Iraq against U.S. attack, deeming this demand "a serious tactical error" because it would be unpopular. And the ISO's current campaign against the sanctions is sheer hypocrisy. In January 1991, the ISO scrapped its paper opposition to sanctions in order to endorse a liberal "Campaign for Peace" march in Washington which explicitly *called for* United Nations sanctions—i.e., the starvation of Iraqis—as an "alternative" to war (see "ISO in the Antiwar Movement," *WV* No. 520, 15 February 1991). Now that a big chunk of the bourgeoisie is questioning the continuation of the bombing, the ISO is trying to cover its tracks. Its latest leaflet, dated 19 December, says: "Bombing Iraq Is Not the Answer." Not the answer to what? Not the answer to the ISO's prayers.

WV Photos





December 19 New York City protest against bombing of Iraq. Spartacists call for revolutionary struggle against capitalist rulers, while reformists seek to pressure imperialists to be more "humane."

Clinton Impeachment...

(continued from page 5)

consciously played the race card in every known way: welfare-bashing, the "war on crime," the speedup on death row, immigrant-bashing.

The struggle for black rights and social equality is now dubbed "reverse racism." The 1960s goal of racial integration in education, at least on the college level, has now been replaced with "diversity" and "meritocracy," the code words for admission of a few token minorities only. In this fetid climate, it comes as no surprise that Senate Republican leader Trent Lott of Mississippi and Georgia Congressman Bob Barr extol Jefferson Davis, the president of the slaveholders' Confederacy, and have addressed gatherings of the "Council of Conservative Citizens," a direct descendant of the KKK-infested White Citizens Councils that terrorized civil rights marchers in the South.

Given that Clinton agrees with 98 percent of the reactionary agenda of the Republicans, there is a reckless quality to the impeachment drive. This worries the bourgeoisie since it introduces elements of instability into the ruling structure of the American imperialist state, particularly doing damage to the façade of "democracy" in which they cloak their class dictatorship. By the same token, this can play to the advantage of the working class. But only if it is equipped with a revolutionary leadership—a multiracial workers party committed to the overthrow of the rule of capital through the proletarian seizure of power.

For the current misleaders of the trade unions, Clinton's impeachment has become another means through which to sow treacherous illusions in the Democratic Party. In its "fight the right" campaigns, the reformist left does the same thing, while sometimes cloaking this with verbiage about class struggle. But as Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution*:

> "It is often said and written that the main point in Marx's theory is the class struggle. But this is wrong. And this wrong notion very often results in an opportunist distortion of Marxism and its falsification in a spirit acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the theory of the class struggle was created *not* by Marx *but* by the bourgeoisie *before* Marx, and, generally speaking, it is *acceptable* to the bourgeoisie.... A Marxist is solely someone who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*."

It is the purpose of the Spartacist League to forge a revolutionary working-class party which in the course of sharp class struggle educates the proletariat in the understanding not only of its social power but of its historic interests. Crucial to building such a party in the U.S. is the understanding of the inextricable link between the fight for labor's emancipation and the cause of black freedom. As we wrote in "Unchain Labor's Power" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997), following the successful UPS Teamsters strike:

> "When those who labor rule, the tremendous wealth of this society will be used to provide a decent life for the working people, the poor, blacks, immigrants, the young, the aged. The fight for black freedom will be realized in the overthrow of the rule of American capital. When the workers have the industrial wealth that is now being squeezed out of the working class for the profits of the bosses, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts, like some of tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and others whose countries have been maimed under the passing treads of American tanks and the bombs of American planes. As for 'compensation' to the people who lined their pockets with fat profits while driving everyone else to ruin, the victorious proletarian can offer to those who don't get in its way that they too will have the right to honest labor and will live to see their grandchildren prosper in a truly humane society."■

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these sanctions, the ISO feels safe begging the imperialist rulers to end their embargo.

So wedded is the ISO to its "own" ruling class that even as it denounced CIA machinations in Iraq, in the 4 December 1998 *Socialist Worker* it headlined an article, "How the U.S. Betrayed the 'Opposition' Before." By speaking of U.S. "betrayal," the ISO presents rapacious U.S. imperialism as merely a treacherous would-be ally of the oppressed (in this case the Kurdish and Shi'ite opposition to Saddam Hussein), rather than the number one enemy of working people in the world today.

For its part, Workers World calls to "Stop the bombing, stop the war, let Iraq live!" While WWP postures as an opponent of U.S. imperialism, the featured spokesman for its "International Action Center" at antiwar demonstrations was Ramsey Clark, who was Democratic president Lyndon Johnson's attorney general in the mid-1960s during the bloody Vietnam War. Clark carried out the "war at home," prosecuting antiwar protesters as well as escalating the FBI's COINTELPRO program to include a murderous campaign against the Black Panther Party. Workers World's embrace of this bourgeois tool symbolizes its desperate search for imperialist "doves" with whom to unite. When Clark addressed a December 19 NYC protest, the SL contingent chanted, "Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, We know what side you're on!"

Workers World also spread illusions in the UN, complaining that the U.S. imperialists "violated international law and the Charter of the United Nations" and "paid no attention to the opposition in the Security Council" (*Workers World*, 31 December 1998). As if the UN, under whose auspices the Gulf War and the ongoing starvation of Iraq have been carried out, is anything but a fig leaf for U.S. imperialism! Spartacist supporters at the NYC demo carried signs demanding "U.S./UN/NATO out of the Persian Gulf now!"

Karen Robinson

Desperately ill children deprived of medicine due to U.S./UN sanctions which have killed over one million Iraqis. Baghdad neighborhood devastated by December U.S./British terror bombing.

AFP

British Fake Left Amnesties Labour Party Government

The British imperialist government once again eagerly joined Washington in the terror assault on Iraq. Yet most of the reformist British left focused on attacking *American* imperialism and amnestied the crimes of its "own" bourgeoisie—especially since the Labour Party, which the fake lefts all fulsomely (if "critically") support, is today the ruling party of British imperialism. When Blair's New Labour came to power in 1997, the ISO's British parent group, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), declared itself "over the moon." Today, pleading "Tony Blair, stop this war," the SWP continues to act as a "left" pressure group on the Labour government, feeding deadly illusions that these thoroughly pro-capitalist social democrats can be forced to act on behalf of workers and the oppressed. The SWP has even handed out petitions beseeching Blair to stop arms sales to Indonesia "in line with New Labour's 'ethical' foreign policy." For the British imperialists, "ethical" spells police terror against Catholics in Northern Ireland and the bombing of Iraq.

In a leaflet distributed to antiwar protesters in London, the Spartacist League/Britain emphasized:

> "The Labour government is a capitalist government which acts as butchers for bloody British imperialism.... Ostensible leftists like the Socialist Workers Party, who rejoiced when Labour was elected, foster illusions in the possibility of reforming capitalism, begging Labour for 'welfare not warfare' and in the past gave backhanded support to the sanctions which are themselves an *act of war*."

SL/B contingents declared: "Down with U.S./British imperialist terror bombing of Iraq!" and "Labour is a party of racism and war! A Bolshevik party is what we're fighting for!"

The intervention of the British centrist Workers Power (WP) group provided a chemically pure example of how opportunists capitulate to the bourgeoisie on their own national terrain. In Latin America, where "anti-imperialist" rhetoric is cheap, WP cosigned a leaflet against the bombing with some Mexican and Argentine groups. This leaflet was titled "For the Military Victory of Iraq" and denounced "Blair's 'social-imperialist' government." But in its leaflet handed out in *Britain*, dated and distributed in London on December 17, WP omitted any call to defend Iraq against U.S./British imperialism! Echoing the nationalist "anti-Americanism" so prevalent on the British "left," this leaflet chastised the Labour Party for being "ever keen to prove its loyalty to the US capitalist order." What about Labour's loyalty to *British* capitalism, including its military occupation of Northern Ireland, which WP's leaflet did not so much as mention? Trying to cover its tracks, two days later WP appeared at another antiwar demonstration with a different leaflet (also dated December 17!). This time they did call to "Defend Iraq against US and UK attack," while still calling to pressure the Labour government to "stop the bombings."

WP has fostered particular illusions in Labour Party "lefts" like Tony Benn, who they have called on to "speak openly against the war." Addressing the London antiwar demonstration on December 19, Benn praised the UN Charter and called to lobby members of Parliament to campaign for "peace." The SL/B responded by chanting "From Northern Ireland to Iraq—Labour government: imperialist butchers," and denouncing the Labour "left" as a "fig leaf for imperialist war."

While Britain was the only country to join the U.S. bombing, other imperialist powers like Canada gave full diplomatic backing to the attack. As in Britain, the reformist Canadian left sought to pressure the capitalist rulers to oppose the U.S. attack. Typically, a leaflet by Socialist Action (SA—affiliated with the U.S. organization of the same name and the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat) pleaded: "We say to the Canadian government: stop playing lap dog to the bully next door, denounce the aggression, and break the embargo of Iraq." Speaking at a December 19 Toronto demonstration, an SA leader lavished praise on the Ontario leader of the New Democratic Party for opposing the bombing—nowhere mentioning that the social-democratic NDP *supported* the 1991 Gulf War massacre as well as the starvation sanctions.

Fostering the worst kind of social-democratic illusions, SA's leaflet called to "Demand the expulsion of Tony Blair from the Socialist International!" It was *85 years ago* in 1914 that the Socialist (Second) International definitively went over to the side of capitalism, as its component parties supported their "own" bourgeois rulers in the interimperialist carnage of World War I. Today, from Blair's Labour Party in Britain to NDP provincial regimes in Canada to Social Democratic and Socialist-led governments in Germany and France, the parties of the Second International enforce capitalist austerity and racist terror on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Sharply counterposing themselves to the reformists of all stripes, our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste marched in Toronto with signs stating "British Labour Party carries out imperialist mass murder" and "Pro-imperialist NDP demanded UN starvation sanctions," calling to "Forge a revolutionary workers party!"

The ICL stands in the tradition of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, whose *break* with the traitors of the Second International was a precondition for leading the Russian Revolution of October 1917. Like Lenin, we say the only way to smash imperialist terror and capitalist misery is through socialist revolution. We fight to forge Leninist-Trotskyist parties throughout the world to make the working class conscious of the need to sweep away the barbaric rule of capital and lead the struggle for new October Revolutions. Join us!■

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

This is far more than just a grotesquely cynical exercise aimed at deflecting the Republicans' sinister and vindictive impeachment drive. How many Iraqi babies do America's rulers intend to kill in order to delay the sex-witchhunt proceedings going on in Washington?! The death and destruction being wreaked upon the people of Iraq right now show what imperialism is all about, a rapacious system based on the exploitation, subjugation and murder of the workers and semicolonial masses in order to expand the profits of a handful of filthy rich capitalists.

This system cannot be "reformed," as liberals and reformist "socialists" would have it. It cannot be pressured into being more peaceful and humane. Ostensible leftists like the International Socialist Organization foster illusions in the possibility of reforming capitalism and have in the past given backhanded support to the sanctions which are themselves *an act of war*. The Workers World Party promotes as its chief antiwar spokesman imperialist tool Ramsey Clark, who was the Democratic Party attorney general during the Vietnam War and the bloody COINTELPRO domestic war against the Black Panther Party. Imperialism is, as Russian Bolshevik V.I. Lenin said, the highest stage of capitalism. And as Lenin's Bolsheviks showed in leading the October Revolution of 1917, it can and must be defeated through workers revolution.

What's behind the murderous attack on the people of Iraq is Washington's aim of intimidating through sheer terror and blackmail all the semicolonial peoples over which it rides roughshod and maintaining its position as top dog against its imperialist rivals, especially Japan and Germany. This is the true face of the "New World Order" proclaimed by America's capitalist rulers over the corpse of the Soviet Union, destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution. In the face of growing competition from its imperialist rivals, the U.S. bourgeoisie wields its arsenal of terror, including the most massive stockpiles of nuclear and biological and chemical weapons, to guard its position as the planet's pre-eminent power.

The blood of Iraqis is today being spilled to cement U.S. control over vast oil and natural gas resources which are vital to Germany and Japan. Meanwhile, Washington's regional allies carry out their own brutal repression under the umbrella of a bloody "Pax Americana." Zionist Israel continues to subject the long-suffering Palestinian people to starvation, terror and all-sided oppression, now including under the whip of its petty-bourgeois nationalist lackey, Yasir Arafat. Turkey wages a war of annihilation against the deeply oppressed Kurdish people, who are carved up among four capitalist states. And while Washington hypocritically condemns Iraq's Saddam Hussein for his repression against the Kurds, the U.S.—along with Germany—arms the Turkish bourgeoisie to the hilt. Saddam Hussein is an anti-Communist butcher of Iraqi workers and minorities, but it is the task of the Iraqi proletariat to sweep away his despotic regime. We say: Defend the Palestinians—Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Down with all the sheiks, colonels, mullahs and Zionist butchers! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For permanent revolution—For a socialist federation of the Near East!

Imperialism breeds war, but it also breeds revolution. It was out of the carnage of World War I that the Bolsheviks led the Russian workers to power. The bloody American ruling class that unleashes terror on the semicolonial peoples also saps the lifeblood from working people in the U.S. It consigns millions of poor and minority women to starvation through the axing of welfare. It robs black youth of any future other than poverty or prison. It craves to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal because he is a black man who speaks out against racist repression. All this and more is pushed by the Democratic Party which once again is acting as the main party of war for U.S. imperialism.

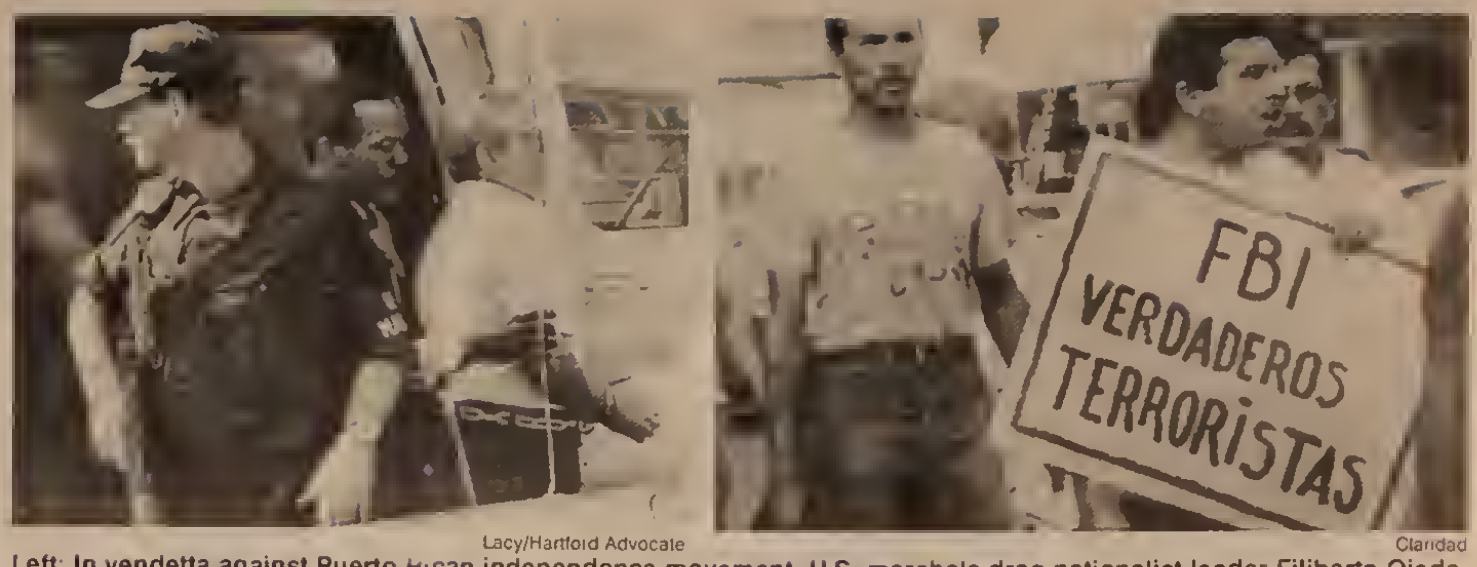
The power to destroy this system of racism, war and exploitation lies in the hands of the multiracial working class. Against the labor tops who tie working people to their exploiters, particularly to the Democratic Party, the Spartacist League is dedicated to building a revolutionary workers party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky—a party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, a party rooted in proletarian internationalism. Join us in building the party which will lead new October Revolutions and put an end once and for all to imperialist mass murder. ***Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!*** ■

Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 12)

discriminates against them economically, linguistically, racially, politically and culturally. The raw reality of having risked their lives for a government which doesn't even give them the right to vote stirs revolt. Following every war, returning soldiers have been at the forefront of renewed drives for independence.

The excruciating bind for Puerto Ricans is this: with colonial "commonwealth" status comes the right to live and work on the U.S. mainland, and today huge numbers are resident in New York and other mainland centers, where many are integrated into strategic sections of the proletariat. While the island residents are deeply impoverished in comparison to the U.S. mainland, relative to virtually all their Caribbean and Latin American neighbors, with the exception of Cuba, Puerto Ricans are considerably better off by statistics which mean something about the quality of life: infant mortality, literacy, life expectancy. That's the vise of contradiction presented as a "choice" to Puerto Ricans under capitalism: crumbs from the table of the colonial rulers, with the implied indignity, servitude and injustices, or "independence" under the thumb of U.S. imperialism, which means life-threatening impoverishment.



Lacy/Hartford Advocate — Claridad

Left: In vendetta against Puerto Rican independence movement, U.S. marshals drag nationalist leader Filiberto Ojeda-Rios to court in 1988. Right: Protesting massive dragnet against *independentistas* in 1985, demonstrators proclaim, "FBI: the Real Terrorists."

Leninism and the National Question

We Trotskyists of the International Communist League fight for a revolutionary solution to the Puerto Rican national question. As forthright opponents of all forms of U.S. imperialist colonial oppression, we favor the independence of Puerto Rico in order to fight against chauvinism in the United States and to undercut the bourgeois-nationalist leadership of the working class on the island. But given the evident and understandable contradictions of Puerto Ricans on the question, we do not advocate that independence be *forced* on them. The sympathies of the population are a large factor for Marxists in determining how to get the national question off the agenda and clear the road for revolutionary internationalist class struggle. Therefore, today we champion the *right of independence for Puerto Rico*.

The axis of our fight on the mainland is against national chauvinism, against "English only" racism, against imperialist military and economic oppression, against the U.S. bases which threaten not only the working people of Puerto Rico but proletarians throughout the region and especially in Cuba. We stand for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We fight for the release of Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoners as an urgent cause for the North American proletariat. Through such struggles, we work to break the ideological shackles of the chauvinist labor misleaders who tie the workers to their exploiters through the medium of false consciousness such as anti-immigrant racism and job-trusting protectionism.

On Puerto Rico itself, the cutting edge of our program is against the bourgeois-nationalist forces who seek to derail proletarian struggle through dangerous and false nationalist "unity" between Puerto Rican labor and the local bourgeoisie. We fight for the international class unity of the workers of Puerto Rico and the United States against both the U.S. capitalists and the local bourgeois overseers. Our struggle is for workers power—a victorious workers government of Puerto Rico will decide how they will exercise their national self-determination. Only under the leadership of the proletariat can colonial revolution have an unequivocally progressive, revolutionary significance.

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1920 Baku Congress in Soviet Azerbaijan, organized by the Communist International to spread revolutionary struggle among oppressed peoples of the East.

Puerto Rico is a society linked directly, economically, to the U.S., and culturally and linguistically to the laboring masses throughout Latin America and much of the Caribbean. The course of Puerto Rican independence from the yoke of Yankee imperialism is not preordained. A revolutionary socialist upheaval in the U.S. would grant independence in a minute, as well as massive amounts of economic aid. The spark can also light the other way, with the militant proletariat in Puerto Rico inspiring struggle on the mainland, including a political battle against U.S. imperialist domination of the island. Proletarian resistance to looming capitalist counterrevolution in Cuba would have an impact on Puerto Rico, as would any attempt to deploy the U.S. arsenal of death from the huge military installations on Puerto Rico against Cuba, or anywhere else in the region. A working-class revolt in Mexico would also certainly animate the Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican proletariat in opposition to U.S. imperialism.

The particular circumstances and modalities of achieving independence—or voluntary integration—can go a number of different ways. Our call for a *socialist federation of the Caribbean* projects our general conception for workers rule in the area, however we do not know at this point how this will transpire in the concrete. As Leninists, we fight to give the bourgeois-democratic demand of independence for Puerto Rico a proletarian-revolutionary axis, without which all talk of "freedom" and "sovereignty" is just a lot of empty claptrap spewed by bourgeois nationalists interested in oppressing "their own" people.

Puerto Rico is a vivid confirmation of the validity of the program of *permanent revolution*, first elaborated by the Marxist leader Leon Trotsky in the context of the failed 1905 Russian Revolution. In the economically backward countries, the bourgeoisies are too weak, corrupt and dependent on imperialism to resolve the outstanding tasks—such as national liberation—historically associated with the bourgeois revolutions. Consequently, the resolution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks can only be achieved through the proletarian conquest of power, necessarily placing the socialist tasks on the immediate agenda, and the fight to extend workers rule to the advanced capitalist countries.

Our approach to the national question in Puerto Rico comes directly from Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin. Leading the proletariat to power from within the tsarist "prison house of peoples," Lenin had a keen appreciation for the necessity of fighting all forms of national and colonial oppression in order to advance the unity and integrity of the proletariat as the motor force for socialist revolution. In this Lenin was sharply counterposed to the opportunist "socialists" of the Second International—chiefly West Europeans whose "own" national questions had largely been resolved by 1871 and who imbibed the chauvinism of the capitalist rulers by deeming the resolution of anybody else's national question, such as the secession of oppressed nations, to be "impractical." Lenin's sharp dialectical approach is outlined in his July 1916 essay, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up":

> "In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be *no* internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressor nation who *fails* to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist....
>
> "On the other hand, a Social-Democrat from a small nation must emphasize in his agitation the *second* word of our general formula: 'voluntary *integration*' of nations. He may, without failing in his duties as an internationalist, be in favour of *both* the political independence of his nation and its integration with the neighbouring state of X, Y, Z, etc. But in all cases he must fight *against* small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest.
>
> "People who have not gone into the question thoroughly think that it is 'contradictory' for the Social-Democrats of oppressor nations to insist on the 'freedom to *secede*,' while Social-Democrats of oppressed nations insist on the 'freedom to *integrate*.' However, a little reflection will show that there is not, and cannot be, any *other* road to internationalism and the amalgamation of nations, any other road *from the given* situation to this goal."

Norden's Group: Yankee Liars for a Fraudulent International

The Spartacist League and ICL have recently been the target of a screeching attack by the Internationalist Group (IG) of former *Workers Vanguard* editor Jan Norden, which asserts the bald lie that "ICL Renounces Fight For Puerto Rican Independence" (Internationalist, November-December 1998). The IG howls that we have become "colonialist socialists," "Kautskyan," indeed we "would not have been accepted in the CI [Communist International]." From a clinical standpoint, the IG's ravings are ample evidence of dementia and contempt for the socialist public: *every assertion is a lie which is refuted by any examination of the ICL's propaganda and work*. Unfortunately, we can't just observe (and relish) the Norden group's hysterical degeneration. The steady bombardment of lies can succeed in sowing confusion and doubts, particularly in a distant audience which has little opportunity for direct examination of the ICL. Norden's group knows this and they work at it.

The question is, *why do they lie?* They vilify the ICL because we exposed the *class treason* of Norden's "League for a Fourth International" (LFI). Norden

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initially tried to cover his defection from Trotskyism with the pretentious macho idiocy that the ICL "pulled its hands out of boiling water" and "deserted" the class struggle in Brazil when we made a principled break with the trade-union opportunists of the LQB (Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil). The LQB first braintrusted an unprincipled bloc to control the cop-infested municipal workers union (SFPMVR) in Volta Redonda. When the ICL pushed the LQB to implement the principle they claimed to agree with, that cops are not part of the workers movement and don't belong in a trade union, their rotten bloc fell apart and a squalid battle for control of the union ensued. The LQB then dragged the bourgeois courts into the union to protect their own positions, including unelected posts, at the top of the union. Norden's group has never answered the challenge to publish the documentation (court case numbers 30.831, 30.832, 30.833 on file in the Volta Redonda courthouse) which prove that his outfit tied the union to the bourgeois state. (For more information, see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" and "Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* Nos. 669 and 671, 30 May and 11 July 1997.)

One wonders whatever happened to the saga of the LQB in the municipal workers union. After more than two years of Web site postings by the IG appealing for solidarity with their Brazilian comrades against bourgeois state repression, and contradictory assertions that the LQB had thrown the cops out of the union alternating with claims that ex-cop and LQB member Geraldo Ribeiro had been thrown out of the SFPMVR presidency yet still represented "the will of the workers," the IG has gone oddly silent. The socialist public which has been bombarded by the IG's cyberspace postings has a right to know: so what about the IG's claim that they threw the cops out of the union? Just who is president of the SFPMVR today? What about the IG's verbal assertion that the SFPMVR is no longer a union at all, presumably because the bourgeois courts did not reinstall LQB member Ribeiro despite his multiple suits against the union? Incredibly, in the first issue of the *Internationalist* in more than six months, the "boiling pot" of Volta Redonda has been pulled off the LFI's burners without a word of explanation!

Here we have the context for the new lies that the ICL has gone social-chauvinist on Puerto Rico. Norden's LFI is in deep trouble. Their class treason in Volta Redonda redounded against the proletariat and discredited them as the opportunist hustlers they are. Their French "section" is a mirage which cannot be conjured into sight anywhere on the French left. And in their North American headquarters, the Internationalist Group has not had a single publicly advertised meeting in the two-and-a-half years of their existence! Norden can't justify his political defection from Trotskyism and the ICL, therefore he substitutes the standard "gringo-baiting" lies of Latin American nationalists to hold his phony international together. Slinging mud at the ICL is also the price of admission to the nationalist class-collaborationist milieus Norden tails, milieus which are viscerally hostile to the Bolshevik program and practices of the ICL. *That's why they lie.* The IG's lies are the soft-core violence of political cowards who seek justification for their marginal existence and can't politically answer for their betrayals of principles they claim to uphold.

Zayas/El Nuevo Oía

July 1998: Mayor of Ponce at head of march supporting telephone workers during general strike led by CAOS, class-collaborationist coalition tying together unions and bourgeois-nationalist parties.

Doublespeak and Imperialist Arrogance

The IG claims to "advocate independence" for Puerto Rico and that this is the core of their difference with the ICL. Every lousy lawyer knows that if the law is against you, you pound the evidence; if the evidence is against you, you pound the law; if both are against you, then you pound the table. No amount of table-thumping can hide the IG's ridiculous fabrications.

The IG claims that because the ICL does not advocate independence at this time, i.e., we do not take a position now that Puerto Rico *must* separate from the U.S., this is an "outright capitulation before 'their own' bourgeoisie." The *Internationalist* cites our position printed in *Workers Vanguard* No. 696 (11 September 1998):

> "Marxists defend Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and support struggles for independence in order to strike a blow against U.S. imperialism and to remove the national question from the agenda in Puerto Rico. But we are not in favor of forcing annexation, federation, or even independence on anyone, least of all by racist U.S. imperialism.
>
> "We do not currently *advocate* independence for Puerto Rico, not least because the vast majority of the population is not in favor of it at this time."

Buried later in the article is the IG's own position, which in classic centrist fashion first capitulates to nationalism and then attempts to cover itself by borrowing the Marxist position of the SL. Contradicting themselves from one sentence to the next, the IG *advocates* independence, while simultaneously arguing that they would *not advocate* independence if it were contrary to popular sentiment—a vivid illustration of why Trotsky described centrism as "crystallized confusion":

> "The Internationalist Group and the League for the Fourth International advocate independence for Puerto Rico, in order to strike a blow against U.S. imperialism and because only by breaking out of the national subjugation of colonial rule can the international class struggle come to the fore. We support struggles for independence from colonial rule, even when they are led by petty-bourgeois and bourgeois forces...."

Next paragraph:

> "At the same time, however distorted by the mechanisms of colonial referendums, the fact remains that an overwhelming majority of the Puerto Rican population does not presently favor independence. As the right to self-determination is a democratic question, and the working class has no interest in forcing independence against the will of the Puerto Rican population—especially when the impetus for separation comes from right-wing reactionaries—we underline our defense of Puerto Rico's right to independence."

It appears Norden has egg on his face. So much for the IG's inane assertion that taking the will of the oppressed population into account equals capitulation to U.S. imperialism!

Recognizing the very real contradictions among the oppressed Puerto Rican masses, in 1993 the Spartacist League re-examined our position on the Puerto Rican national question and adjusted our central slogan to call "For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!" This was the headline of our article in *Workers Vanguard* No. 588 (19 November 1993), and Norden, who was still editor of *WV* at the time, claimed to agree with the change. Does this mean he was a Kautskyite, or just a political coward who didn't have the guts to argue out his (deviant) position?

Norden's actual, longstanding position, which smacks of Yankee imperialist arrogance, was "independence whether they want it or not." Norden used to strut around the editorial office saying exactly that every time an article on Puerto Rico was discussed for *WV*. This once found unfortunate public expression in an article titled "Puerto Rico at the Crossroads" (*WV* No. 374 8 March 1985) which stated, "While *at present* the Puerto Rican masses do not favor separation from U.S. rule, communists are for independence, like it or not." "Like it or not"? Lenin had a few choice words for such vulgar economist caricatures of Marxism on the national question:

> "Is it to be supposed that victorious socialism, restoring and implementing full democracy all along the line, will refrain from *democratically* demarcating state frontiers and ignore the 'sympathies' of the population? These questions need only be stated to make it quite clear that our Polish colleagues are sliding down from Marxism towards imperialist Economism....
>
> "Capitalism rides roughshod over these sympathies, adding more obstacles to the rapprochement of nations. Socialism, by organising production *without* class oppression, by ensuring the well-being of *all* members of the state, gives *full play* to the 'sympathies' of the population, thereby promoting and greatly accelerating the drawing together and fusion of the nations."
>
> —"The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up"

Lenin's main polemic on the national and colonial question was not titled "Secession Now and Forever!" but rather "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (February-May 1914). Lies of the Internationalist Group to the contrary, this is Lenin's position:

> "The demand for a 'yes' or 'no' reply to the question of secession in the case of every nation may seem a very 'practical' one. In reality it is absurd; it is metaphysical in theory, while in practice it leads to subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie's policy. The bourgeoisie always places its national demands in the forefront, and does so in categorical fashion. With the proletariat, however, these demands are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle. Theoretically, you cannot say in advance whether the bourgeois-democratic revolution will end in a given nation seceding from another nation, or in its equality with the latter; *in either case*, the important thing for the proletariat is to ensure the development of its class. For the bourgeoisie it is important to hamper this development by pushing the aims of its 'own' nation before those of the proletariat. That is why the proletariat confines itself, so to speak, to the negative demand for recognition of the *right* to self-determination, without giving guarantees to any nation, and without undertaking to give *anything at the expense* of another nation."

For genuine Marxists, the question is: how best under the given historical circumstances to break the hold of nationalism and chauvinism and turn the workers against their own bourgeoisie. The conclusion of the *Communist Manifesto* is that the working class has no fatherland. In the struggle for a world socialist planned economy, Leninists fight to remove national oppression which poisons the unity of the international proletariat. The answer is not the same at all times in all places, nor can a policy for one country be mechanically transposed to another.

IG Nationalists in Puerto Rico General Strike

The two-day general strike against privatization of the Puerto Rican telephone company on 7-8 July 1998 shows how the IG talks out of both sides of its mouth, the better to pander to bourgeois

continued on page 10

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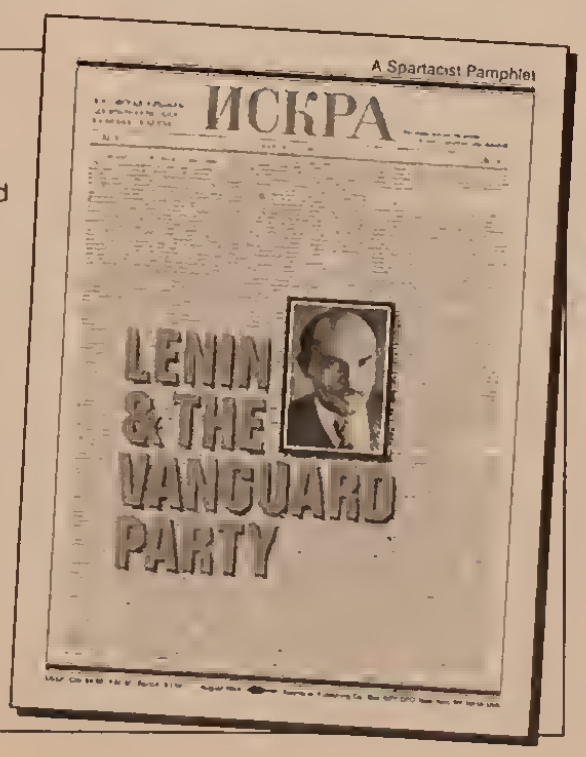

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Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 9)

nationalism. Intersecting the centennial of U.S. colonial rule over Puerto Rico, the strike had the character of a political protest. The political independence of the proletariat was subordinated to the program of bourgeois nationalists, who exploited proletarian discontent over privatization to push their own agenda. The Internationalist Group covered up for the nationalists by denying that they even had any role in the strike movement! The IG even falsified the name of the *class-collaborationist front* directing the strike in order to disappear the bourgeois political and right-wing religious elements.

The strike was led by CAOS. In its propaganda, the IG defines CAOS as the "Broad Committee of Trade Union Organizations." Actually, CAOS stands for "Comité Amplio de Organizaciones Sindicales, Cívicas y Religiosas," translated by newspapers and CAOS itself as "Greater Committee of Trade Union, Civic, Religious, Cultural, Political, Student and Environmental Organizations." The liquidation of proletarian centrality in a broad nationalist swamp to (mis)lead the strike was a conscious move by the nationalists and one that did not go down smoothly. CAOS was born out of a dispute involving the president of the CPT union federation (Central Puertorriqueña de Trabajadores) who wanted an umbrella committee composed only of Puerto Rico's three labor federations. He was outmaneuvered and CAOS was founded explicitly as a "broad popular movement" of "the people," i.e., a class-collaborationist net.

Norden's IG lyingly portrays it as an "umbrella group of labor and leftist organizations" and claims the bourgeois Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) "was not part of it (nor were PIP or PPD politicians)." The IG denies the presence of bourgeois elements in order to capitulate to them, but by printing such bald lies, the IG sawed off the very limb they were standing on. CAOS itself, as well as a link on the Web site of the UTIER union, published the list of *CAOS delegates* at the assembly held to plan the strike. This meeting, held in Carolina in June, included the following: delegate No. 29, "Nuevo Movimiento Independentista (Julio Muriente)" and delegate No. 31, "Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (Víctor García San Inocencio)"!

The lies are just the cover-up for the IG's political capitulation. Obviously the IG couldn't polemicize against the union bureaucracy's embrace of the bourgeois nationalists and the Catholic church during the strike, because they denied they were a factor. After breathlessly describing the strike as a "make-or-break battle" for the proletariat, the IG held its fire against the bureaucracy's link to the nationalists *until after the strike was over*. Thus, they made themselves tacit accomplices of the class-collaborationist leadership.

During the strike itself, the *maximum* criticism the IG made of the leadership was at the level of how many hours to strike! They wrote: "The biggest weakness of the workers' struggle against privatization is at the top, where union bureaucrats have been at odds over whether the strike should be limited or indefinite, when to call it or whether to strike at all." The crucial question of proletarian political consciousness, of the class independence of the proletariat, is barely mentioned, much less fought for explicitly against the nationalist union misleaders.

Once the strike was over, the IG packed away its cheerleading outfit and donned the robes of pseudo-Trotskyism. At a (non-public) educational on the Puerto Rican strike, reprinted as an article in the current *Internationalist*, the IG intones: "Due to bureaucratic betrayal, the strike failed—that is the hard fact that must be confronted by Marxists and all defenders of the cause of labor." Only now does the IG denounce "*independentista* unity" between the labor movement and bourgeois parties like the PIP. With "defenders of labor's cause" like the IG, who needs sellouts?

The clearest expression of the IG's pandering to nationalism and rejection of the struggle to forge a Leninist proletarian party is in their denunciation of the ICL for not advocating independence *within Puerto Rico*. They write: "For any revolutionary-minded militant in Puerto Rico, this line would be a statement of political bankruptcy." Thus the IG abandons the revolutionary internationalist purpose of Leninism: to combat chauvinism in the oppressor country and to combat nationalism in the oppressed country.

In like manner, the "Program of the Class Struggle Caucus" presented by the IG's Brazilian allies, the LQB (translated in *Internationalist*, January/February 1998), said *not a word* about the need to combat rampant nationalist influences in the Brazilian left. Yet throughout Latin America the fight against bourgeois nationalism is *key* to the perspective of permanent revolution, the only road to the destruction of the capitalist order. With its proclivity to capitulate, the IG couldn't swim against the stream in its own bathtub. But surely Norden dreams of a bigger pond...Professor Comandante Norden, the vicarious member of a new ruling class in Puerto Rico, together with his sidekick, Bishop Negrete!

December 1960: Masses of Algiers in defiant protest against French colonial rule. Algeria won independence in 1962.

Algeria, Vietnam, Ireland

The IG's polemic is at its most absurd in equating the situation of Puerto Rico today with independence struggles in Algeria, Vietnam and Ireland—as if each of these situations was identical or even similar. There was a not small struggle called the *Algerian War* which drove out the French imperialists after eight years of war and over a million dead. As for Vietnam, the struggle for independence too was not a matter of referendums but a *decades-long war*, from urban strikes and rural rebellions organized by the Communist Party in the 1930s, to driving the French out of Indochina at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, to defeating the U.S. imperialist colossus, culminating in a social revolution against the capitalist colonial order in the South in 1975. As for Ireland, the struggle for independence has been waged for *centuries*, going back at least to Wolfe Tone and the 1798 Rebellion of United Irishmen seeking independence from England.

The IG/LFI should familiarize itself with the struggle for Irish independence, as it is instructive regarding the *imperialist* relationship between the North American IG and its Mexican grouplet. The IG's alleged Mexican group lacks even the semblance of organizational independence, being identified in the founding document of the self-styled "League for the Fourth International" as merely the backside of a slash: "the Internationalist Group (U.S./Mexico)" (*Internationalist*, April/May 1998)! In the First International, Engels fought against the treatment of national sections as colonial appendages, including as regards organizational affiliation. Against proposals that Irish comrades be subordinated to the British section, Engels argued:

> "It was asking the conquered people to forget their nationality and submit to their conquerors. It was not Internationalism, but simply prating submission. If the promoters of the motion were so brimful of the truly international spirit, let them prove it by removing the seat of the British Federal Council to Dublin and submit to a Council of Irishmen."
>
> —Minutes of the General Council, Meeting of May 14, 1872

Naturally, if the ICL had an organized group of cothinkers in Puerto Rico, they would constitute a separate section of our democratic-centralist international, as our Mexican section does today. The IG/LFI, in stark contrast, upholds a degrading relationship of "prating submission."

Independence for Quebec? IG Says "Maybe"

That the IG's line on Puerto Rico is pure capitulation to Latin American nationalism is made clearer by their equivocal position on independence for Quebec. After extensive internal discussion, the Trotskyist League/Ligne Trotskyste of Canada and the ICL changed our position in 1995 from recognition of the right of self-determination to *advocacy* of Quebec independence. The IG says this change of line was "correct," only to claim that it was based narrowly on "mounting anti-French chauvinism in English-speaking Canada." Not so. Our line change followed a thoroughgoing *reassessment* of the depth of national antagonisms in Canada over at least two decades (see "Independence for Quebec!" *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 52, Autumn 1995). We recognized that we were in fact very late in raising the call for Quebec independence, and that had we not changed our position this would have severely compromised our Canadian section as a revolutionary factor.

Notably, Norden's only contribution to this extensive internal discussion was to argue *against independence for Quebec*. A verbatim transcription of Norden's remarks at the debate on Quebec during a meeting of our International Secretariat in 1995 reveals his argument that the fundamental Leninist understanding of the bourgeois state and the workings of imperialism had become obsolete. As well, Norden embraced "globalization," a latter-day variant of German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky's hypothesis of a unitary world "ultra-imperialism," designed to mask the growing contradictions of the capitalist system and the role of its "labor lieutenants of capital." After dismissing the increasingly polarized and poisoned nationalist tensions in Belgium as just something that "flares up every five or ten years"(!), Norden went on:

> "I think the one thing that's important in the recent period is that, I think there is an overall, the national question isn't exactly as it used to be in the past. Because with the continued development and decay of capitalism the economy is becoming much more global."

The stunning social-democratic conclusion of Norden's intervention was exactly as follows:

> "But there is a tendency to sort of disaggregate. And that could reflect itself in this fact, you know, in the context where you have basically NAFTA and so on, the Canadian state itself seems to be becoming—to be—more irrelevant."

Norden's revision of Marxism was such a howler that comrade Jim Robertson, who presented the position for independence of Quebec, devoted his summary time specifically to refuting him:

> "However, I was concerned by Norden, who I thought was simply being, in a very episodically contemporary way, politically correct by speaking of the breakdown of the nation-state at each end, where you're going to have little regional groupings like Brittany or what have you within France, and then, in the context of the European Union, these big aggregations of capital headed by the United States, Germany and Japan. I believe this to be terribly impressionistic—the global economy which is conquering everywhere. That will last until the first good depression or military clash. It's terribly naive....
>
> "So yes, I believe that we should advocate the independence of the Québécois. I believe that cuts through a presently terribly poisonous situation. Remember, we're not Stalin that makes it happen the next day. It's an advocacy on the grounds that there are two separate nations with separate languages, separate cultures that should go their separate ways and fight their own bosses, and then the working classes of these two countries will have a basis for a common future."

All opportunism is by nature nationalistic. Thus it is not surprising that Norden, fleeing revolutionary Trotskyism, would embrace Third World nationalism in Latin America while rejecting independence for the oppressed Québécois. Behind this lies a thoroughly anti-Marxist conception of "progressive" peoples like the Puerto Ricans versus peoples who are "reactionary" (or at least less trendy in today's petty-bourgeois leftist circles) like the Québécois. Norden selectively upholds the national rights of certain peoples, but for him that means sucking up to the bourgeois nationalists of these countries. This is very different from Lenin, whose commitment to fight all forms of national oppression in no way meant accommodating to the nationalism of the oppressed.

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In its screed against the ICL, the *Internationalist* pretends there is an iron distinction between colonies (like Puerto Rico) and oppressed nations (like Quebec). They write:

> "Colonies are not nationalities in a multinational state. In this case, the right of self-determination is not akin to the right of divorce, which one can exercise or not, depending on the particular situation. Colonial subjugation is akin to slavery, for the relationship between the imperialist power and the colony is inherently oppressive, no matter how it is disguised."

Thus, according to the IG, national relationships in a multinational state are *not* "inherently oppressive"! Try telling that to the Québécois, who have suffered more than two centuries of national oppression at the hands of the dominant Anglo rulers in Canada! In fact, all bourgeois nation-states are *necessarily* based on the domination of a single nationality using a single language, and the oppression of other people(s).

Lenin's writings on the national and colonial question are infused with the understanding that upholding the liberation of the colonies and oppressed nations is essential to making the proletariat conscious of its historic revolutionary tasks. In organizing for the proletarian overthrow of the tsarist prison house of peoples, Lenin did not draw spurious, ironclad distinctions between, for example, the Ukraine and Poland on the one hand and Turkestan and the Caucasus on the other. Rather, he examined particular national questions in the concrete, taking careful account of the will of the oppressed people wherever possible, in order to further the struggle for proletarian power. This is the heritage the ICL stands on in our fight to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International. It is utterly foreign to the lies and logic-chopping in the service of bourgeois nationalism employed by Norden's IG/LFI. As Trotsky wrote in 1932:

> "What characterizes Bolshevism on the national question is that in its attitude toward oppressed nations, even the most backward, it considers them not only the object but also the subject of politics. Bolshevism does not confine itself to recognizing their 'right' to self-determination and to parliamentary protests against the trampling upon of this right. Bolshevism penetrates into the midst of the oppressed nations; it raises them up against their oppressors; it ties up their struggle with the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries; it instructs the oppressed Chinese, Hindus, or Arabs in the art of insurrection and it assumes full responsibility for this work in the face of civilized executioners. Here only does Bolshevism begin, that is, revolutionary Marxism in action. Everything that does not step over this boundary remains centrism."
>
> —"What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat" (January 1932)

Where Is the IG Going?

Norden's expressed view that the national question, indeed even the bourgeois state itself, is increasingly "irrelevant" in the post-Soviet world stands reality on its head. Defense of the right of self-determination is, if anything, *increasingly* important. The escalation of interimperialist rivalries coming in the wake of the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the drive by major powers to redivide the world into regional trade blocs, and the increasing shift of industrial production to low-wage Third World countries all *reinforce* the need for communists to champion the rights of neocolonial and oppressed nations in order to advance the interests of international proletarian class struggle.

The existence of the Soviet Union was a barrier to Norden's headlong capitulation to Latin American nationalism, as the pseudo-Trotskyists in Latin America were all on the other side of the class line in every major conflict between U.S. imperialism and the bureaucratically deformed/degenerated workers states. This ranged from Afghanistan, where the ICL hailed the Soviet Red Army and the fake left tailed U.S. imperialism, to Poland, where the ICL defended the deformed workers state and the fake left promoted Solidarność, a company "union" for capitalist counterrevolution.

But as capitalist counterrevolution engulfed East Europe and the former Soviet Union, Norden became increasingly unhinged. This came to a head following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former East German deformed workers state (DDR). With the fall of the Berlin Wall in late 1989, the ICL mobilized all our international resources in order to act as the subjective factor, the necessary revolutionary Trotskyist leadership to lead a political revolution in the DDR. But in the aftermath of the annexation of the DDR by West German imperialism, Norden sought to accommodate the very same Stalinist bureaucrats who sold out to capitalist counterrevolution. In a 1995 speech to the East German Stalinist remnants of the "Communist Platform" at Berlin's Humboldt University, Norden spat on the ICL's program and intervention, incredibly proclaiming to these hacks—*against* whom our fight to lead a political revolution was directed—that alas, "*there was no revolutionary leadership*" (see *International Bulletin* No. 38, "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism").

WV Photo

September 1991 Spartacist League demonstration in defense of Cuba after cutoff of Soviet aid following Yeltsin's August countercoup.

A key juncture marking Norden's break from Trotskyism was his response to the 1990 execution of Cuban General Ochoa by the Castro regime. Here was a convergence for Norden of the two milieus he deeply capitulated to: Stalinist bureaucrats and Latin American nationalists. Thus Norden sought to defend the summary execution of Ochoa, the general who led the victory over South African apartheid's racist army in Angola, arguing that the "evidence" of Ochoa's guilt must be true. Naively asserting that Fidel Castro could not tell a lie, Norden then penned an embarrassing apologia for Castro in *WV* No. 500 (20 April 1990) which required public clarification in the very next issue (*WV* No. 501, 4 May 1990).

In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky's searing analysis of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the explosive contradictions of Soviet society, the choice was posed starkly: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" Trotsky's prophetic warning was vindicated, bitterly, in the negative. The IG rejects Trotsky's warning, instead counseling the proletariat to accommodate the bureaucrat and even to pressure this parasitic caste to be the revolutionary leadership. The IG denies the historical retrogression of proletarian consciousness which is a direct consequence of the terrible defeat represented by the final undoing of the Russian Revolution. They deny it in order to capitulate to the new *lower* level of consciousness, abandoning the fight to forge authentic Trotskyist parties as they seek illusory shortcuts, whether trade-union hustlers in Brazil or Stalinist bureaucrats from Cuba to the former DDR.

The IG claims that the ICL has rejected the premise of Trotsky's Fourth International, the crucial need to resolve the crisis of leadership of the international proletariat. That is a lie. As stated in the ICL's "International Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program":

> "Trotsky's assertion in the 1938 Transitional Program that 'The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat' predates the present deep regression of proletarian consciousness. The reality of this post-Soviet period adds a new dimension to Trotsky's observation. The only way in which this regression can be overcome and the working class can become a class *for* itself, i.e., fighting for socialist revolution, is to reforge an international Leninist-Trotskyist party as the leadership of the working class. Marxism must once again win the allegiance of the proletariat."

The final undoing of the Russian Revolution means that the identification of proletarian struggles with the ideal of socialism is at a nadir—not everywhere, not evenly, but as a real factor and challenge which must be confronted. The IG ignores this because they alibi the Stalinist bureaucrats who perverted Marxism and abetted capitalist counterrevolution, and because they glorify and capitulate to the existing consciousness of the proletariat. Such fakers will never build a Leninist party. Reforging the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution is the task the ICL sets out to resolve, through political combat against the misleaders of the working class and their reformist and centrist tails. ■

斯巴达克思 SPARTACIST

原则宣言和纲领要素

国际共产主义同盟
（第四国际主义者）

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

We are pleased to announce the publication in Chinese of this important document, which was adopted at the Third International Conference of the ICL in early 1998. It has already appeared in nine other languages. The ICL's Declaration of Principles is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

IG Centrists Pander to Latin American Nationalism

For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!

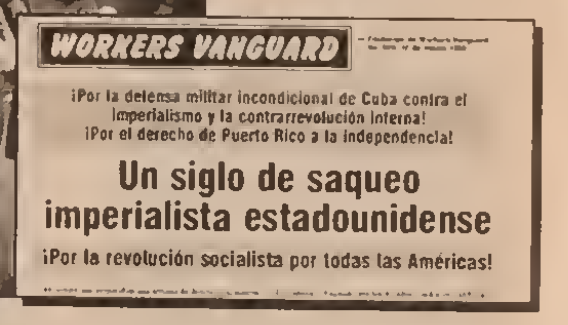
On 13 December 1998, Puerto Ricans went to the polls for the third referendum on the island's status in the last three decades. The choice of a bare majority of voters (50.2 percent) was "none of the above," while 46.5 percent voted for statehood, 2 percent for independence and less than 1 percent for "free association" or "commonwealth" status. The referendum was contrived by Puerto Rican governor Pedro Rosselló, a staunch supporter of U.S. imperialism who is pushing for the island to become the 51st state. That popular will is irrelevant to the machinations of the rulers was exposed when Rosselló baldly claimed victory for statehood, an option the voters had defeated! Rosselló immediately redoubled his efforts to woo the American Congress, still legally the ultimate arbiter of Puerto Rico's fate, to annex outright the world's largest remaining colony.

This vote, like the preceding referendums, offered "choices" designed to continue colonial domination of the island. As a register of popular sympathies, it was a sham and useful only insofar as the results indicate the simmering discontent and profound ambivalence of the Puerto Rican masses, for whom "status" festers as the national ulcer. Even those who fervently want to get out from under the heel of U.S. colonial subjugation understandably fear a downward economic plunge if ties were severed with the U.S. Meanwhile, bourgeois supporters of the present "commonwealth" status disagreed with its definition on the ballot and asked their followers to vote for "none of the above."

The island inhabitants are struggling to recover from the devastation of Hurricane Georges in September. Thousands are still without food or shelter and couldn't concern themselves with a referendum pushed by a government that has done next to nothing about their plight. One-sixth of the island's residents were declared ineligible to vote because they hadn't registered in time. The one-third of Puerto Ricans who currently reside on the U.S. mainland were denied the right to vote in this referendum on their national affiliation. For these reasons and others, proponents of Puerto Rican independence called for a boycott of the referendum, so their opinions are not reflected in the vote either. As revolutionary internationalists who oppose all the colonialist machinations of our "own" capitalist rulers, we say: *For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out! For the revolutionary unity of the working masses of Puerto Rico and the mainland in the struggle against colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation!*

WV Photo

Puerto Rico general strike, July 1998: Water workers march past phone company building in San Juan. ICL intervened to bring Trotskyist program to strikers, distributing translation of *WV* article, "A Century of U.S. Imperialist Plunder."



The polarized vote does reflect the deep contradiction of economic circumstance and national feeling. Culturally and linguistically Hispanic, Puerto Ricans chafe under the yoke of Yankee imperialist colonialism. The working people on the island are exploited as a low-wage labor pool by capitalists seeking to maximize their profit margins. "Citizens" of the U.S. with no right to vote in federal elections and no representation in Congress, Puerto Ricans are politically dispossessed and suffer the classic national oppression of a colonized people. The per capita wage is *half* that of Mississippi, which is the poorest of any U.S. state. More than half the population of Puerto Rico lives below the U.S. poverty level.

The U.S. rulers will not easily give up this island, which they grabbed during the 1898 Spanish-American War and then turned into a strategic military base in the Caribbean. In the century of U.S. imperialist domination, Puerto Rico has been used as a key staging area for military operations against Grenada, the Dominican Republic, Central America and the bureaucratically deformed workers state in Cuba. Now that the U.S. Army Southern Command has left Panama, the imperialist eagle is digging its talons deeper in Puerto Rico, expanding the already huge U.S. military presence.

U.S. militarism sharpens the contradiction of life as second-class citizens for Puerto Ricans. Limited citizenship rights were granted to Puerto Rico in 1917 during the first imperialist World War. When the U.S. acquired the Virgin Islands from Denmark in a move to augment U.S. domination of the Caribbean, Denmark insisted that citizenship rights for the populace be an explicit condition of sale. In an effort to refurbish U.S. credentials as a "democratic" contender amid the imperialist carnage in Europe, Congress also granted citizenship in Puerto Rico, the other U.S. possession in the Caribbean.

Citizenship came literally at bayonet point, as Puerto Rican youth were immediately pushed into World War I and smack into the formal racial segregation of the U.S. Army. Today, Puerto Ricans are disproportionately represented as cannon fodder in U.S. imperialism's wars. Per capita, nearly twice as many Puerto Ricans were killed in the Korean war as U.S. citizens from any state. In many ways, military service is the Achilles' heel for continued colonial domination. Puerto Rican soldiers and their civilian families burn at the injustice of fighting for a government which denies them national sovereignty and systematically

continued on page 8

UPI

AP

Left: Puerto Rican National Guard arrested more than 3,000 in crackdown on independence fighters in 1950. Right: Cops attack picketers outside San Juan headquarters of telephone company during June 1998 strike against privatization threat.

For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 705 | 22 January 1999

Behind the Exxon-Mobil Deal

Big Oil and Imperialist Power Politics

David Nance

Reuters

Repeated U.S. terror bombing of Iraq is aimed at intimidating semicolonial peoples and maintaining American imperialist control of Gulf oil fields.

In the wake of four days of murderous bombing raids by U.S. and Britain against the Iraqi population in December, U.S. military forces continue to rain missiles down on Iraq. Meanwhile, in the face of ever more vocal opposition from France and other imperialist powers, Washington maintains its insistence on enforcing the economic embargo imposed under the auspices of the United Nations. In the more than eight years since it was first imposed, the imperialist starvation blockade has led to the deaths of some one and a half million Iraqis, overwhelmingly children, the poor and the elderly. In rallying to the military defense of Iraq against the imperialist assault, we demand: U.S./Britain, get your bloody imperialist hands off Iraq! Down with the starvation blockade!

In a Spartacist League/U.S. leaflet issued on 16 December 1998 (reprinted in *WV* No. 704, 8 January) and distributed at protest demonstrations around the country, we noted:

> "The death and destruction being wreaked upon the people of Iraq right now show what imperialism is all about, a rapacious system based on the exploitation, subjugation and murder of the workers and semicolonial masses in order to expand the profits of a handful of filthy rich capitalists....
>
> "What's behind the murderous attack on the people of Iraq is Washington's aim of intimidating through sheer terror and blackmail all the semicolonial peoples over which it rides roughshod and maintaining its position as top dog against its imperialist rivals, especially Japan and Germany....
>
> "The blood of Iraqis is today being spilled to cement U.S. control over vast oil and natural gas resources which are vital to Germany and Japan."

At the same time, we are seeing a further consolidation of the Anglo-American oil cartel on whose behalf the U.S. and its British ally police the Persian Gulf. In early December, Exxon and Mobil signed a merger agreement, which would create the biggest industrial corporation in the world in terms of revenue. And last summer, British Petroleum took over Amoco to become the third largest oil company in the world. The Anglo-American oil cartel used to be called the Seven Sisters. Now, a financial journalist quips, the Sisters are turning into three or four well-married dowagers.

Agins/New York Times

December merger announcement by Exxon and Mobil came with threat to lay off 9,000 workers.

The current merger wave in Big Oil is, predictably, intended to further enrich their executives and stockholders at the expense of their workers. Mobil chairman Lucio Noto stands to gain $3 to $5 million in stock options once the deal goes through. The new oil giant, to be called Exxon Mobil, has announced plans to lay off 9,000 or more of its 123,000 workers worldwide.

These layoffs are timed with the merger, but that is not their basic cause. Rather both the merger and layoffs were driven by a more fundamental factor: the cyclical nature of capitalist production. The East Asian economic crisis has depressed oil prices and slashed profits. Since the East Asian boom went bust in mid-1997, the benchmark price of crude oil has plunged by *55 percent* and is now $10 a barrel, the lowest level (adjusting for inflation) in a quarter century.

So cost-cutting is the order of the day in Big Oil. Not only the new Exxon-Mobil combine but also Royal Dutch/Shell, BP-Amoco, Texaco, Conoco et al. are all making substantial cuts in their workforce. Oil is not the only sector of the American economy already hard hit by the collapse of its Asian markets. The giant aircraft manufacturer Boeing is planning to lay off 48,000 workers—a whopping quarter of its total labor force—over the next two years.

The threatened layoffs in oil and aircraft manufacture pose a union fight to defend jobs and workers' livelihoods. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) are potentially among the most powerful unions in the U.S. Yet while mouthing "progressive" rhetoric—and, in the case of the OCAW bureaucracy, even talking of the need for a party of the working people—the union tops promote class-collaborationist policies which tie workers to the capitalist exploiters, centrally through support to the capitalist Democratic Party. The fight to mobilize union power in defense of jobs, wages and working conditions is necessarily linked to a political fight within the unions against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, based on a program of class struggle against the capitalist system as a whole.

Heirs of Rockefeller and Sheiks of Araby

The stated aim of the Exxon-Mobil deal and other oil company mergers is to reduce costs by pooling facilities like refineries, offices and gas stations. No less important is pooling money-capital to buy off government officials in oil-producing countries. The item listed as "costs of exploration and development" in the financial statements of the Seven Sisters include in large measure payoffs to Arab sheiks, Nigerian and Indonesian generals, Venezuelan politicos and the like.

Recently, Mobil was edged out by Royal Dutch/Shell in bidding to construct a pipeline in the former Soviet Central Asian republic of Turkmenistan. That is, Shell shelled out more money to the ex-Stalinist apparatchiks who now run this small but oil- and natural gas-rich state for their own profit. But the new Exxon Mobil combine will have a slush fund second to none. With this in mind, a senior official of Kuwait Petroleum Corporation gleefully exclaimed:

continued on page 8

Southeast Asia: Trotskyism vs. Nationalist Reformism...4

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On Lincoln, Slavery and *Habeas Corpus*

Johannesburg
25 December 1998

Dear Comrades,

In the article "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" (*WV* No. 703, 25 December 1998), we observed that in 1871 President Grant suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in the fight against the KKK. In April 1861 Abraham Lincoln also suspended the writ to crush the resistance of secessionists. It was one of his shining moments as he grasped the necessity of waging ruthless class war against the slaveholders.

The four border states (Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Virginia) contained large and resolute secessionist minorities which offered potentially crucial support to the Confederacy. Maryland, which enclosed Washington on three sides, presented an important challenge to Union resolve. According to Civil War historian James McPherson, secessionists in Baltimore rioted on 19 April 1861 and after the Confederate victory in Manassas, they were emboldened. The army arrested the police chief, four police commissioners, and scores of others. On April 21, Lincoln suspended the writ. Secessionist mobs attacked and killed Union troops (the 6th Massachusetts regiment). Among those arrested and imprisoned in Fort Henry was the grandson of Francis Scott Key who wrote the "Star Spangled Banner" and John Merryman, a wealthy landowner and lieutenant in a secessionist county. It was racist judge Roger B. Taney (author of the notorious Dred Scott decision), acting in his capacity as the senior judge of the federal circuit court in Baltimore, who ordered Merryman's release and denied Lincoln's right to suspend the writ. Lincoln refused to obey and took drastic action against active counterrevolutionary elements for their "substantial and unmistakable complicity with those in armed rebellion." Hail Lincoln for this.

D. McClain

Anti-Native Racism in Canada

Boston
24 December 1998

Dear Comrades:

I read with interest the article "Canada: Labor Must Defend Rights of Native Peoples" in *WV* 703 [25 December 1998]. I was reminded of Canadian author Farley Mowat's books on the horrendous, and largely unknown, 20th century genocide of the Ihalmiut, the now-extinct tundra dwellers of northern Canada (in *The Desperate People*), and similar and related crimes against the Innuit people on the coast. One particular tale is so bone-chilling it is hard to forget. A group of Innuit living happily and successfully on one of Canada's subarctic islands was persuaded by agents of the Canadian government to move to an uninhabited island even farther north, an island that the Canadian government wanted inhabited in order to strengthen its national claim to it. The government promised them a good life and the government's support. The story of their desperate struggle against starvation and the descent into madness as told in *The Snow Walker* is one of history's more horrific tales. On the scale of other crimes perpetrated by the world's capitalist classes like the holocaust, international wars, the atomic incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, mass murder in Nanking, and the diabolical oppression of African-descended people in the United States, this story touched the lives of relatively few people. However, the entire story of the destruction by government-sponsored commercial interests of the lives, livelihoods and culture of Canada's native peoples, a crime that included the racist genocide of the Ihalmiut by commercial manipulation and callous neglect after luring them into commercial dependence in a terribly harsh environment, a crime that was perpetrated from the beginning of this century into the 1950s, is one that is largely unknown and that deserves to be known. The Canadian capitalist class, much junior to the capitalist class of the United States in terms of power and world-threatening danger, is no less venal and cruel when it comes to the callous victimization of its own indigenous peoples.

Robert F.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Monopolies, Trusts and Imperialism

By the beginning of the 20th century, the world capitalist economy was dominated by monopolies, trusts and cartels which effectively controlled the governments in North America, Europe and Japan. In 1914, these imperialist powers went to war for the redivision of markets and spheres of exploitation. The frightful carnage of World War I precipitated the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the greatest historic victory for the international proletariat. The ABC of Communism, *a basic exposition of the principles and program of Bolshevism, explained the development of monopoly capitalism out of "free market" competition.*

Syndicates and trusts exercise an almost complete control over the market. They no longer fear competition, for they have crushed competition. Its place has been taken by capitalist *monopoly*, that is to say, by *the dominion of a single trust.*

In this way the concentration and centralisation of capital gradually lead to the suppression of competition. Competition has devoured itself. The more frantic the development of capitalism, the quicker did centralisation proceed, because the ruin of the weaker capitalists was more speedily effected. In the end the centralisation of capital, arising out of competition, proved fatal to competition. "FREE COMPETITION" HAS BEEN REPLACED BY THE DOMINION OF CAPITALIST COMBINES, BY THE RULE OF SYNDICATES AND TRUSTS....

We can therefore say that A CAPITALIST COUNTRY UNDER THE DOMINION OF FINANCIAL CAPITAL IS AS A WHOLE TRANSFORMED INTO AN IMMENSE COMBINED TRUST. AT THE HEAD OF THIS TRUST ARE THE BANKS. THE BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENT FORMS ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, etc., are nothing but State capitalist trusts, powerful organisations of trust magnates and bankers, exploiting and ruling hundreds of millions of wage slaves.

—N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (1919)

Marxism vs. Eco-Radicalism

We publish the following letter in full.

27 November 1998
Washington, D.C.

Attn: WV editorial staff
RE: "Eco-Radicalism" Series (WV #695/696)

I read with much interest your series on "Eco-Radicalism" explaining the Trotskyist position on Ecology issues. The presentations were very informative and thorough specially in exposing the ideological origins of the environmental movement as an expression of middle class/"conservationist" soul-searching. You opened my eyes on that point. I have to take issue with some of the comments made on part one of the article though....

To begin with, not all Greens favor primitivism. The neo-primitivist wing of the ecology movement is (at best) a loud minority; many Green activists (and I have worked with many over the past five years or so in Texas, South Florida and DC) favor the use of non-Toxic Technologies and accept industrialization as a flawed positive.

What Greens oppose is the misuse and mismanagement of Technology and Industry to serve anti-people and ecologically destructive ends.

Many Greens would agree that Technology and Industry could be utilized as tools to achieve progressive ends (and by "progressive" I mean the democratic extension of economic rights and the guarantee of personal autonomy to *ALL* members of society).

The Green movement (a section of the overall ecology movement) proposes the enactment of TECHNICAL REFORMS in the process of production to make it less toxic and more sustainable—with the implicit understanding that the application of ecologically benign technology is indispensable in course of achieving this end.

I really think that labeling Green activists as "Ecofreaks" is out of line and offensive.

Many individuals who work with the Green Party (and with the ecology movement in general) do so out of a genuine commitment to ensure the viable existence of a non-toxic ecology for future generations (including future generations of working class people).

Green activists—by the way—have been active on issues of social and economic import (specially since 1996) beyond environmentalism...I have participated in Clinic Defense Actions and Gay Rights demos side-by-side with Green organizers...and during the UPS strike many Greens joined Socialists and Feminist activists in supporting picket lines and strike related protests. The term "ecofreak" is a term of abuse, usually utilized by rightwingers to demonize ecologically aware persons. It has no place in sober political discourse. Greenbaiting is as offensive as Redbaiting.

It is not true that "all" Green Radicals "deny" that Judeo-Christianity is a pillar of western Bourgeois Ideology. On the contrary, many Greens are aware that

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The closing date for news in this issue is January 19

No. 705 **22 January 1999**

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forum

CHICAGO

Anti-Sex Witchhunt Threatens Right to Privacy for All

Clinton Impeachment and U.S. Imperialism

Break with the Democrats and Republicans: Capitalist Parties of Racist Reaction! Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Thursday, January 28, 7 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Room 116, 5811 S. Ellis
University of Chicago
For more information: (312) 454-4930

Spartacus Youth Club Forums

LOS ANGELES

Women's Liberation and the Struggle for Socialist Revolution

Thursday, February 4, 6:30 p.m.
3120 Rolfe Hall, UCLA
For more information: (213) 380-8239 or lasyc@ucla.edu

SYC Class Series

VANCOUVER

Capitalism, Communism and the Fight for Revolution

Next classes: January 27, **Permanent Revolution and the Fight for Socialism in Asia**; February 10, **Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
UBC, Buchanan Building, Room B330
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

NEW YORK

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future

Next class: February 9
Marxism: A Guide to Action
Alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m.
Loeb Student Center, Room 511, NYU
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or spartacus.club@nyu.edu

Judeo-Christian beliefs are at the core of the kind of Anthropocentric value system that views the planet and other life forms within it as raw material for our use and disposal.

The truth is that the planet *does not* exist FOR us...*we* simply exist *IN IT*. We are *NOT* the center of the universe (and neither is "God"). Greens view the universe as centerless. We exist as biological beings in context of nature. Greens understand that our collective-social survival as a species depends on the non-toxic preservation of the planetary/ecological context.

In the article it is stated that "Radical environmentalism as an ideology has a quasi-religious character".... The same has been said about Marxist-Leninism-Trotskyism. Greens might be spiritual, but not religious.

Many Greens identify with wicca inspired Naturalist/Neo-Pagan spiritualities (in opposition to both Pure Atheism *and* Judeo-Christian monotheism), some Greens are Atheists and a few still identify with Christianity (specially with Franciscanism); but overall Greens are opposed to establishment Judeo-Christianity as exemplified by the Religious WRONG.

The Green Party does not impose a religious line on its members. Individual activists and organizers are free to pursue the spiritual activities of their choice so long as those activities do not contradict the 10 key values of the movement (i.e. Ecological Wisdom, Social Justice, Grassroots Democracy, Non-Violence, Decentralization, Community-based economics, Feminism, Diversity and Global/Personal Responsibility). I would argue that Ecology is fundamental to the Proletarian Revolution. It is in the interest of working class people that the ecological context remains a functioning physical/material basis for the future construction of Socialism on a planetary scale.

It is usually overlooked on the Marxist Left that Socialism cannot be built on a Toxic wasteland.

Either working people take control of the Industries and Technology and put them to use in a non-Toxic manner or Corporate Capitalism will end up consuming our planet.

Sincerely,
John M.
Socialist Party Member

***WV* Replies:**

John M. is right that not all environmental activists should be called "ecofreaks," and we do not do so. "Eco-Radicalism and Bourgeois Politics" (*Young Spartacus* pages, *WV* Nos. 695 and 696, 28 August and 11 September 1998) began by indicating that there are two distinct wings of the present-day environmentalist movement in the U.S. There is a thoroughly bourgeois wing represented by the Audubon Society, Sierra Club and Democratic Party vice president Al Gore. At the other extreme are radical primitivist types, mainly student-youth and lumpenized intellectuals, represented by groups like Earth First! and Friends of the Earth.

Between these two wings lies a gamut of groups and individuals which can be described as *left-liberal* environmentalists. Representative of this current are the various Green parties, which are bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties. The program of what John M. calls the Green movement is indistinguishable from the liberal wing of the Democratic Party of American capitalism, except for a greater emphasis on environmental issues and local self-government. The Green Party in Maine demands:

> "We must raise the minimum wage, strengthen our educational system, support sustainable neighborhoods and communities, create an affordable health and dental care system, reinforce the meaning of family and respect for our youth and elders, and assure religious freedom."

There is nothing here that is not also said on occasion by mainstream Democratic Party politicians, including imperialist Commander in Chief Bill Clinton.

Most American Greens look to the Green parties in Germany and France as successful political models to be emulated. German Green leader Joschka Fischer is now foreign minister of the most powerful capitalist state in Europe and the linchpin of the NATO military alliance. The Green Party in New Jersey issued a statement on 1 October 1998 enthusing: "We want to express our congratulations to the members of Germany's Green Party upon taking the historic step of entering a coalition government with the Social Democratic Party."

There are enough nuclear weapons deployed by the NATO forces in Germany to exterminate humanity and many other species on the planet. To maintain a shred of his former pseudo-pacifist credentials, Fischer cautiously suggested that NATO declare it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons in a war. Such a statement, of course, would in no way prevent the American or West European imperialist powers from doing just that. Remember that the U.S. A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, when Japan had no nuclear weapons. When Washington angrily rejected Fischer's "no first use" proposal, the world's foremost Green politician immediately abandoned what is supposedly a basic principle of this movement.

The main difference between the Green parties in the U.S. and in Germany or France is that the latter have a sufficiently large following so that the capitalist class finds it expedient to co-opt their leaders into the government. If the Green movement in the U.S. achieved comparable political weight, its leaders would act just like Joschka Fischer and his colleagues.

F. Darchinger

Der Spiegel

German Green Party leader Joschka Fischer is now foreign minister of Europe's strongest capitalist state, linchpin of the nuclear-armed NATO alliance.

As Marxists, proletarian revolutionaries oppose the environmentalist movement *not* because we deny that the existing organization and use of industrial technology, governed by the world capitalist market, degrades the environment. For example, the burning of hydrocarbons—coal and oil—as the primary sources of energy pollutes the atmosphere and may have other harmful long-term effects. What we deny is the liberal-reformist illusion that the existing American and West European states can be agencies for bringing about an "ecologically benign technology," to use John M.'s term.

In recent years, the U.S. government, including environmentalist vice president Al Gore, has killed well over a million Iraqis to keep the Persian Gulf safe for Exxon, Mobil, Chevron and Texaco. As we wrote in Part One of "Eco-Radicalism and Bourgeois Politics":

> "Capitalist governments will never sacrifice the profits of large corporations and banks to 'protect the environment,' no matter how piously they pay lip service to it.... Control over major ecological problems such as air and water pollution can be achieved only within the framework of an *internationally planned, socialist economy*. This in turn requires *workers revolutions* to take the factories, transport systems, oil fields, mines and other means of production from the privately owned and profit-maximizing corporations and banks which now dominate the world economy."

Left-liberal and radical environmentalists commonly point to the former Soviet Union to argue that socialist planning is just as destructive of the environment as capitalism. However, the ecological disasters which occurred in the USSR resulted from the *mis*management of its collectivized economy by the parasitic and corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy. We noted after the tragic accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in 1985 that "Soviet safety standards have been undermined by the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution" (*WV* No. 403, 9 May 1986). A Soviet government based on workers democracy, representing the interests of the working people, could and should have, for example, prevented the pollution of the Caspian Sea. Likewise, the struggle to keep Lake Baikal pristine was important.

But we approached such questions from the standpoint of strengthening, developing and extending the planned, collectivized economy and technological progress. The capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92 has certainly "improved" the environment, and some Green radicals may welcome the closing of Russia's steel smelters and other factories, since they no longer poison the atmosphere. But the complete devastation of Russia's industrial economy has brought with it an enormous rise in the death rate and a sharp decline in longevity due to widespread malnutrition and rampant disease.

John M. balks at our reference to the quasi-religious character of radical environmentalism. But in opposition to scientific socialism (Marxism), both traditional religion and Green radicalism hold that society should be governed by laws laid down by higher powers, god in the first case, an idealized nature in the second. The Judeo-Christian ethic is "go forth and multiply," which is not so good for the environment. Meanwhile the people of China are supposed to be punished with a lower standard of living for encompassing a quarter of the world's population.

For most of human existence life has been, in the famous words of the 17th-century English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes, "poor, nasty, brutish and short." This condition can be transcended only by the development of the productive forces through the application of science and technology under the international rule of the proletariat.■

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Australian DSP—Warmed Over Mensheviks

Southeast Asia: Trotskyism vs. Nationalist Reformism

We reprint below a January 1999 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League of Australia which was widely distributed at the national conference of the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) held earlier this month at the University of Western Sydney. Confirming the truth of what the leaflet says about the DSP, conference organizers summoned security guards—behind whom stand the capitalist state's cops—to evict our comrades from the campus in a vain attempt to shield its members from our Marxist politics. Appealing to the enemies of the working class and the oppressed is indeed the stock in trade of these visceral anti-communists.

What kind of "socialist" organisation:

- defends notorious Croatian Ustasha fascists, World War II butchers too bloody even for the Nazis;
- hails the murder of the heroic Vietnamese Trotskyists who led the 1945 Saigon insurrection against French and British imperialism;
- supports reactionary, anti-woman "movements" from the "Iranian Revolution" of Ayatollah Khomeini to Polish Solidarność, counterrevolutionary instrument of the Pope, the CIA and Western bankers;
- upholds the jackal white racist Australian imperialist rulers as potential "friends" of the oppressed from Papua New Guinea to Irian Jaya to East Timor?

The polar opposite of revolutionary Marxism, the program for emancipation of the working class and all the oppressed, these are some of the hallmarks of the "socialism" preached by the Australian Democratic Socialist Party.

From the very beginning of the Marxist movement, revolutionaries have had to wage unyielding political battle against self-proclaimed "socialist" and even "revolutionary" organisations whose fundamental political tenet is the inevitable and continued existence of capitalism. But even among the long line of such reformists, the DSP stands out for its truly boundless opportunist appetites. The DSP leadership has proven willing to adopt almost any political posture if they perceive the possibility of gaining "influence," as they have pursued "unity" with an endless array of organisations whose stated political positions are not only at sharp variance from those of the DSP but with each other (from Stalinists to "Eurocommunists" to ostensible Trotskyists).

While openly declaring its opposition to Trotskyism, the DSP falsely claims to admire Marx, Engels and Lenin, and works overtime to distort them as purveyors of its own special brand of petty-bourgeois radicalism. In this, insofar as they have an impact among militant young proletarians and leftward-moving student youth, the DSP does yeoman's service for the Australian imperialists who fear above all socialist revolution in their "backyard." The Australian imperialists have time and again sought to drown the insurgent masses across Asia in blood: the drive to crush the Malayan Communist Party in the so-called "Emergency" of the 1950s; the Korean War; the 1958 CIA-backed "Outer Islands Rebellion" in Indonesia; the 1965 mass slaughter of Indonesian leftists and others. That the DSP includes among its leaders one Max Lane, whose "foreign service" career included a posting as second secretary in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, speaks volumes.

What became the DSP grew out of the Sydney University Labor Club, becoming the Socialist Workers League (SWL) in 1972 and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1976. Falsely claiming adherence to Trotskyism, early on they hooked up with the hardened, if eccentric, reformists of Jack Barnes' U.S. SWP, one wing of the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). In 1982, Barnes explicitly repudiated Trotskyism and carried out a purge, targeting as well the Australian SWP leadership of Jim Percy who then broke off relations with the Barnesites, denouncing them as a "sect." By July 1984 the Percyites declared they too had "repudiated" Trotskyism (and in 1985 split from the USec altogether). Having never in fact been revolutionary Trotskyists, this was the SWP's announcement that even the faintest hint of an association with the Trotskyist program of international proletarian revolution was anathema.

To underscore the point, in 1989, as the Berlin Wall fell amidst unfolding capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe, the SWP changed its name to Democratic Socialist Party and renamed its newspaper *Green Left Weekly* (from *Direct Action*). It is entirely appropriate that this group adopted the name "democratic socialist," the banner under which pro-imperialist social democrats have long waged war against Marxist revolutionaries. Against the likes of the DSP, the International Communist League proudly stands on the program and tradition of the Communist International under the leadership of V. I. Lenin and L. D. Trotsky.

L.A. Times

Reuters

Reformist DSP promotes illusions in Third World bourgeois nationalism, from Cory Aquino's U.S.-backed "people power" movement in the Philippines in 1986 (left) to Javanese-chauvinist Megawati in Indonesia today.

DSP Resurrects Menshevik/Stalinist Betrayals

The DSP's "repudiation" of Trotskyism is nothing other than a repudiation of the program for proletarian revolution. The first "major political error" of Trotskyism, according to the DSP, is the theory of permanent revolution, the cornerstone of proletarian revolutionary strategy in countries of belated capitalist development, which they denounce as "ultraleft" and "sectarian."

Developed prior to 1917 as a projection of the likely course of the Russian Revolution, the core of permanent revolution is that in the imperialist epoch, in countries where the national bourgeoisie is tied by a thousand strings to the imperialists, solving the most basic democratic tasks—national liberation and the agrarian question, for example—requires socialist revolution, the seizure of power by the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed. To open the road to socialism requires the extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries.

The Russian Mensheviks asserted that the revolution would occur in distinct stages: first a bourgeois-democratic revolution under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie, and later a socialist revolution. Lenin's Bolsheviks were closer to Trotsky's view—they insisted that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of leading a democratic revolution. The Bolsheviks argued for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, culminating in the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

The victorious October Revolution of 1917 was the *permanent revolution in reality*. It completely refuted the Menshevik idea of the revolution as stagist and transcended the limitations of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." The agrarian-democratic revolution was realised, not as a stage before the proletarian seizure of power, but as a result of it. It was the Stalinists (who betrayed and ultimately strangled the Bolshevik Revolution) who resurrected the Menshevik two-stage strategy as a defeatist corollary to their nationalist schema of building "socialism in one country." Applying it to the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the Comintern ordered the young Communist Party to liquidate into the Guomindang, party of the national bourgeoisie. The result was the defeat of the revolution. The Guomindang drowned the Chinese working class in blood (see "Permanent Revolution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front': The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

Far from the essence of Leninism, as the DSP claims, the two-stage schema has brought terrible defeats for the proletariat, and the *physical destruction* of the communists. But for the DSP, the many bloody defeats that have flowed from this bankrupt program count as nothing. Falsifying Lenin, Trotsky and history in general, John Percy claimed in his 1992 *A History of the Democratic Socialist Party*:

> "Well, if any programmatic position has been thoroughly tested and been found correct in the light of the living experiences of the working-class movement, it must be Lenin's two-stage strategy of revolution in the industrially backward countries."

On the contrary, the October Revolution fully confirmed Trotsky's position. Lenin's slogan for the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" was flawed in any case as it projected the creation of a state defending the interests of two different classes, and in April 1917 he rejected it. In his

Australasian Spartacist

Spartacist contingent at 1997 Melbourne protest against Suharto dictatorship. Sign in Indonesian reads: "Independence for East Timor! For Workers Revolution in Indonesia! Down With Australian Imperialism!"

"Letters on Tactics," Lenin stated: "The person who *now* speaks only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect *gone over* to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques." Thus Lenin fought against those (including Stalin) who wanted to support the *capitalist* government issuing out of the February Revolution, supposedly the "first stage" of the revolution.

The DSP occasionally revises the timing of the Menshevik/Stalinist version of two-stage revolution. Instead of the first stage being the February 1917 Revolution and the second stage the October Revolution, the DSP defines the "first stage" of the Bolshevik Revolution as "from November 1917 until June-July 1918." They say this was "a peasant-*democratic* revolution carried out under *proletarian political leadership*, which grew over, in its second stage from July through to October 1918, into a proletarian-*socialist* revolution" (*The Activist*, February 1996). They deliberately obscure that the agrarian-democratic revolution and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie were carried out by the *dictatorship of the proletariat* following the seizure of state power in October 1917 by the proletariat supported by the peasantry.

The DSP is refuted by Lenin himself! Immediately after the seizure of power he proclaimed to the Congress of Soviets, "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order." It is the dictatorship of the proletariat which the DSP opposes. The proof of their opposition is that in every country they unfailingly preach the Menshevik program of placing confidence in the imperialist-dependent bourgeoisie as the vehicle for liberation.

Permanent Revolution: Nicaragua

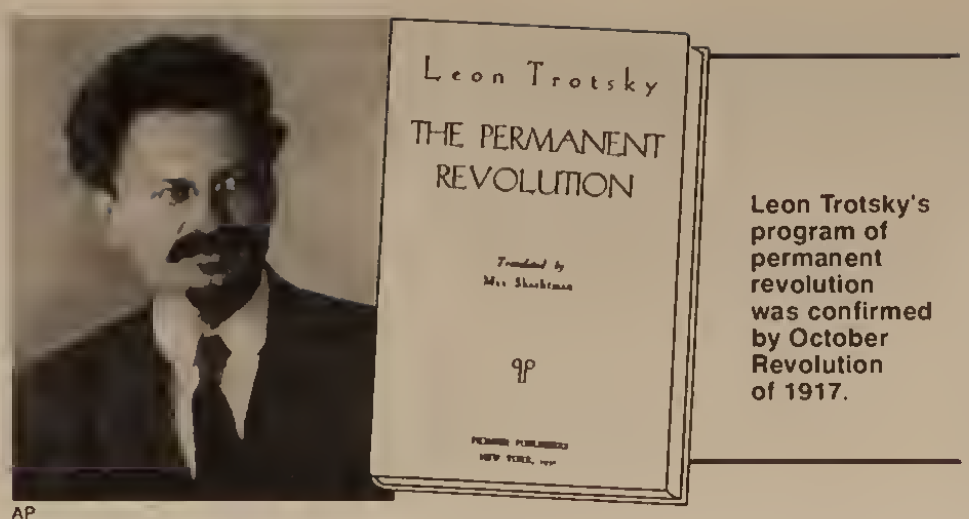
According to Percy, it was the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution that "toppled our Trotskyist theory that socialist revolutions were one stage affairs" (*A History*). This is, on the face of it, absurd. The Sandinista leaders truthfully *denied* that they had any intention of abolishing capitalism following the overthrow of the U.S.-backed tyrant Somoza by the Nicaraguan masses. The FSLN, agreeing with Cuba's Fidel Castro, refused to undertake a thorough-going social revolution, leading directly to the defeat of the revolution.

Against the petty-hourgeois Sandinistas' social pact with the "anti-Somoza" bourgeoisie in the name of "political pluralism," we stressed that defence of the Nicaraguan Revolution required that it be completed through expropriation of the capitalist fifth column and extended throughout the region. Far from confirming the "stagist" conception, the Nicaraguan Revolution tragically illustrates that short of the proletarian seizure of power, the most basic democratic tasks cannot be solved. As we wrote in 1990 when contra candidate Violetta Chamorro took office, "In the face of unremitting imperialist hostility, seeing no road to revolutionary victory and demoralized by the FSLN's increasingly pro-capitalist policies, the Nicaraguan masses sought a respite from their suffering by bringing in Washington's woman" (*WV* No. 501, 4 May 1990).

Opposing permanent revolution, a strategy for *proletarian* power, the DSP has no need of a proletarian revolutionary party—any petty-bourgeois nationalists will do. The DSP was so enamoured of the Sandinistas that they denounced the U.S. SWP, who were and are hardly shy about tailing anti-proletarian forces, for not going far enough in lauding the Sandinistas as revolutionaries. They also one-upped the Barnesites, claiming that "the Castro leadership were revolutionary Marxists even before taking power in Cuba" (*A History*).

The ICL fundamentally opposes the doctrine proclaimed by Maoists and others which rejects the vanguard role of the working class and substitutes peasant-based guerrilla warfare as the road to socialism. As we wrote in our ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "In Cuba, a petty-bourgeois movement under exceptional circumstances—the absence of the working class as a contender for social power in its own right, the flight of the national bourgeoisie and hostile imperialist encirclement, and a lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union—did overthrow the old Batista dictatorship and eventually smash capitalist property relations. But Castroism (or other peasant-based guerrilla movements) cannot bring the working class to political power.
>
> "Under the most *favorable* historic circumstances conceivable, the petty-bourgeois peasantry was only capable of creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, that is, a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counterrevolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, an anti-working-class regime which blocked the possibilities to extend social revolution into Latin America and North America, and suppressed Cuba's further development in the direction of socialism. To place the working class in political power and open the road to socialist development requires a supplemental *political* revolution led by a Trotskyist party. With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and consequently no readily available lifeline against imperialist encirclement, the narrow historical opening in which petty-bourgeois forces were able to overturn local capitalist rule has been closed, underscoring the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution."



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Leon Trotsky's program of permanent revolution was confirmed by October Revolution of 1917.

Permanent Revolution: Vietnam

The SWP's condemnation of permanent revolution led them in short order to embrace bloody Stalinist terror in the service of imperialism. In 1945 at the end of World War II, the Vietnamese Trotskyists led an insurrection in Saigon to oppose the reinvasion of Vietnam by the British and French imperialists. Under the banner of the Fourth International, they fought for slogans such as: Down with Imperialism! Long Live World Revolution! Long Live the Workers and Peasants Front! People's Committees Everywhere! Long Live the Arming of the People! Land to the Peasants! Nationalisation of the Factories under Workers Control! Toward the Workers and Peasants Government! The Vietnamese Stalinists, in line with the Soviet bureaucracy's appeasement of the "democratic" imperialist Allies, "welcomed" the colonialists' return. They crushed the Saigon uprising, murdering hundreds of Trotskyists, including Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Thau.

The SWP, in a 1984 pamphlet by Allen Myers (*The Vietnamese Revolution and Its Leadership*), grotesquely praised this slaughter of communists, retailing deadly Stalinist Moscow Trials-type slanders:

> "It was at this time that leaders of the Trotskyists and of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists were executed....
>
> "The Trotskyists and their nationalist allies had made a major contribution to the near-destruction of the revolution in the South. Preventing further damage, if necessary by physical repression, was imperative."

Fighting for the Marxist program of permanent revolution, the heroic Vietnamese Trotskyists had significant roots in the proletariat and led tens of thousands of workers in the Saigon insurrection. The Stalinists, bowing before the French imperialists, destroyed the most class-conscious militants, paving the way for 30 years of imperialist war against the Vietnamese. Infamous for their "peaceful, legal" kowtowing before the Australian ruling class, safe at home the DSP, red in tooth and claw, stands with Stalinist murderers of revolutionary internationalists.

Indonesia, Philippines: More Betrayals

The "stagist" program peddled by the likes of the DSP was the program of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Basing itself on the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution—which amounts to mobilising the workers to bring the bourgeois nationalists to power in the first "stage" and ends in the massacre of workers and Communists—the PKI opposed the fight for proletarian revolution. They preached "national unity" with the bourgeois-nationalist rulers led by Sukarno, banned strikes, suppressed peasant protests and preached confidence in Sukarno and his generals.

Politically and militarily disarming the Indonesian working class, the PKI opened the road to the bloody defeat of 1965-66 in Indonesia. Suharto came to power through an anti-Communist massacre of over 500,000, carried out by the military and reactionary Islamic gangs, *with the direct involvement of the American CIA and its Australian jackals*. This horrendous slaughter, in which the PKI, the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world, was crushed, was a bitter lesson in the deadly danger of class collaboration.

Today the DSP act as press agents for the petty-hourgeois Indonesian Peoples Democratic Party (PRD) which has openly pushed alliances with bourgeois politicians like Megawati Sukarnoputri and Islamic leader Amien Rais. Demonstrating the truth of Trotsky's understanding that the bourgeoisies in countries such as Indonesia are incapable of winning even bourgeois democracy, Megawati is a Javanese chauvinist who is for the incorporation of East Timor as the 27th province of Indonesia.

Far from *oppasing* the bourgeoisie, the PRD turns to their imperialist masters. They demand that the UN, that imperialist den of thieves and their victims, "be given full authority to resolve the issue of East Timor" (PRD "Resolution on East Timor," 22 July 1996). The DSP goes even further with its calls for "freedom" for East Timor under the auspices of "democratic" Australian imperialism, demanding that these imperialists "withdraw recognition of Indonesia's takeover of East Timor" ("People Before Profits," 1996). These are the very forces which have armed and trained the Indonesia army of occupation. Against these calls on "democratic" imperialism, we say independence for East Timor now!

In the Philippines, the DSP are promoting a new reformist outfit, the Sosyalistang Partido ng Paggawa (Socialist Party of Labour—SPP) whose program states they are for "the principle of uninterrupted revolution, from national-democratic to socialism" (*Green Left Weekly*, 9 December 1998). But "uninterrupted" is just a cover for an explicitly stagist program as made clear by Sonny Melencio, a leading light of the new party, who openly defended class collaboration in a speech to a 1997 DSP conference. Raising the question of "whether or not to include the bourgeois liberal forces in a broad front, form an electoral bloc with them and support them in elections," he falsely claimed that Lenin argued "precisely for such a tactic" in *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* (*Links* No. 8, July-October 1997).

It was not Lenin's Bolsheviks but the Mensheviks who promoted political blocs with the bourgeoisie, and Lenin opposed them down the line. As we wrote in "How Philippine Fake Leftists Falsify Lenin" (*WV* No. 703, 25 December 1998):

> "In polemicizing against ultraleftists who rejected temporary tactical alliances with reformists or bourgeois liberals on principle, Lenin noted, 'Prior to the downfall of tsarism, the Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats made repeated use of the services of the bourgeois liberals.' He referred parenthetically to the fact that around 1907, in areas where the Bolsheviks were a minority to the Mensheviks in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, they had agreed to the Menshevik policy of according votes to the Cadets (bourgeois liberals) 'during second rounds of elections.' Where the Bolsheviks had a majority, Lenin held that they should either vote for socialist candidates or, if given no other choice, abstain....
>
> "Lenin fought for the *political independence of the proletariat*. At the time, however, Lenin considered the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks to be two factions within a common party. Lenin's view on the party question evolved over time. After the Bolsheviks formed a distinct party in 1912, they never supported bourgeois formations politically."

In 1986, the Filipino left liquidated into a *bourgeois* movement against the Marcos dictatorship. Following suit, the then-SWP tailed the "people power" movement of wealthy landowner Corazon ("Cory") Aquino, serving as local promoters for the reformist Bayan group which praised Aquino's policies as "very progressive and promising" (*Direct Action*, 12 March 1986). Such "leftists" foisted on workers and peasants dangerous illusions that bourgeois liberals were their allies, and that capitalism could be reformed. The upshot, as always, was that

continued on page 6

Vietnamese Independence fighters jailed and executed by French colonial troops in late 1945 after Stalinists suppressed Trotskyist-led Saigon insurrection. DSP hails Stalinist assassins of Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Thau (inset).

Keystone

Quatrième Internationale

DSP...

(continued from page 5)

a mass plebeian uprising was deflected into bourgeois political movements aiming to put a prettier face on the continued rule of the bloody bonapartist, capitalist dictatorships. The proof is the Philippines today.

Against this deadly class collaboration, in the Philippines and throughout Southeast Asia, it is necessary to forge Leninist vanguard parties rooted in proletarian internationalism and armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Socialist revolution in the Philippines would necessarily have to link up with the struggles of the working people in Indonesia, South Korea and elsewhere in the region—and would act as a powerful impetus for proletarian political revolution in China and for socialist revolution in Japan, Asia's economic powerhouse.

Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter

Murderous Indonesian military armed and trained by Australia and the U.S.

Little Aussie Nationalists

The *Communist Manifesto* declared, "The working men have no country.... Workers of all countries, unite!" If there is a consistent thread in the DSP's political history, it is precisely rejection of this ABC of communism.

This was graphically illustrated in 1995 when the Australian imperialists whipped up a chauvinist frenzy against their French rivals in the South Pacific under the guise of opposition to France's testing of nuclear weapons. Fully backing this vile Australian nationalist campaign, which included protests targeting French restaurants and individual French-descended residents, the DSP urged "all unions to place industrial bans on all French goods and services," and demanded the Australian government ban trade with France (*Green Left Weekly*, 26 July 1995). Enthusing over the anti-French Bastille Day "national unity" mobilisations, the DSP was silent about the disgusting, racist calls to "nuke the frogs" which were a feature of these actions.

In a joint statement, the Spartacist League of Australia and the Ligue Trotskyste de France proclaimed:

> "The orgy of chauvinism in Australia and France touched off by the dispute over renewed French nuclear testing in the Pacific underlines how capitalism in its epoch of imperialist decay leads inexorably through trade war to world war, unless the problem is destroyed at its root by socialist revolution. The enemy of the workers and oppressed is not 'the French' or 'the Australians' but the rapacious capitalist ruling classes which dream of plundering the whole world while turning the screws on their 'own' workers in the interests of profit. The real and terrible danger of war will only be ended by the workers of all countries joining together, rejecting all the divide-and-rule capitalist machinations parroted by the current misleaders of the working class, to throw out their exploiters and take the future in their own hands.... The main enemy is at home!"
>
> —*Australasian Spartacist*
> No. 157, Summer 1995-96

The DSP's crawling before the Australian imperialist rulers has a long history. For nearly three decades they have peddled the dangerous lie that white Australian capitalism can be pressured into playing a "progressive" role, especially when the Australian Labor Party (ALP) social democrats rule on behalf of the bosses. When the Vietnamese workers and peasants were handing a humiliating military defeat to U.S. imperialism and its lackey allies, including Australia, in the early 1970s, the DSP's predecessor, the SWL, opined: "Australia and likewise New Zealand can play an extremely important role in opposing the United States and its warmaking efforts" ("U.S. Out Now!" undated leaflet).

During the mid-1980s they were at it again, demanding, "The Australian government should encourage a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis." This was at the height of the U.S. imperialists' efforts (under Ronald Reagan) to drown in blood the leftist rebels of El Salvador, a key component of the drive to roll back the Cuban Revolution, part and parcel of Cold War II against the Soviet Union. In line with the petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillas' pro-capitalist leadership, the SWP denounced class-struggle opposition to imperialism in the name of pressuring various capitalist countries to pressure the U.S. Thus they sought to mobilise impotent peace crawls crafted to attract churchmen, pacifists and anti-Communist liberals. They spilled gallons of ink attacking our efforts to build "Anti-Imperialist Contingents" that drew the class line in Central America and defended the USSR. In an anti-Soviet frenzy, they carried out a vicious, premeditated physical assault on our contingent in Sydney in 1981. For these self-proclaimed socialists, calling the cops against communists was "perfectly justified" ("Sectarians Try to Disrupt Sydney El Salvador March," undated leaflet).

no credit

1927 Shanghai massacre, marking bloody defeat of 1925-27 Chinese Revolution, was prepared by Stalinists' support to bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang.

In its pamphlet *What is the DSP?*, these little Aussie nationalists declare: "We fight for Australia to have a progressive foreign policy." It was the anti-Marxist renegade Karl Kautsky, enemy of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, who decreed that imperialism consisted merely of a set of policies that the capitalist rulers could embrace or reject. In his book *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin exposed Kautsky's line as open capitulation to his own bourgeoisie. For communists, the imperialists' drive to put all the world under their yoke through war, starvation and terror is not the result of moral failings or a bad choice of "foreign policy" but the inevitable outcome of the capitalist system in its death agony that can only be ended with victorious international proletarian revolution.

The DSP leadership tells its members that we Spartacists are "too extreme on foreign policy." The DSP has consistently supported racist Australian imperialism's military adventures under the guise of providing "humanitarian" assistance from Somalia to Cambodia. Scandalously, the DSP said Australian military intervention in Irian Jaya was "welcome" (*Green Left Weekly*, 13 May 1998), even while admitting it would directly benefit the murderous Indonesian military!

The DSP so deeply believes in the reformability of capitalism that its 1996 election platform calling "For a democratic foreign policy" offers heart-felt advice to the imperialists that they should "renegotiate" the debt that draws the lifeblood out of the peoples of the world and they should "restructure" international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund whose brutal hand has driven millions to the brink of starvation.

We inscribe on our banner: Not one man, not one penny for imperialism! The main enemy is at home! The heroic German Communist Karl Liebknecht (later murdered with Rosa Luxemburg at the behest of the Social Democrats) was tried for treason in 1916 for his anti-militarism and opposition to the German ruling class amid the carnage of World War I. At his court martial he proclaimed:

> "He who does not attack the enemy, imperialism, face to face, but instead attacks those far away, those outside his shooting range...is no Socialist, but a miserable lackey of the ruling class."

"Democratic" Anti-Communism

From the moment the working class took power in Russia in October 1917, the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic frontmen railed against the Bolsheviks, denouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat as "totalitarian." In the words of Kautsky, the contrast between the Bolsheviks and the non-Bolsheviks is "the contrast between two radically different methods: the *dictatorial* and the *democratic*." For our part, we stand with the Bolsheviks who fought to defend the proletarian state power against counterrevolution at all costs.

Firmly in the camp of Kautsky and the rest of the pro-capitalist social democrats who have proclaimed themselves "democratic socialists," the DSP breathes not a word about the necessity for proletarian *revolution* to overthrow capitalism. Wrapping themselves in bourgeois liberalism, they declare the "DSP stands for the universal application of the principle of democracy." For them "socialism" means "*extending the principle of democracy* to all spheres of life" (*What is the DSP?*).

Lenin's *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918) directly addressed this "democratic" claptrap:

> "'We,' the revolutionary Marxists, never made speeches to the people that the Kautskyites of all nations love to make, cringing before the bourgeoisie, adapting themselves to the bourgeois parliamentary system, keeping silent about the ***bourgeois*** character of modern democracy and demanding only *its* extension, only that *it* be carried to its logical conclusion.
>
> "'We' said to the bourgeoisie: You, exploiters and hypocrites, talk about democracy, while at every step you erect thousands of barriers to prevent the ***oppressed people*** from taking part in politics. We take you at your word and, in the interests of these people, demand the extension of *your* bourgeois democracy ***in order to prepare the people for revolution*** for the purpose of overthrowing you, the exploiters. And if you exploiters attempt to offer resistance to our proletarian revolution we shall ruthlessly suppress you; we shall deprive you of all rights; more than that, we shall not give you any bread, for in our proletarian republic the exploiters will have no rights, they will be deprived of fire and water, for we are socialists in real earnest, and not in the Scheidemann or Kautsky fashion."

Deep in the grip of "democratic" imperialism, in the 1980s the then-SWP was notorious for its embrace of Polish Solidarność, agency of the Catholic church, CIA and imperialist bankers for counterrevolution against the bureaucratically deformed Polish workers state. In December 1981, they marched side by side with fanatical anti-Communist East European nationalists—the sinister "Captive Nations" gang—at the Polish consulate in Sydney. Proclaiming themselves "the most closely aligned to Solidarity in Australia" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 January 1982), the SWP put out wall posters featuring a quotation from and picture of the anti-woman, anti-Semitic, capitalist tool Lech Walesa. No doubt to the SWP's chagrin, they were in no position to compete with the real "Solidarity with Solidarność" forces—the clerical-reactionaries led by the now-dead B.A. Santamaria who in the 1950s ran a sinister operation to purge the union movement of any hint of Communism.

Despite the economic devastation, clerical reaction, anti-Semitism and the crackdown on abortion wreaked by Solidarność' capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, in 1992 the DSP was still touting its grotesque "solidarity actions" with anti-Communist scum. In "defending democratic rights in the Stalinised states," they were happy to march "with anyone," including, as they fatuously put it, people "who didn't understand the need to defend the Polish socialist state against imperialism" (*A History*).

The "Russian question" has been the defining political question of the 20th century: the October 1917 Russian Revolution took the Marxist doctrine out of the realm of theory and gave it reality, creating a society where those who laboured ruled through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The pressure of imperialist encirclement, the devastation of the Russian working class in the Civil War and the isolation of the Russian Revolution enabled a bureaucratic layer headed by J.V. Stalin to usurp political power in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. The Trotskyists alone upheld Lenin's

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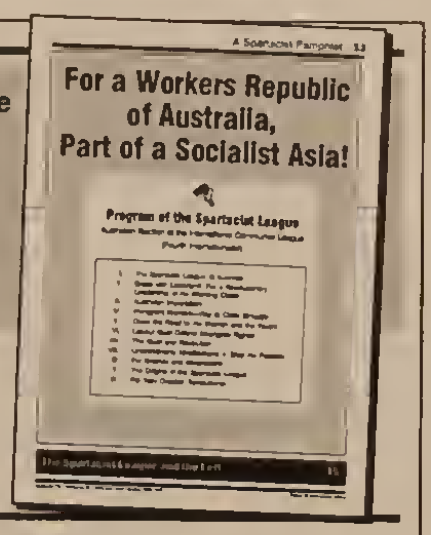

Der Spiegel

Australasian Spartacist

Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarność, counterrevolutionary instrument of CIA and Vatican. Banner of Australian SWP, predacassor of DSP, was prominent at Dacember 1981 pro-Solidarność rally of anti-Communist reactionaries.

program of proletarian internationalism—the understanding that the survival of the October Revolution depended on its *extension* through working-class revolution. In the Soviet degenerated workers state, and in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of Eastern Europe, we Trotskyists stood for unconditional military defence of these states against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucratic castes and place the working class in political power and open the road to socialist development.

We thus opposed Solidarność' drive to capitalist restoration in Poland. Proclaiming "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" we said that this threat must be crushed at all costs and by any means necessary. We fought for Polish *Trotskyism*, for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which at every turn undermined the defence of the planned, socialised economy and the consciousness of the Polish proletariat. The DSP was on the other side of the barricades.

It was precisely under the pressure of anti-Soviet Cold War II that the SWP in July 1984 junked what had always been its empty pretence to Trotskyism. Proving, as Stalin said, that paper will take anything written on it, the SWP pronounced that the other "major political error" of Trotskyism was "an overestimation of the place, within the tasks confronting the workers states and within the world revolution, occupied by political revolution against the ruling castes in the bureaucratised socialist states" (*A History*).

What the SWP was really on about was removing any perceived obstacle to sucking up to various nationalist formations around the world who claimed inspiration from the Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions. They "distinguish" between these governments, who, they falsely claim, "act in the working people's interests" (*What is the DSP?*) and China and North Korea—which are rather less "popular" and, more to the point, particularly targeted by the Australian imperialists.

The SWP's selective "Stalinophilia" also allowed them to be as one with the social democrats and liberals infatuated with the emergence of Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Proclaiming "market socialism," he began to dismantle the centrally planned Soviet economy as he openly capitulated to imperialism, from pulling out of Afghanistan to handing over East Germany.

When in August 1991 Boris Yeltsin staged his countercoup against the impotent "Gang of Eight" who had moved against Gorbachev, the DSP rallied with the rest of the traitorous left to cheer on capitalist counterrevolution. On 28 August 1991, *Green Left Weekly* editorialised: "The defeat of last week's disastrous attempt by the Stalinist old guard to turn back the clock opens a new political phase in the USSR. In particular, it marks the first big victory for mass political action over the repressive bureaucracy."

DSP leader Renfrey Clarke was on Yelstin's barricades, joining those imbued, in his own words, with "vehement anti-Communism" (*Green Left Weekly*, 4 September 1991). He also spent a night inside the "White House" trying to help a Scottish Labour MP deliver a letter of solidarity to Yeltsin from British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, infamous for knifing the heroic British miners strike of 1984-85. This abject service to social-democratic anti-communism exactly sums up the political essence of the DSP.

Today the DSP vociferously denies they supported the Yeltsinite "democrats." But the DSP's hailing of capitalist counterrevolution as a "lesser evil" to Stalinism is unambiguous: "Our central conclusion is that the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR and of the political influence of Stalinism in the West represents an enormous step forward for the struggle for socialism" (*The Collapse of 'Communism' in the USSR*, 1992).

Far from the anti-communist fictions of the DSP, the ascendency of counterrevolution in the former USSR was an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world. As our ICL "Declaration of Principles" states: "We Trotskyists stayed at our posts and fought to preserve and extend the revolutionary gains of the working class while every other tendency on the planet capitulated to the ideological pressure of imperialist anti-communism. Above all our defense of the USSR was expressed in our fight for new October Revolutions around the world."

We continue to stand, as we did with the USSR and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe, for unconditional military defence of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the narrow, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies whose continued misrule threatens further defeats for the international working class.

Not so the DSP, which upholds the Cuban Stalinist regime as a model. This is pretty rich given that the capitalist counterrevolutions that ravaged Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have left the Cuban Revolution economically prostrate and at the mercy of the imperialist powers. As the Castro regime undermines the very foundations of the revolution by introducing the dollar economy and foreign capital investment while welcoming the Pope of counterrevolution, the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution is more urgently posed than ever.

With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialists have set their sights on China and have found powerful allies in the Stalinist bureaucracy, sections of which seek to become the new capitalist exploiters, looking to the wholesale dismantling of what remains of the planned economy of the deformed workers state. The extreme nationalist ideology pushed by the Stalinist bureaucrats is a direct bridge to capitalist restoration. China stands on the brink of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. The DSP champions the likes of Han Dongfang, editor of the *China Labour Bulletin* which advocates "independent" trade unions in China. He is regularly featured on *Radio Free Asia*, an official anti-communist mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism. We urgently seek to intervene as the subjective factor which will make the difference in the Chinese proletariat becoming a class *for* itself by bringing revolutionary internationalist class consciousness to the working masses in China and in the large Chinese diaspora.

Inquirer (Philippines)

August 1997: Striking transport workers block traffic in Quezon City, Philippines. Proletarian class independence from all wings of bourgeoisie is key to struggle for socialist revolution.

Anti-Communists for Hire

The DSP hasn't hesitated to stir up the bloody brew of nationalism and anti-communism in Australia, too. In the early 1980s, the SWP worked intimately with the sinister Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP). This outfit openly proclaimed its goal of dismembering the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state as they lauded some of the most bloodthirsty of the Ustasha butchers whose bestiality in World War II in murdering Serbs, Jews, Roma and many Croats gave even the Nazis pause. The SWP produced a special four-page supplement to its newspaper (July 1983) to declare "the Ustasha was *not* a fascist movement" while alibiing the mass murderer Ante Pavelic who ran the Nazi satellite state of Croatia.

This is the kind of trash that usually comes from the mouths of Nazi apologists who claim the Holocaust never happened. Youth in Australia attracted to the DSP's loudly proclaimed "anti-racism" might ask themselves how it would feel to join arm in arm with the likes of the HDP. And all the DSP's quotations from Trotsky about "defence of the workers states" will not and cannot cover up their obscene hailing of the 1971 murder of a Yugoslav diplomat by a fascist terrorist as an "act of struggle against national oppression" (see *Australasian Spartacist* No. 103, August/September 1983).

The DSP proclaims itself for women's rights, for gay rights, but this is evidently a program for Australians only. From Iran to Poland they have backed forces of reaction that have trampled mercilessly on the rights of women and gays. In 1979, the SWP, with most of the left, tried to paint the Iranian mullahs who decreed death to "adulterous" women, homosexuals and national minorities as "anti-imperialists." A short time later, even as the mullahs in Khomeini's Iran were torturing their own erstwhile comrades, the SWP upheld "the Iranian revolution" and denounced our proletarian opposition to the Islamic fanatics as "counterrevolutionary."

The imperialists have long cultivated Islamic fundamentalism as a weapon against communism. In 1950, John Foster Dulles, who later became U.S. secretary of state, pointed to a "common bond" with the "religions of the East," whose "spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism." This view was chillingly echoed by SWPer Andrew Jamieson who, in a signed statement dated 27 June 1979, declared:

> "We would support the Muslim masses in so far as they were against the Stalinist practices of the PKI in Indonesia in 1965."

Indonesian and other leftists take heed—the DSP has had no compunction about supporting the darkest forces of reaction if they are "popular."

Anti-Proletarian, Anti-Leninist, Anti-Trotskyist

The DSP outright rejects the elementary working-class principle of not voting for the parties of the class enemy. These

continued on page 11

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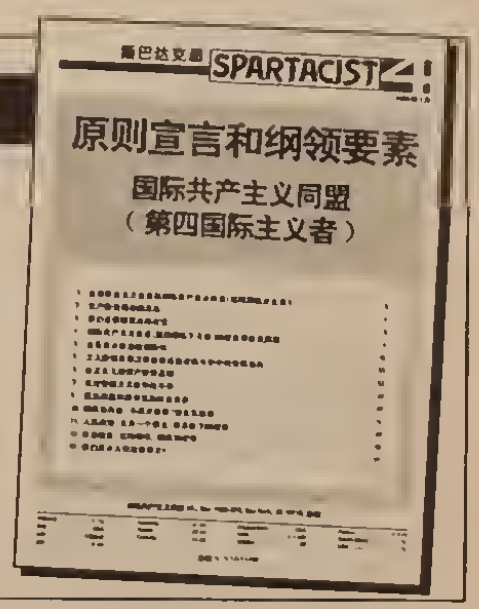

Big Oil...

(continued from page 1)

"There is no question consolidation of the oil industry is a good thing for most of us.... The big companies will have the money, and we have the oil."

The current wave of megamergers in the world oil business is governed not only by the particularities and present conditions of that industry but expresses a basic law of the capitalist system. In the mid-19th century, Karl Marx discerned that the effects of market competition, combined with economies of scale in production and distribution, would necessarily lead to ever greater concentrations of capital: "The expansion of capitalist production creates the social demand here, the technical requirements there, for those gigantic industrial enterprises, which depend for their realisation on a previous centralisation of capitals" (*Capital*, Volume I).

Business historian Ron Chernow writes with studied irony in a recent biography of John D. Rockefeller, the great-grandfather of Exxon and Mobil:

> "When he railed against cutthroat competition and the vagaries of the business cycle, Rockefeller sounded more like Karl Marx than our classical image of the capitalist. Like the Marxists, he believed that the competitive free-for-all eventually gave way to monopoly and that large industrial-planning units were the most sensible way to manage an economy."
>
> —*Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (1998)

The difference, of course, is that we Marxists fight for a rationally planned *socialized* economy under a workers state, *governed by and for the working people*. Rockefeller organized monopolies and cartels for the benefit of their wealthy owners *at the expense of the working class*.

UMW

National Guard and company thugs killed 19 strikers and family members in 1914 Ludlow massacre. John D. Rockefeller built Standard Oil trust through ruthless brutality toward workers and bankrupting of small competitors.

Pach Bros.

Bettmann Archives

Saudi Arabia's King Ibn Saud meets with U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II. Control over Persian Gulf oil fields gives U.S. imperialism enormous strategic advantage over main rivals, Germany and Japan.

"Trustbusting": A Liberal Fraud

Financial journalists have pointed to the historical irony that the two biggest successors of the old Standard Oil Trust, Exxon (formerly Standard of New Jersey) and Mobil (formerly Standard of New York), are getting together again. "Rockefeller Revived," headlined the London *Financial Times* (27 November 1998).

The Standard Oil Company was the main target of the trustbusting fervor of the "progressive era" identified with Teddy Roosevelt. John D. Rockefeller was intensely and widely hated for his ruthless brutality not only toward his workers but also small and middling businessmen who got in his way. Ida Tarbell, author of the famous 1904 muckraking attack *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, was the daughter of the owner of a small Pennsylvania oil refinery who was driven out of business by Rockefeller and his partners, the railroad magnates.

Yet in a way, the public vilification of Rockefeller strengthened rather than weakened American capitalism politically. All economic ills were blamed on a handful of "robber barons" like Rockefeller and Wall Street banker J.P. Morgan, who supposedly violated the normal capitalist rules of the game. Trustbusting was promoted as a liberal alternative to the socialist program of nationalizing industry.

Furthermore, by branding Rockefeller and his cohorts "the biggest criminals in the country," Theodore Roosevelt enhanced his own authority as an imperial president who purportedly defended the interests of the American people against a rapacious plutocracy of wealth. In reality, the bully boy in the White House committed crimes on behalf of American capitalism of an even greater magnitude than the titan of the oil trust. While Roosevelt was vice president and then president, U.S. military forces in the Philippines killed tens of thousands of people in suppressing the struggle for national independence after the U.S. seized that colony from Spain in the 1898 war. In 1903, Roosevelt seized and detached northern Colombia in order to build the Panama Canal. This was of enormous strategic importance for emerging U.S. imperialism in becoming a Pacific power and challenging the European and Japanese imperialists in the Far East.

The 1911 Supreme Court decision ordering the breakup of Standard Oil was hailed as a great triumph for the trustbusting campaign. But this liberal reform in no way changed or softened the brutal exploitation of the American working class by Rockefeller and his ilk. This was gruesomely demonstrated a few years later by the 1914 Ludlow massacre.

Rockefeller had extensive holdings in addition to Standard Oil. Among these was Colorado Fuel and Iron (CFI), which owned 24 coal mines that provided coke for its own steel mills. In his biography, Chernow described conditions in the Colorado coal fields as "raw capitalism such as Karl Marx pictured it: dangerous mines run by harsh bosses and policed by armed guards in a desolate, hellish place." At one point, 74 workers were killed in a mine explosion. While the CFI managers predictably blamed the disaster on the miners' own carelessness, even the Colorado Bureau of Labor Standards charged the company with "cold-blooded barbarism."

Rockefeller had a fanatical hatred toward trade unions which he bequeathed to his son John Jr., who oversaw the CFI operation. When, in 1913, the United Mine Workers launched an organizing drive in the Colorado coal fields, Rockefeller Jr. and his henchmen brought in professional gun thugs who were deputized as county sheriffs. In September, 9,000 CFI miners went on strike. The strikers and their families were evicted from company housing and were forced to set up tent colonies in the surrounding area, the largest concentration being at a spot called Ludlow.

As the strike expanded and became increasingly hard fought, the governor of Colorado sent National Guardsmen into the coal fields to "restore order." In April 1914, the Guardsmen, many of them CFI gun thugs, opened fire with machine guns on union pickets at Ludlow. They then set the tents ablaze, burning to death two women and eleven children. The Ludlow massacre revealed the true nature of the American capitalist state—consisting at its core of armed bodies of men committed to defense of capitalist property and profits—which the bourgeois reformers who led the trustbusting campaign against Rockefeller and Standard Oil sought to obscure.

In recent decades, trustbusting has played a far lesser role in the ideology and program of American liberalism than at the beginning of the era of monopoly capitalism. However, the Exxon-Mobil deal has evoked echoes of "Progressive Era" politics. A Mobil refinery worker in Beaumont, Texas, fearful of losing his job, exclaimed: "It's a revival of the Standard Oil Company. It's going to put 20 or 30 thousand people out of work. I think the Justice Department should step in and stop it" (*New York Times*, 30 November 1998).

While such a view is understandable, it is wrong. First, there is no reason whatever to think that the layoffs at Mobil would be any fewer if the company merged with a smaller oil company like Texaco or Conoco, or remained independent. Texaco and Conoco are planning to reduce their workforces in the coming year by about the same percentage as the new Exxon-Mobil combine. Most recently, ARCO has announced a new round of jobs cuts.

More fundamental is the illusion that the federal government is or can be an agency for defending the interests of working people against corporate capital. One of the few bourgeois politicians who cultivates a liberal populist image, Minnesota Democratic Senator Paul Wellstone, explained why there is no opposition in Washington to the Exxon-Mobil merger. "The biggest reason is the mix of money and politics," he said. "For both parties, these are heavy hitters, the moneyed interests who have a huge impact on the tenure of people in Congress. Not too many people want to challenge them" (*New York Times*, 6 December 1998).

The U.S. government is not, as Wellstone implies, merely a passive observer of mergers between large industrial and financial corporations. Washington often promotes such deals, especially for strategic military purposes. A good example of this is the merger between Boeing and McDonnell Douglas in 1997, intended to strengthen the U.S. aircraft industry in relation particularly to the giant European Airbus monopoly.

Liberal Democrats like Wellstone occasionally offer criticisms of big business in order to enhance their credentials as supposed "friends of labor." Such illusions are avidly promoted as well by the IAM and other AFL-CIO bureaucrats. In fact, the Democratic Party is a party of big business no less than the Republicans.

For their part, the OCAW union tops, notably Tony Mazzocchi, pretend to offer an alternative to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's ties to Clinton's Democrats. In an article in the union journal, *OCAW Reporter* (November/December 1998), opposing global mergers in the chemical industry, OCAW official Joe Drexler proclaims:

> "Finding the proper political path to confront corporate power will not be found within the two-party structure in the U.S. We need a different way to think and a different way to act. We need to replace market needs with worker needs. That's why we need a party of the working class. That's why we need a Labor Party."

What the OCAW tops have in mind is not a workers party forged in militant struggle against the capitalist profit system but a wretchedly pro-capitalist reformist formation on the model of Tony Blair's British Labour Party, which is currently administering the capitalist state on behalf of the City of London financiers. Despite its (increasingly attenuated) ties to the trade unions, Blair's Labour Party is viciously anti-working-class and racist. From the terror bombing of Iraq to bloody repression against the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland—which has only intensified as a result of the imperialist "peace" fraud imposed by Blair last year—Labour enforces the dictates of British imperialism.

And the sham Labor Party promoted by the OCAW tops (as well as a host of reformist "socialist" outfits) does not even offer an electoral alternative to the capitalist Democrats. Since its formal founding at a 1996 conference of Labor Party Advocates, the Labor Party has yet to run a slate of candidates in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans, including in the 1996 presidential elections. Indeed, Labor Party Advocates was formed explicitly in order to pressure the Democrats, as Mazzocchi made clear in 1991 when he stressed: "Organizing Labor Party Advocates is not going to retard the re-birth of the Democrats. On the contrary, it will encourage it" (*Labor Party Advocate*, August 1991; see "Why 'Labor Party Advocates' Doesn't Advocate a Labor Party," *WV* No. 622, 5 May 1995). We fight to break workers and minorities from the partner parties of capitalism in the struggle to forge a *revolutionary workers party*.

The Caspian Oil Bonanza and the East Asian Economic Crash

Underlying the current megamergers in Big Oil are three fundamental developments shaping the world today: the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution; the intensifying rivalry between the three major imperialist powers—the United States, Germany and Japan; the collapse of the East Asian economic boom, including a prolonged and deepening recession in Japan.

With the disintegration of the USSR in 1991-92, a major oil (and also natural gas) producing region came up for grabs by Western imperialism for the first time since the discovery of oil in the Persian Gulf in the 1920s and '30s. The small states surrounding the Caspian Sea were now run by men, mainly former Stalinist bureaucrats, who wanted nothing more than to become well-paid agents for the Seven Sisters. In fact, the current prime minister of Kazakhstan was "trained" at

Chevron's headquarters in California. However, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are landlocked countries a long way from the main oil markets in West Europe and East Asia. Integrating the Caspian region into the world oil industry therefore requires a massive investment in constructing new pipelines and upgrading existing ones.

In 1992, Chevron bought up a majority interest of the Tenghiz oil field in southwestern Kazakhstan, one of the ten largest in the world. Chevron then sold a big chunk of its share to Mobil. The two U.S. partners (both descendants of the old Standard Oil trust) have pledged to invest $25 billion in Kazakhstan over the next 20 years. In 1994, the oil fields in the Caspian Sea off the coast of Azerbaijan were taken over by an international consortium including Exxon, British Petroleum, Amoco, Pennzoil and others. The companies involved promised the Baku regime $8 billion over the next few decades.

The American and British oil companies have no interest in expanding the marketed supply of petroleum and natural gas for its own sake. On the contrary, the basic aim of the international oil cartel, ever since the days of John D. Rockefeller, has been to limit production in order to prop up prices. However, in the euphoric ideological climate following the destruction of the Soviet Union, Western capitalists, including oil executives, believed that good times were here for good. The International Energy Agency, which represents the governments of North America, West Europe and Japan, projected a steady rise in world oil consumption from 68 million barrels a day in 1994 to over 90 million barrels in 2010. In particular, oilmen expected demand in East Asia for petroleum and natural gas to continue growing at more than 10 percent a year well into the new millennium.

The investment boom in Caspian oil was in large measure geared to the East Asian economic boom just as this was about to go bust. From the end of 1996 through mid-1998, oil consumption in Japan fell by over 20 percent. During this period total world demand declined by three million barrels a day in the face of a quite substantial expansion of productive capacity in the oil industry. The Tulsa-based *Oil & Gas Journal* (28 December 1998), an authoritative industry organ, now writes that with the collapse of Asian oil demand, "something of structural upheaval—a sea change—is under way in the oil industry." Part of that structural upheaval is an even greater concentration of capital than before.

Big Oil and Imperialist Rivalries

Oil is not just another commodity. It is the source of more than 40 percent of the world's energy. True, the generation of electric power using petroleum and natural gas could over time and at great expense be replaced by coal or nuclear energy. However, modern means of transportation (cars and trucks, railroads and airplanes) and military hardware—tanks, fighter planes and many naval vessels—run on oil, for which there is no practical substitute. Access to oil, especially cheap oil, is thus of vital strategic importance for modern capitalist states.

Unlike coal, which is found in abundant supply in many countries, petroleum and also natural gas deposits are highly geographically concentrated. About two dozen mammoth fields—known in the industry as "elephants"—supply most of the world's oil. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the small sheikdoms in the Arabian peninsula have *three-quarters* of the world's proven reserves. And petroleum from the main Persian Gulf fields can be extracted for about $2 a barrel, or one-fifth the current, historically low price. Ever since the 1920s, control over the Persian Gulf oil fields has given American imperialism, with Britain as its ally and junior partner, an enormous strategic advantage over its main rivals, Germany and Japan.

This was clearly demonstrated during the Second World War. When the war broke out in Europe in 1939, Germany was cut off from its main oil supplies in the Western hemisphere and Near East. The German war economy resorted to the hydrogenation of coal to produce gasoline. But this was a very expensive process which absorbed a huge fraction of Germany's material and labor resources. By contrast, the U.S. expanded its domestic oil production by 30 percent during the war using but a small fraction of its industrial capital and labor force. German imperialism's drive to seize the Baku oil fields was a key immediate factor motivating the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.

In July 1941, the United States, Britain and Holland embargoed oil shipments to Japan without which it could not survive. It was this act of economic warfare which drove the Tokyo regime to attack the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, thereby launching the Second World War in the Pacific, which ended with the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by U.S. imperialism and the defeat and occupation of Japan. Trotskyists—revolutionary Marxists—opposed all sides in this interimperialist conflict while calling for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state.

The U.S. emerged victorious from World War II as the pre-eminent imperialist power. And the USSR, defeating the Nazi juggernaut at a cost of more than 26 million Soviet lives, emerged from the war as the second strongest industrial-military power in the world. Common hostility to the Soviet Union then formed the basis for the U.S.-dominated Cold War imperialist alliance which included Germany and Japan. But with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, the three major imperialist powers have increasingly sought to gain advantage at the expense of one another.

The American ruling class is determined not to give up in the slightest its enormous strategic advantage of effective control over the Persian Gulf oil fields. As the USSR was fast falling apart in 1990-91, the U.S. launched a devastating war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq, formerly a Moscow client state. Since the 1991 Gulf War, the U.S. has imposed a starvation blockade against Iraq repeatedly punctuated by terror bombing. This is intended as a message to the other Arab oil states and Iran not to defy the will of Wall Street and Washington. It is also intended as a message to Germany and Japan not to challenge American hegemony in the Persian Gulf, for example, by cultivating their own client states in the region.

Notably, the U.S. launched an earlier war buildup in the Gulf region, in 1997, only days after the French oil giant Total, joined by Russian and Malaysian firms, had signed a $2 billion contract with Iran to pump offshore natural gas. The *New York Times* decried the deal as a "direct challenge to the United States" and the Clinton administration threatened to impose punitive economic sanctions against Total and its partners. Washington has itself since tried to improve relations with Teheran, seizing on the installation of the supposedly more liberal clerical regime of President Mohammad Khatami.

While Israel remains U.S. imperialism's chief ally and gendarme in the region, the Zionist rulers' expansionist appetites and brutal subjugation of the Palestinian people are a constant irritant in Washington's efforts to consolidate its influence among the Arab bourgeois regimes. For its part, the Zionist lobby in the U.S. views Big Oil as fanatically pro-Arab. Divisions within the American bourgeoisie over Near East policy are reflected in the ongoing clash over whether to release Jonathan Pollard, a former Pentagon employee serving a life sentence for spying for Israel.

Britain, predictably, has been acting as the main U.S. ally in the Near East and elsewhere. Ever since the late 19th century, when many a daughter of the American plutocracy married into the British upper classes, the bourgeoisies of the two countries have developed close financial ties. This was the economic basis for the alliance of the U.S. and Britain against Germany in both the first and second imperialist world wars.

The links between American and British capital are nowhere closer and more clearly manifest than in the oil industry. In the late 1920s, at a secret meeting in a Scottish castle, Royal Dutch/Shell and British Petroleum joined with their five largest American counterparts to form the famous Seven Sisters cartel.

continued on page 10

Financial Times

Royal Dutch/Shell propped up murderous military dictatorship in Nigeria.

Mobil Oil and the Indonesian Death Camp

The merger agreement between Mobil and Exxon has generated a spate of stories on the two U.S. oil giants in the financial press. However, an article titled "What Did Mobil Know?" in *Business Week* (28 December 1998) is very different from the usual analysis of costs, prices, profits, stock options and the like.

The article begins by describing the horrible torture of Teungku Bintara at an Indonesian military prison camp in the northern Sumatran province of Aceh in 1990-91. It then goes on:

> "Bintara's gruesome experience unfolded only a few hundred yards from the chemical plants and white storage tanks of P.T. Arun, a liquified natural-gas (LNG) producer in which Indonesia's state-owned oil monopoly, Pertamina, holds a controlling 55% stake and Mobil Corp. owns 35%."

A mass grave near the former military camp is located on Pertamina-owned land that is less than three miles from a Mobil gas-drilling site.

Mobil's management were not just passive and silent observers of these atrocities. According to survivors of the camp and other investigators, the U.S. company supplied the Indonesian army with heavy earth-moving equipment to dig mass graves. A Mobil spokesman admitted that the company provided the Indonesian army with excavators—which it supposedly believed were being used only for "projects beneficial to the community." During a visit to Jakarta in early November, Mobil chairman Lucio Noto pleaded that the company had "no control" over the army's actions and echoed earlier management denials of any knowledge of "human rights abuses" in the area. Yet for decades the region has been the scene of repeated terror campaigns by the Indonesian military against Acehnese separatist insurgents.

As came out in the course of an extensive investigation conducted by *Business Week*, which surprisingly on occasion engages in old-fashioned liberal muckraking. Mobil managers were told by local contractors that human body parts had been found close to company sites and the use of company equipment to dig mass graves was a common topic of discussion in the Mobil cafeteria. *Business Week* also interviewed a former Mobil employee at the site who had been warned by subcontractors not to use a certain road leading to a Mobil-operated gas field. "Don't go there," he was told. "Don't you know the army is killing people and burying them in mass graves with Mobil equipment?"

From the CIA's role in providing hit lists for the mass slaughter of Indonesian leftists and workers during the 1965-66 anti-Communist bloodbath to Mobil's collusion with the military dictatorship—these are the means by which the U.S. capitalists secure the fabulous profits extracted from the semicolonial masses.

AFP

Victims' remains from mass grave near Mobil Oil operations on the Indonesian island of Sumatra.

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Teach-in...

(continued from page 12)

and are damned dangerous, they have no place in Oakland. We will not tolerate outlaws" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 January). A day after the shooting, members of the OEA's representative council voted 48 to 42 to continue with the teach-in, an act which took some guts in the face of the outpouring of support to the cops from the city's rulers.

In a letter that day to the OEA, Mumia wrote from death row:

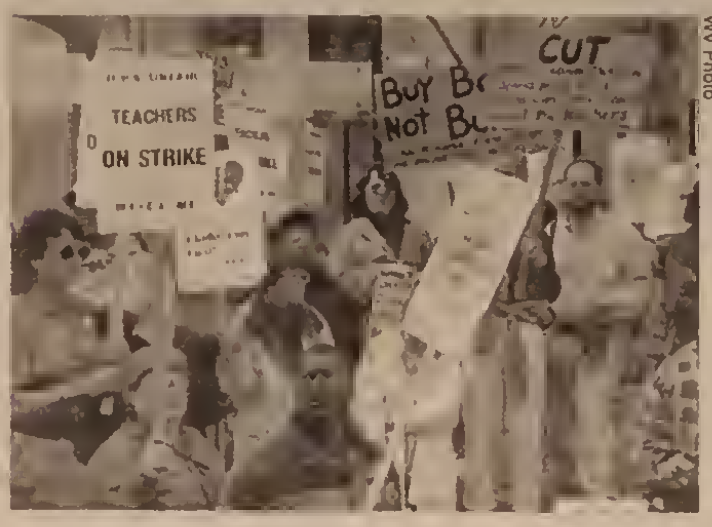
> "I am encouraged and quite pleased that your union has chosen to include my case among others in critical discussions of the American death penalty and the so-called 'Criminal Justice System.' While I remain innocent of any crime, a critical discussion raised by my case will only serve to open young minds to the bitter realities of black life in America at the end of this century."

That was exactly what the school authorities and their bosses feared. Just hours after the OEA vote, school superintendent Carole Quan, at Gallo's bidding, issued orders to cancel the teach-in assemblies planned at two Oakland high schools.

OEA president Sheila Quintana, appearing on KPFA radio on January 12 alongside Shannon Reeves, repeatedly urged that the teach-in be postponed and that nothing be done that would take attention "away from the family and from the city's focus on the grief that we share, because we work very closely with the police department." Referring to Jamal as "a convicted killer," Quintana—who herself had taught about Jamal's case in her American government classes—told listeners that she'd called the F.O.P. in Pennsylvania for their side of the story! She also issued a complaint to the union's executive board against Bob Mandel, the OEA member who had initiated the teach-in, for putting out the proposal on OEA letterhead.

The actions and accusations of the school board and the OEA leadership have thus adopted the capitalist rulers' equation of Mumia Abu-Jamal with a cop killer, while the racist cops and rulers seek to reconvict Jamal in the press. On January 14, 2,000 cops closed down the streets of Oakland for the funeral in a massive demonstration of force, with a miles-long cavalcade of motorcycle cops and squad cars and police helicopters flying overhead. Like similar funerals held throughout the U.S., this was a demonstration for police bonapartism, as the cops assert their power to act as judge, jury and executioner on the city streets independent of all constraints. To those teachers who went ahead with class discussions on Jamal's case and the death penalty, a police spokesman ominously warned, "We believe this is a slap in the face to law enforcement here and around the country" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 14 January).

On the eve of the cop funeral, about 70 people joined Bob Mandel and other members of the OEA in a press conference to support their freedom to proceed with teaching their students about Jamal's case. But academic freedom in capitalist society is an illusion—schools exist to inculcate bourgeois values and discipline, and to provide education for the privileged few. The run-down school buildings with few supplies and not enough teachers are little more than warehouses for the ghetto poor. Having abolished affirmative action and bilingual education, the ruling class has made it clear it deems whole layers of minority and working-class youth—with no jobs for the vast majority—an expendable population which it is not profitable to educate.



WV Photo

1996 Oakland teachers strike, which won wide support among workers and minorities, was denounced by middle-class NAACP leadership and stabbed in back by Bay Area labor bureaucrats.

The pious proclamations by Shannon Reeves that schools must stick to subjects that prepare students for integration into the economic life of this country are a cruel hoax. Reeves worked overtime to whip up opposition to the OEA when it went on strike in 1996 for minimal wage increases and smaller classroom sizes, declaring it was "educational treason to tell students not to come to school." On the KPFA program in which Reeves spoke against the teach-in, one caller asked him, "I wonder...who you mean when you say 'we,' 'we are opposed to this'?" The "we" is the conservative black middle-class NAACP, proponents of black capitalism who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the ghetto poor.

What has motivated everyone who clamored against the desire to teach students about the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is the fear that explaining his case to the ghettoized poor in Oakland's public schools will explode the myth of American democracy. Young people are taught that the U.S. is the best democracy in the world, that "we, the people" have fair and regular elections for a government that represents and serves its citizens, that there is freedom of expression, equality before the law and a right to a jury of one's peers. But the bitter reality that working people, blacks and immigrants face is not what the capitalist rulers want people to believe.

America is a capitalist society in which a small minority owns the wealth which the vast majority produces. The state—at its core the cops, army, prison system and courts—is not a neutral body but an instrument of organized violence to keep the ruling class in power and protect its property and profits through repression of the working class at home and aggression against its imperialist rivals abroad. The racist death penalty is at the pinnacle of this system of capitalist repression. The Democrats and Republicans are the dual face of racist capitalist rule, which cannot be reformed or pressured into defending the rights of the working class.

Jamal's case exemplifies these truths: The cops fabricated a "confession" two months after his arrest and coerced witnesses to change testimony which implicated someone other than Jamal; the prosecution was allowed to systematically exclude blacks from the jury; the judge, an honorary member of the Philadelphia F.O.P., denied Jamal's court-appointed lawyer more than $150 each for an investigator and medical and ballistic experts; and the death sentence was secured on the basis of Jamal's political views. (See "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15 for full details of the frame-up.) The fact is that Jamal was denied even the semblance of "due process"—this innocent man didn't get a fair trial, and the state and its institutions will not and cannot be "fair" now. That is why we don't call for a new trial, but rather demand his freedom now.

Jamal has been targeted by the Philly cops and the FBI since he first became a member of the Black Panther Party at age 15. Ex-Panthers in Oakland today, like current City Council candidate David Hilliard, who hails the bourgeois politician Brown as a "progressive mayor," long ago made peace with racist capitalism. But the Black Panther Party represented at one time a challenge to the racist capitalist rulers—unlike Martin Luther King Jr., who accommodated the racist status quo but is today nevertheless revered even by ostensible leftists. Jamal was framed up not because of some mistake in the workings of American "justice" but because he is seen as a black revolutionary, and the ruling class in this country is deathly afraid of the combination of black and red, the spectre of social revolution.

The young black and Latino students of Oakland's public schools don't have a lot of illusions in the cops and courts; they're subject to racist harassment from the state every day of their lives. One student in a class where the teacher refused to participate in the teach-in said of Jamal, "If he's freed, it would make a great example for us, to show how you can beat the system" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 January). But both OEA president Quintana, who climbed on the pro-cop bandwagon, and the liberal proponents of the teach-in like Bob Mandel who have tried to reduce the question to one of academic freedom, share a fundamental belief in the democratic credentials of the state. Liberals point to what is the *norm* under American capitalism—the brutality of the cops and injustice in the courts—and label them "aberrations" that must be "cleaned up." The distrust of the state shared by many minority students must be generalized into an understanding of the need for a proletarian revolution to overturn the capitalist system. It is precisely this understanding which such liberal teachers act to prevent by peddling the myth that the state can be pressured into acting on behalf of the oppressed.

Officials of the OEA endorsed the emergency united-front demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to stop the execution of Jamal in August 1995, and members marched under their union banner. Those labor-centered protests pointed to the potential power of the multiracial workers movement. But to mobilize this power requires a revolutionary workers party that will wage a political struggle against the leadership of the unions who embrace the strikebreaking racist cops as fellow "city workers" and tie the workers to their class enemy, largely through support to the Democratic Party. One cannot fight for Mumia's freedom while upholding the tenets of the system that framed him up.

As we said in "Free Mumia Now!" (*Black History* No. 15):

> "In taking up the fight for Jamal's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of the black population. And in doing that they will be taking steps down the road to the emancipation of all of the working people and oppressed through a victorious socialist revolution that smashes the chains of capitalist exploitation and degradation."

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Big Oil...

(continued from page 9)

In the post-Soviet period, Britain, with Washington's backing, has sought to obstruct Germany's drive for hegemony—notably through the establishment of a single European currency—in Europe. The recent launching of the euro is *not*, as widely advertised, a decisive step in the formation of a European capitalist "superstate." As we wrote a few years ago:

> "Since capitalism is organised on the basis of particular national states, itself the cause of repeated imperialist wars to redivide the world, it is impossible to cohere a stable pan-European bourgeois state. A European imperialist 'superstate' can be achieved only by the methods of Adolf Hitler, not those of Jacques Delors, the French social-democratic architect of Maastricht. Should the Maastricht project for a common European currency come into being, it would amount to only a brief, conflict-ridden episode."
>
> —"For a Workers Europe—
> For Socialist Revolution!"
> *WV* No. 670, 13 June 1997

What the euro is, is a move by Germany, backed for the present by France, to create a currency rivaling the dollar in international trade and finance. As Wall Street's junior partner, the City of London has refused to go along with the euro. Likewise, Britain was the only European NATO power to join the U.S. in the latest military attack on Iraq last month. This was the military counterpart of the BP-Amoco merger and the recent closer cooperation between Royal Dutch/Shell and Texaco.

In controlling the Persian Gulf oil fields, American imperialism has used not only the stick but also the carrot. While the stick is the cruise missiles smashing into Baghdad, the carrot is the tens of billions of dollars in the treasuries of the American and British oil companies. And the bigger they are, the more money they have. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (5 January) on the Exxon-Mobil deal, Rockefeller biographer Ron Chernow pointed out that "one motive for the Exxon-Mobil merger was to combine Mobil's Saudi connections with Exxon's capital to strengthen its bargaining position with the desert kingdom."

The day after the merger agreement was announced, the *Times* quoted one Hassan Yassin, described as a Saudi businessman with oil interests: "Exxon, Texaco, Chevron and Mobil have been good friends of Saudi Arabia for decades. It is natural they will be first in line and the bigger they are, the better it is for us." In this way the further consolidation of Big Oil serves to maintain the hold of American imperialism over the Persian Gulf region, its resources and its people.

From the Ludlow massacre to the terror bombing and starvation blockade of Iraq, Rockefeller and his heirs have purchased their wealth with the blood of countless victims. The rational utilization of oil and natural gas to provide energy for the mass of humanity, as well as the development of safer and more efficient forms of energy, can be attained only through an internationally planned, socialist economy. And for that to be established the heirs of Rockefeller and sheiks of Arahy must be swept into the dustbin of history through proletarian revolution. ■

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Chicago...

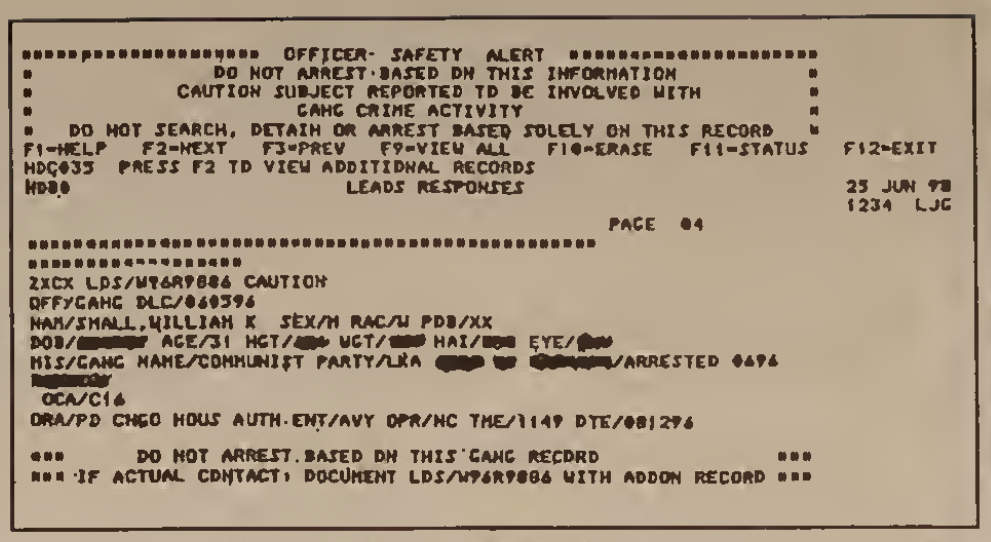
(continued from page 12)

amalgamating leftists into this database. When AK Small was pulled over for a traffic violation following an October 1997 protest against police brutality, he found that his name was on the "gang" database, appearing on an "Officer Safety Alert." His name was listed with the notation, "gang name/Communist Party"!

The sinister attempt to designate leftists as criminals or "terrorists" is not new. In 1981, the Spartacist League won a suit against the State of California for listing our Marxist party—alongside the KKK and Hell's Angels—in a 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California." In fighting this "new McCarthyism," as we called it, we wrote: "We were falsely labeled as dangerous people, to be dealt with militarily, mad dogs to be shot down. It was a murderous effort to set us up for the same kind of campaign of government violence that destroyed the Black Panther Party" (*WV* No. 296, 8 January 1982).

The RCP/RCYB is in the cross hairs of the state repressive apparatus because of its vocal and persistent defense of public housing residents, those whose voices are rarely heard. But revolutionary rhetoric aside, in practice the RCP despairs of the possibility of mobilizing the working class as an agency for any kind of social change, much less for socialist revolution. Instead, they push reformist politics like low-level community organizing aimed at pressuring the capitalist government.

One of their liberal coalitions, the "October 22, 1998, National Day of Protest to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation," by its very name embodies illusions that cop violence can be stopped under capitalism. The cops are the armed defenders of private property whose job is to keep the working class in line: the words "police" and "brutality" cannot be separated. Denying this elementary fact, the RCP's do-good community activism leads them right into coalitions...with cops. The October 22 coalition was endorsed by Ron Hampton of the National Black Police Association. And during the campaign to save black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal from an impending execution warrant in the summer of 1995, the Refuse & Resist group associated with the RCP went so



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**********  OFFICER- SAFETY  ALERT  **********
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*        CAUTION SUBJECT REPORTED TO BE INVOLVED WITH       *
*                  GANG CRIME ACTIVITY                      *
*  DO NOT SEARCH, DETAIN OR ARREST BASED SOLELY ON THIS RECORD
F1=HELP   F2=NEXT   F3=PREV   F9=VIEW ALL   F10=ERASE   F11=STATUS   F12=EXIT
HDQ033  PRESS F2 TO VIEW ADDITIONAL RECORDS
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***      DO NOT ARREST BASED ON THIS GANG RECORD          ***
*** IF ACTUAL CONTACT, DOCUMENT LDS/W96R9886 WITH ADDON RECORD ***
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Illinois police database lists AK Small's "gang affiliation" as "Communist Party." Chicago Red Squad worked hand in hand with FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover in murderous COINTELPRO vendetta against Black Panthers.

Yoichi Okamoto

far as to appeal for a "debate" with the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, which has spearheaded the crusade for Jamal's legal lynching.

Today the RCP seeks to organize minorities into liberal coalitions including the sworn enemies of workers and the oppressed. In the past, the RCP's forebear, the Revolutionary Union, lined up with outright racists in *opposing* racial integration. In 1974, they crassly capitulated to the white racist anti-busing mobs in South Boston, proclaiming "People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan"! (*Revolution*, October 1974). Defense of busing became a pivotal battleground in the struggle against black oppression in general. The Spartacist League supported busing as a minimal measure of integration offering some chance of an education for the black poor and called for labor/black mobilization to defend schoolchildren against the racist mobs. At the same time, we stressed that the government's busing plan was totally inadequate to redress school segregation. As part of our fight for quality integrated education for all, we demanded: "Extend busing to the suburbs!" and "Free universal higher education!"

Black and Red—The Way Forward

The increasing disparity between the 1 percent of the population which owns 40 percent of the wealth in society and the mass of the population lays the basis for tremendous social upheaval. The strengthening of the apparatus of state repression is an attempt by the ruling class to squelch social protest before it happens. The bourgeoisie plays the race card as well to foster divisions within the working class and oppressed, undermining the possibility of united *class* struggle. As we noted in "Deadly Threat to Labor, Minorities—Chicago Cops Dust Off Red Squad" (*WV* No. 669, 30 May 1997):

> "The government habitually covers bids for increased repressive powers by singling out relatively marginal or vulnerable elements. But in fact, the target of police red squads in this country is ultimately the organized labor movement. Among the 77 organizations listed in the 1974 lawsuit against police spying were the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, Teamsters and other unions."

The ruling class uses many weapons to weaken and destroy the organized labor movement, from Red Squads to RICO ("racketeering") laws to scabherding Pinkertons. But its most effective servants are the labor lieutenants of the trade-union bureaucracy who bind the proletariat to its class enemy, particularly through the capitalist Democratic Party. These chains must be broken in a political struggle against the pro-capitalist trade-union misleaders. This is the key to forging a revolutionary party to lead the fight for proletarian power, imbuing the multiracial working class with the consciousness of its historic task, to become a class *for* itself and overturn capitalist rule.

The SL understands that the fight for black freedom and the fight against the grinding exploitation of labor in this racist capitalist society must be joined together in order for either struggle to move forward. We fight for *revolutionary integrationism*, the full integration of blacks into an egalitarian, socialist society. On November 21, some 250 protesters—largely black trade unionists, as well as youth, socialists and other anti-racists—rallied in defense of Mumia Ahu-Jamal and against the racist death penalty at the Federal Building in downtown Chicago. This united-front demonstration, called by the Partisan Defense Committee, tapped into some of the potential social dynamite in the combination of red and black. As the SL speaker at the protest said:

> "Racism, the race-caste segregation of blacks at the bottom of this society, is a primary obstacle to the mobilization of this potential. The trade-union movement, significantly black at its core, has the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation, if mobilized in a revolutionary party operating to oppose ***all*** injustice, as the tribune of ***all*** the people, to overturn this decaying imperialist order. Black liberation through socialist revolution!"

The defense of the arrested RCP/RCYBers is about defending the elementary right to organize. Make no mistake—if they can go after the RCYB they can go after you! All those who would seek to protest injustice have a stake in their defense. The next court appearance for AK Small and Shawn Wall is February 17—All out to defend them! To contribute to the legal defense, send checks payable to "Law Offices of Doug Shreffler" to RCYB2 Defense Committee, c/o 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657.■

DSP...

(continued from page 7)

charlatans claim to have learned this class treason from Lenin, who, they write, "of course, never held that it was impermissible for socialists to call for a vote in a parliamentary election for a bourgeois party" (*A History*). Their "evidence"? In 1920 Lenin called for a vote to the British Labour Party (BLP)! Anyone the least familiar with Lenin's *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* knows this tactic, of support "in the same way as the rope supports a hanged man," was explicitly a call for a *class* vote *"for the Labour candidate and against the bourgeois candidate."* Not for the DSP—they incredibly claim that for Lenin the BLP was a bourgeois party!

For Lenin, the BLP was contradictory. It was "a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who quite act in the spirit of the bourgeoisie." On the other hand, these leaders "are agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement." Lenin termed the BLP "a special kind of labour organisation of four million members, which is half trade union and half political and is headed by bourgeois leaders" ("Speech on Affiliation to the British Labour Party," August 1920). The task of communists was and is to win the masses of workers away from the pro-capitalist leaders, that is, to split such a "bourgeois workers party."

We affirm Lenin's position that critical support to a social-democratic party, such as the BLP or the Australian Labor Party, is to be used as a tactical weapon, affording a revolutionary party an opportunity to exploit the contradictions between that party's bourgeois program and working-class base. Against the bulk of the fake left, however, we oppose the view that it is the duty of revolutionaries to invariably support the social democracy, critically or not. In the 1998 federal election, the ALP pledged continued attacks on the working class, women, Aborigines, immigrants and youth. We said, "No vote to Labor"—the tactic of critical support was not applicable, as it has not been for many years.

In 1984, the SWP blithely declared that the ALP, of which they had been practically an organic component, was and had been since its inception an outright capitalist party. Not born of leftist impulses, this crass revision of the class character of the social democracy was a ploy to advocate support to the *bourgeois* Nuclear Disarmament Party in 1984—into which the SWP threw itself "wholeheartedly." As they put it themselves: "Once we had broken with Trotskyism, and once we had corrected our analysis of the ALP, the way was open for our party to contemplate a much wider range of political options. The possibilities emerged for seeking different types of regroupments with other political forces, and for having a much more flexible tactical approach towards parliamentary elections" (*A History*). For the DSP, their brand of reformism does not depend on the ALP as its agent, and they have repeatedly supported capitalist parties in Australia such as the anti-immigrant Greens and the Democrats, whom the DSP claimed were no different from the ALP for whom they continued to vote.

The DSP *opposes* the struggle for socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their maximum demand is that "the main assets of society must be publicly owned and democratically managed" (*Resist!*, 28 August 1998) and they openly say that a "revolutionary government" in this country "will require a multiclass alliance" (*The ALP and the Fight for Socialism*, 1985). Their "red and green" petty-bourgeois "community" and sectoralist politics are manifestly anti-proletarian in orientation.

In contrast to these opportunists, we Trotskyists—revolutionary Marxists—are guided by political principle and programmatic constancy, the precious theoretical and strategic acquisitions of the international workers movement paid for through bitter experience. As the program of the Spartacist League states:

> "We seek to bring the ICL's powerful revolutionary Marxist program into the working class, infusing the class with the necessary understanding of its historic task: the seizure of state power in a thorough-going workers revolution. Ardently championing the rights of the terribly oppressed Aboriginal peoples, of women, youth, and homosexuals, of immigrants and all the other exploited and oppressed, the working class will be transformed from merely a class in itself, to a class *for* itself, and in the process will utterly smash this racist, misogynist and violent capitalist system and open the door to the future international socialist society."
>
> —"For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!"

What is the DSP? "Made-in-Australia" opportunists of the most unbridled variety lacking even the most rudimentary loyalty to the cause of the working class. Their scouring the world for co-thinkers and bloc partners can only be described, in Oscar Wilde's words, as "the unspeakable in pursuit of the inedible."

It is thus entirely appropriate that they despise Trotsky's Fourth International, describing it as "a farce, a centralised world organisation built on nothing but small propaganda groups united around a written program" (*A History*). With the sneer of the arrogant petty-bourgeois, they mock Trotsky's statement in 1938 that "today there is not another revolutionary current on the face of the planet worthy of the name."

This was simply a true statement: against the social democrats and Stalinists, against all varieties of centrism, Trotsky's Fourth International alone carried forward the program of the Bolsheviks and the Communist International, the fight for international proletarian revolution. That is the struggle carried on today by the International Communist League who fight for a reforged Fourth International, indispensable world party of socialist revolution.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Amid Ominous Cop Mobilization

Oakland Teach-In for Mumia Abu-Jamal Suppressed by Racist Vendetta

January 14 was slated to be a day of teach-ins in Oakland's overwhelmingly black public schools on the death penalty, exemplified by the case of black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man who has spent 17 years behind bars, framed up on charges of killing a cop and railroaded to death row because of his outspoken opposition to police brutality. But the case of Jamal exposes the lie taught in civics and social science classes that the racist capitalist state is a neutral body which metes out justice in a blind and evenhanded manner. This was brought home with a vengeance when the teach-in was squelched in the wake of the shooting of an Oakland cop on January 10, which touched off an hysterical mobilization of support to the racists in blue. In a town where cops routinely brutalize ghetto youth and have gunned down black unionists with impunity, a pledge of fealty to the police became as mandatory as the pledge of allegiance in the schools.

The frenzied vendetta which led to the cancellation of the Oakland teach-in is not an isolated act. From the moment the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turned down Jamal's appeal last October, the racist state authorities and their media mouthpieces have geared up their campaign to prepare public opinion for Jamal's legal lynching. The gutter press regularly runs editorials which could be lifted straight from the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) calling for Jamal's execution. On December 9, ABC-TV's *20/20* aired a 25-minute segment which was simply a rehash of the prosecution's lying brief. When it was announced that proceeds from a January 28 New Jersey Meadowlands concert featuring Rage Against the Machine and the Beastie Boys will go toward Jamal's legal defense, racist radio and TV "shock jock" Howard Stern launched a rahid campaign to silence publicity for the concert. In a chilling threat against Mumia's supporters, the *New York Post* (19 January) foams: "Concert Benefits a Cop-Killing Vermin."

The Oakland furor was triggered by a New Year's press release with a syllabus for teachers on topics related to the death penalty put out by members of the teachers union, the Oakland Education Association (OEA). The proposal met with a racist outcry from the beginning. Leaked to the press by the school board before the OEA had completed a review, the teach-in proposal was sneeringly labeled "Ebonics II," evoking the racist derision that met the 1996 proposal by the school board that "black English" be taught in the Oakland school district. School hoard president Noel Gallo railed against "turning students into political pawns," according to the *Oakland Tribune* (1 January). Shannon Reeves, the anti-union Republican president of the Oakland chapter of the NAACP, denounced the OEA for taking time away from basic studies, suggesting that a teach-in on the stock market would be more appropriate!

The OEA rushed to assure critics that the subject would be taught with complete "neutrality," and acceded to the school board's insistence that it be voluntary and that parents could take their kids out of such classes. Satisfied that the subject would be taught in a manner that comported with the views of the cops and the racist rulers that hire them, the school board gave the nod for the teach-in to proceed. The killing of the Oakland cop, with the funeral set for the same day as the teach-in, exploded the compromise.

Following the shooting, the press spoke of the "somber mood...tinged with pride that Oakland residents provided tips in the case." Setting the pace for the racist "law and order" hysteria, newly elected mayor Jerry Brown, seen by most liberals and many blacks as the man who will breathe life into the impoverished city, ranted, "If they don't work, carry guns

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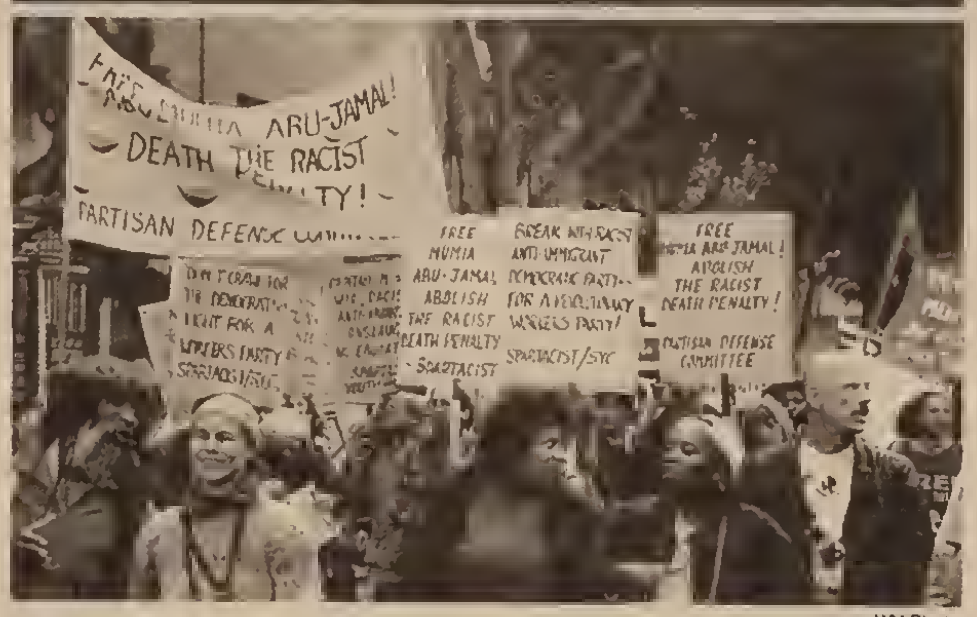
Free Mumia Now!



WV Photo

Spartacist/PDC contingent at November 1998 San Francisco protest following Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling upholding frame-up of Jamal.

Drop the Charges Against RCYB Supporters!

Chicago Cops Retool Sinister Red Squad

As the Chicago Police Department pushes for official sanction to carry on spying and sabotage of leftist, labor and black groups, activists of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) and Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) have been caught in the cops' cross hairs. RCYB supporters Bill "AK" Small and E. "Shawn" Wall face up to a year in jail on bogus charges of disorderly conduct, interfering with a police officer, obstructing an officer and resisting arrest. The charges stem from a protest by residents of the black Cahrini-Green public housing complex and their supporters against plans to raze their homes. This is part of a federal program, cynically named "HOPE VI," to make way for yuppies by flattening 100,000 puhlic housing units, including some on prime lakefront property which have already been destroyed.

As the arrests of Small and Wall make clear, the Chicago bosses are determined not to let anyone get in the way of their devastating plans. On January 6, two others were arrested while distributing the RCP paper *Revolutionary Worker* at the Cabrini-Green complex. Drop all charges against the RCP/RCYB supporters!

These arrests are part of a drive by the Democratic Party administration of Mayor Richard M. Daley Jr. to revive the notorious "Red Squad," known in the 1960s and '70s for its infiltration and murderous subversion of labor, black and left organizations. Working hand in hand with J. Edgar Hoover's FBI Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) operation, the Red Squad set up the cop murders of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark on Chicago's West Side 30 years ago. The Red Squad was formally disbanded as a result of a 1974 lawsuit against police spying, though its subversion and harassment of dissident groups never stopped. A January 7 statement announcing a press conference protesting the arrests the day before reported how one of the cops exclaimed, "If Hoover and us had done our jobs earlier, we wouldn't have to be dealing with 'these' people now."

The city is now seeking to modify a 1981 consent decree which set restrictions on police spying operations, in order to further strengthen the machinery of the state. As part of this, and particularly to criminalize minority youth, the Daley administration is trying to whip up hysteria over "gang activity." The Illinois State Police "gang" database, containing *68,000 names*, gives license to the Chicago cops to "shoot now, ask questions later." Ominously, the police have been

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Hestoft/SABA

Residents of Cabrini-Green housing project are subjected to incessant cop harassment. Mayor Daley's crusade against "gang activity" seeks to criminalize minority youth, targets leftists.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 706 — 5 February 1999

Imperialists Mobilize for Occupation of Kosovo

U.S./UN/NATO Hands Off the Balkans!

JANUARY 31—The United States and other imperialist powers threatened yesterday to launch massive air strikes against the Serbs if the Yugoslav government does not accord "substantial autonomy" to that country's Albanian-majority province of Kosovo. Hundreds of planes, mainly American, and dozens of ships under NATO command are poised for attacks against Serbia. The U.S.-imposed diktat requires that both Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic and the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo send representatives to a "peace" conference in France later this week. The imperialists threaten terror bombing of Serbia if the negotiations are not "satisfactory." The rebels in landlocked Kosovo would also be "punished" by the blockading of Albanian ports in order to cut off their arms supplies.

The imperialists are also planning to send a U.S./NATO force of some 30,000 ground troops to Kosovo to enforce any "peace" agreement. The Clinton administration is promising to contribute some 5,000 ground troops. The German Fourth Reich under Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder also wants to be part of any NATO occupation force in Kosovo. German imperialism has hitherto been restrained by the memory, seared into the consciousness of the Balkan peoples, of the orgy of mass murder carried out under the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II. Whether or not the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance carries out its threats, the Spartacist League forthrightly declares: All imperialist forces out of the Balkans!

Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

Clinton threatens Serbia with NATO air strikes to impose imperialist diktat over Kosovo.

Gamma

The same day the imperialists delivered their diktat to Milosevic, waves of American warplanes attacked Iraqi installations near the northern city of Mosul in the largest air offensive against that country since the U.S. and Britain launched a four-day missile assault in December. Such attacks have become an almost daily occurrence in recent weeks, including the bombardment of a residential quarter of Basra last week that left at least eleven civilians dead. Tens of thousands were slaughtered in 1991 by U.S.-led forces acting under a United Nations fig leaf. Today, the blood of the Iraqi people is still being spilled to cement U.S. control over vast oil and natural gas resources which are vital to America's imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan. Over a million children and hundreds of thousands of other Iraqis have died from malnutrition and disease resulting from the imperialist embargo. Down with U.S. imperialist terror bombing! Down with imperialist sanctions against Serbia and Iraq! U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!

For years, Washington denied Iraqi accusations that UN "weapons inspectors" were part of an American spy operation. But last month it was revealed that the search for supposed "weapons of mass destruction" provided U.S. intelligence with information used to plan the

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AIDS Pandemic Ravages Sub-Saharan Africa

Brutal Murder of South African AIDS Activist

JOHANNESBURG—After announcing that she was HIV-positive on World Aids Day last December, Gugu Dlamini, a mother and AIDS awareness activist, was beaten senseless by a rabid mob claiming to be "cleaning the area." She died of her wounds a few weeks later. Dlamini lived in eastern KwaZulu-Natal, a province at the centre of the AIDS epidemic in South Africa. She was lynched for having the courage to talk about her disease, to talk about her sexual life in a society where women live under patriarchal practices such as polygamous marriages, female genital mutilation and lobola (bride price)—"traditions" upheld by tribal reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers.

The killing of Dlamini near the city of Durban illuminates the immense social backwardness and material deprivation underlying the spiralling AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa, where over 22.5 million carry HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. By current statistics, more than a fifth of the South African black working class—the bedrock of the capitalist economy—are HIV-positive. In KwaZulu-Natal, some 5,000 HIV cases emerge *every month*, including 1,000 babies whose life expectancies are between two and five years.

While the African National Congress-led bourgeois-nationalist government of Nelson Mandela has put on paper some of the broadest liberal democratic laws—striking down prohibitions on homosexual sex, legalising abortion and promising free health care to pregnant women and their children—all these legal provisions amount to a cruel hoax. Far from improving the lives of the impoverished masses, the ANC regime, acting as front men for the white capitalists, has laid off thousands of workers, kept education as a privilege for the children of a few ANC cronies and the white racist ruling class, and shut down many hospitals. This capitalist government cannot and will not deliver on promises of quality health care for women, housing, jobs, education or anything else the population desperately needs.

South Africa is an extreme case of what Marxists call combined and uneven development. A large-scale, modern industrial base and mining complex were built through the super-exploitation of the black toilers by the white capitalist class. Yet the black masses remain mired in "Third World" conditions of extreme poverty, superstition and vestiges of tribalist loyalty

continued on page 7

For a Leninist Party, Tribune of the People!

7 25274 81030 7 06

Ian Donovan Is a Dangerous Lunatic!

Condemn Violent Assault by Pro-Imperialist "Socialist" at Bloody Sunday Demonstration

We reprint below a February 2 statement by the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League, protesting a cowardly thug attack on a Spartacist comrade at a London rally marking the anniversary of the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre of 14 Catholic marchers in Derry, Northern Ireland. Our comrade was bloodied by one Ian Donovan, a recent ex-member of the dubious International Bolshevik Tendency. Donovan is now chairman of the London Socialist Alliance, a group dominated by the Labourite Socialist Party (formerly the Militant tendency).

Donovan assaulted our comrade after she exposed the Socialist Party's chauvinist support to the Protestant-dominated Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), British imperialism's police force in Northern Ireland. As the statement notes, the Socialist Party also sponsors a member of the sectarian Loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and refuses to demand withdrawal of the occupying British Army which carried out the Bloody Sunday massacre.

* * *

At the 30 January demonstration in London commemorating Bloody Sunday, Ian Donovan of *Revolution & Truth* violently assaulted Spartacist League comrade Eibhlin McDonald, an Irish woman. Ian Donovan is currently the chair of the London Socialist Alliance, a group which is politically dominated by the Socialist Party. Unable to politically defend the Socialist Party's support to the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland, Donovan responded by driving his fist into McDonald's face, in the midst of a 500-strong protest against British oppression in Northern Ireland. When McDonald shouted that she had been hit, demonstration stewards came quickly, found the cowardly bully Donovan and cautioned him. Dripping blood from the gash over her right eye, McDonald was taken to a nearby hospital where she was x-rayed and given stitches.

Donovan's thuggery was witnessed by many demonstrators. Dismayed that an English male had battered an Irish woman at this demonstration, several demonstrators shouted at Donovan, "You're a nutter!" Representatives from other leftist organisations came forward to denounce the attack. The despicable exception was Workers Power, whose representative on the spot said our comrade brought it on herself, which is in keeping with their own record of violence and exclusion of the Spartacist League.

Hugh Stephens of the Campaign Against Sanctions and War on Iraq sent a written statement which, while expressing political differences with the Spartacist League, declared: "I have discussed this with my own comrades and we wish to express our solidarity with your defence of your democratic rights, and our disgust that violence should have marred the otherwise very successful demonstration. We have never used violence against other comrades as you know, and we have always found your comrades to be principled in discussions even with us who have very different views, a fact which we appreciate and which we endeavour to reciprocate." *Ian Donovan is a danger to the workers movement. This attack must be exposed and condemned.*

In the argument which preceded the attack, comrade McDonald cited the Socialist Party's grotesque line on the RUC, whom they described in the wake of the Omagh bombing as "a bunch of scared young men, thrown into a horror they couldn't cope with." She suggested Donovan should form a contingent with the Socialist Party and write on their banner "'Socialists' for the RUC!" Donovan is a former member and perpetual hanger-on of the dubious "International Bolshevik Tendency" (IBT) who have an obsessional hatred of the Trotskyist Spartacist League. The IBT are social chauvinists conspicuous for their arrogant indifference to the oppressed, not least the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. Not surprisingly, therefore, they are a culture medium for violent misogynist, anti-communist nutters like Donovan.

Just before he lunged at her with his fist, Donovan ranted that comrade McDonald acted as a "cop" towards him and other IBT supporters, supposedly "fingering them" to the leadership of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP). In fact, we exposed the IBT for being to the *right* of [SLP leader Arthur] Scargill's left Labourite reformism. The outfit which today calls itself the IBT was founded by embittered and hostile ex-members who individually quit our organisations in the U.S. and Canada in the early 1980s in the face of the escalating imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. It had no sooner set foot in the SLP than the IBT was forming electoral slates with virulently anti-communist elements, including those who had cheered on counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, outright apologists for Ukrainian fascism in World War II and supporters of "Workers Aid for Bosnia," which has run point for imperialist intervention in the Balkans. In the same time period, a leading member of the IBT's American group *scabbed* on a strike of New York City building maintenance workers in 1996 (see "The IBT: Social Chauvinists Looking for Labourite Host," *Workers Hammer* No. 166, January/February 1999).

The IBT is led by a sexual sociopath and massive liar, Bill Logan, who was expelled from our organisation in 1979 for gross crimes against communist morality and its substrate, elemental human decency. One account from a survivor of Logan's organisation, Phil Ferguson, notes: "His behaviour is the textbook case of the little ratbag in a private boys school who gets to be head boy or head of some little gang," and adds that "every bone in his body is alien to the working class" (Internet posting, 21 December 1998).

A Spartacist League statement issued on the day of Donovan's assault said: "We refuse to involve the capitalist state in the affairs of the workers movement and made clear to the cops on site that we will not press any charges against Donovan." We also made clear our intention to widely expose and condemn his thuggery, as an act of principle and a service to the left. We call on others in the workers movement to do likewise. Donovan is mentally unhinged and dangerous. Politically he is a Labourite toady and apologist for British imperialism, in the tradition of [former Labour leader] Arthur Henderson who led the cheering in parliament when [Irish revolutionary] James Connolly was shot by a British firing squad. The Labourite Socialist Party which Donovan defends upholds this chauvinist tradition—they are notorious for refusing to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland and for sponsoring fascistic Loyalist Billy Hutchinson in their meetings. Hutchinson's Loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force has connections to the British fascists, who routinely stage provocations against the annual Bloody Sunday demonstration in London *and did so again on Saturday*, where Donovan had earlier staged his provocative attack.

Our statement concluded:

> "Political debate is necessary to clarify what programme and leadership the working class needs to fight for its interests: we oppose the imperialist 'peace' deal in Northern Ireland which is premised on the continued rule of bloody British imperialism, and the continued presence of British troops maintaining the oppression of the Catholic minority. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British troops! Not Orange against Green, but class against class! For an Irish workers republic as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles! *"We repeat: acts of violence such as Ian Donovan's against political opponents on the left have no place in the workers movement!"* ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Since the defeat of Radical Reconstruction in the decades following the Civil War, black people have faced brutal and systematic segregation, constituting an oppressed race-color caste in American society. But as a strategic component of the proletariat, black workers are slated to play a leading role in the American socialist revolution which will eradicate the material basis of racial oppression. In two 1953 lectures centered on the fight against Southern Jim Crow segregation, American Trotskyist Richard S. Fraser put forward the perspective of revolutionary integration—the fight for the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. The Spartacist League carries forward Fraser's pioneering work in our struggle to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party in the U.S.

The racial division of society was born with capitalism and will die only with the death of this last system of exploitation. Before capitalism there was no race concept. There was no skin color exploitation, there was no race prejudice, there was no idea of superiority and inferiority based upon physical characteristics.

It was the advent of Negro chattel slavery in the western hemisphere which first divided society into races. In a measure the whole supremacy of western capitalism is founded upon this modern chattel slavery. The primary accumulation of capital which was the foundation of the industrial revolution was accrued largely from the slave trade....

The "Negro Question" in the United States exists because of the failure of the capitalist class to solve the most elementary problems of the democratic revolution in the South: the problems of land tenure and democratic rights. Thereby it has left the social heritage of color slavery intact as a malignant feature of social life.

But capitalism, even in the southern United States, has created the conditions necessary for its own destruction. It has disrupted the old agrarian pattern, undermined the privileged white middle class, thus weakening the whole fabric of social repression. It has created great industries, proletarianizing white, urbanizing black. This process has centralized the Negro community in positions of great strategic advantage in large city communities, whereas before they were dispersed over the countryside. Capitalism has likewise created the conditions for the overthrow of race prejudice by working class solidarity.

—R.S. Fraser, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution,"
In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser (Prometheus Research Series No. 3, 1990)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is February 2.

No. 706 **5 February 1999**

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Northites Salute Generals and Finks

Imperial War Museum, London

General George S. Patton

Longtime political bandits and renegades from Trotskyism, the Socialist Equality Party (SEP, formerly Workers League) has now descended to actively saluting imperialism's war chiefs. When Clinton carried out his terror bombing of Iraq in December, the Spartacist League forthrightly declared: "Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" In stark contrast, a "World Socialist Web Site" piece by Martin McLaughlin and SEP national secretary David North, dated 19 December 1998, describes the attack as "a shameful chapter in American history" and explicitly counterposes the supposed glories of yesteryear's imperialist war-making:

> "This much is certain: 50 years from now no one will be making films like *Patton*, *The Longest Day* or *Saving Pvt. Ryan* about their exploits.
>
> "One need not agree with the politics of such World War II-era commanders as Eisenhower, Bradley, Patton, and Nimitz to acknowledge that they, at least, led their armies against an enemy fully capable of firing back."

Like a newsreel from Hollywood's World War II propaganda mill, North and McLaughlin carefully omit the atrocities committed by the U.S. military in that interimperialist war as they list "searing images that profoundly influenced the political consciences of several generations":

> "Next to those produced by the opening of the Nazi death camps, the most unforgettable images were those of the German *Luftwaffe* raining bombs on defenseless populations....
>
> "The manner in which Japan initiated hostilities—bombing Pearl Harbor without warning—outraged millions. For decades to come, the phrase 'sneak attack' was synonymous with the basest form of treachery."

What happened to the "searing images" of the nightly pounding of German cities by U.S. and British bombers and the firebombing of Dresden? What about the U.S. government rounding up Japanese Americans into concentration camps for the duration of the war? What about the indelible image of the mushroom clouds produced by American atom bombs dropping on already defeated Japan, incinerating Hiroshima and Nagasaki? "Down the memory hole," as another current hero of the Northites, George Orwell, would have said.

If you're looking for heroes by the criteria of the SEP why not pick Karl Dönitz, admiral of the World War II German submarine fleet. In the First World War, he commanded a submarine that sank. In the next, he lost two sons. The U-boat crews under his command were also heroic, because they kept fighting even when 90 percent were gone. The problem here is that bravery is not a social, or class, criterion. This is made very clear in the movie *Das Boot*.

One would never know from the Northites that the Trotskyists opposed all the imperialist powers in World War II while calling for the unconditional military defense of the degenerated Soviet workers state. In 1939, James P. Cannon, in the course of his great battle to preserve Trotskyism in the U.S. on the eve of the war, summed up the program of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP):

> "1. The main enemy is in our own country—expose and fight the Roosevelt-Hoover combination.
>
> "2. Defend the Soviet Union in spite of Stalin against Stalin."
>
> —*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (1943 edition)

Eighteen leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters union were sentenced to Sandstone federal penitentiary for opposition to the imperialist war. In a May Day 1945 speech, his first after serving 13 months in prison, Cannon reiterated the revolutionaries' position:

> "We said from the very beginning: It isn't a war for democracy against fascism; it isn't a war for justice and freedom. That is not true. It is a war of imperialist rivals; it is a war for profits to be coined out of the blood of the people of Europe and Asia, and eventually for the enslavement and degradation of the workers here at home....
>
> "What can they show, the masters of the world, but ruined cities, mounds of corpses, and millions of starving people? That is the auspices under which American imperialism enters its day of glory as the master of the world."
>
> —"The End of the War in Europe," *The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century"* (1977)

The obscene, gagging patriotism with which North & Co. embrace the military commanders of U.S. imperialism in WWII finds its reflection in alibis for those who served in the postwar anti-Communist crusade. As we commented in "David North's 'Left' McCarthyism" (*WV* No. 702, 4 December 1998): "The heritage North defends is not that of Trotskyism, which was embodied through the 1950s in the now-reformist SWP, but of anti-Communist renegades like Irving Howe and George Orwell, who spied for His Majesty's secret service against 'Soviet totalitarianism'." Not surprisingly, we also find on the SEP Web site a full-blown apologia for Orwell under the byline of eternal toady Fred Mazelis ("George Orwell and the British Foreign Office," 9 September 1998).

It came out last summer that Orwell, the British author of *Animal Farm* and *1984* and coiner of the phrase "Big Brother is watching you," was doing a little watching of his own. In 1949, Orwell turned a list of some 35 people he considered to be in the orbit of the Stalinists over to a unit of the British Foreign Office set up to disseminate anti-Soviet propaganda. Rising from Orwell's snotty comments on "crypto-Communists and fellow travelers" is a nasty whiff of anti-gay and anti-Semitic bigotry. By Charlie Chaplin's name, Orwell writes "Jewish?" in parentheses. The powerful black American singer and actor Paul Robeson, he charges, is "very anti-white." Poet Stephen Spender gets the remark, "Very unreliable. Easily influenced. Tendency towards homosexuality." And on and on.

Yet here Mazelis finds evidence of Orwell's dignity, opining:

> "On one level, Orwell's action in turning over these comments was not the same as those of the political cowards who sought to save their careers during the McCarthyite witch-hunt by 'naming names' of prominent figures who had been in or around the Communist Party years earlier. In Orwell's case, there was no cowardice or personal opportunism involved. He was never a man to curry favor with the establishment, and the political characterizations on his list were by and large similar to sentiments he had expressed publicly."

If anything, in Orwell's case it was worse than "cowardice" and "opportunism." Nobody even had to threaten Orwell. There was no subpoena. There was no wrecking of career, no public humiliation in hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, no prison sentence looming. Unlike those who ratted because they couldn't stand up to the terrorizing witchhunts, Orwell finked voluntarily. Nevertheless, Mazelis posits that "there is no way of knowing exactly where he would have ended up politically if he had lived another two or three decades."

Well, we have a pretty good idea. After all, "My country, right or left," Orwell famously commented, and he meant it. During World War II, Orwell spent time in the British Home Guard and put in a good two years, from 1941 to late 1943, broadcasting for the BBC as part of Britain's propaganda effort toward its restive colonial possession, India. As Clive James puts it in his glorification of Orwell in the *New Yorker* (18 January), Orwell told his Indian audience "that they had a better chance with the British than with the Japanese." This from one who was formerly a bitter critic of British imperialism in the East. So it's not illogical that he went that next, dirty step, sneaking his vindictive comments to his British imperialist masters.

And where will David North's SEP end up? It's hard to predict the exact trajectory of such an unsavory and unstable outfit. But as the author of *Animal Farm* might have put it, "in the end you couldn't tell the Northites from the pigs."■

BBC

George Orwell

Deutsche Fotothek Dresden

Asahi Shimbun

Allied firebombing of Dresden, February 1945, killed over 100,000 German civilians. Six months later, some 200,000 Japanese and Koreans were incinerated in American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Northite paean to U.S. World War II exploits disappears such atrocities.

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Report from Russia

The Grim Face of Capitalist Counterrevolution

We print below excerpts from a 5 December 1998 report by a visitor to the Russian Far East (RFE) recounting the devastating effects in this region of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92. As the mass of working people in the former USSR are plunged into deepening misery, the new capitalist exploiters and the Yeltsin regime which serves them have sold off, looted or driven into the ground the country's massive industrial infrastructure. In August 1998, after years of economic disintegration, Russia experienced a total financial meltdown which further ground down the mass of the population and sowed panic in world financial markets (see "Chaos in Russia, Depression in East Asia—Wall Street Bubble Bursts," *WV* No. 696, 11 September 1998).

We recently published a brief account of political activities during the fall in Moscow and St. Petersburg ("Report from Russia," *WV* No. 703, 25 December 1998). The report below centers on Vladivostok and Khabarovsk, key cities of the RFE which serves as a crossroads for Pacific Rim trade. In the aftermath of

Vyacheslav Voyakin photos

Vladivostok today: pensioner rummages through garbage. Unpaid workers blocking Trans-Siberian Railroad tracks carry placard reading: "We can no longer look into the eyes of our hungry children. We have nothing left to lose."

Part One

counterrevolution, the economic links of this area with the capitalist economies of South Korea, the U.S. and Japan have increased, while the European powers also view the area with avid interest. As well, the RFE has economic ties with the bordering Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, where the threat of capitalist restoration looms ever larger. These factors underscore the crucial need for forging Trotskyist parties to reawaken in the shattered working class the proletarian internationalist consciousness that animated the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution..

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The Russian Far East does indeed seem to be a "once and future place," like a boom town that has gone bust. But in spite of its current state, the region's role as a central trade link for Pacific Rim powers is sure to increase in the near future. Before going into the particulars, I think it is helpful to step back and look at the international setting.

At the moment, there is a "corridor" war over how to link up Russia's Trans-Siberian Railroad to provide a fast land connection between East Asia and Europe. This war is developing alongside the power struggle over Caspian Sea oil and has particular importance for East Asia. The 9 November 1998 issue of the Russian-language *Ekspert* magazine lays out a thoughtful perspective on this question from the vantage point of a Russian would-be imperialist. It points to Japan's concern that China, having come through the current Asian depression intact, is increasingly seen as the rising power of Asia and could form a new axis with Europe. Chinese trade with Europe in the last six months has increased by 25 percent, and China has promised to place a part of its gold reserves in the new euro currency.

It is *against* China that Japan has sought not only to upgrade the Russian port of Zarubino but to build a bridge and "chunnel" (channel tunnel) rail link, via the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin island, to the Russian mainland city of Komsomolsk-on-Amur and then down to Khabarovsk, linking up with the Trans-Siberian Railroad. For Japan and South Korea, a rail link to Europe would mean that their products could reach stores in France in ten days instead of the month it takes to sail by way of Africa. Japan would dominate both Asian trade with Europe and Pacific access to northern China.

According to *Ekspert*, only the U.S. has the money for such grandiose projects, and the U.S. is pushing for an alternate rail link: through a reunified Korea to Vladivostok, which would deny China its own direct link to Europe. "Russia must become a buffer between China and Europe," Zbigniew Brzezinski, who in the late 1970s was U.S. president Carter's national security adviser, is quoted as saying. The South Korean rulers also seek the destruction of the North Korean deformed workers state and its assimilation into the capitalist South. In the words of Choo Kang Soo, president of the new $100 million Hotel Hyundai in Vladivostok: "We expect that Korea will be united in the near future.... We hope that in the near future, the resources of Russia will reach Korea by land" (*Russia Review*, November 1998).

European powers, for their part, have projected a rail link to China that circumvents Russia altogether, using circuitous but existing lines through the Carpathians, Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia to the northwest border of China, where there is only one last stretch to connect to the Chinese rail terminus in Urumqi. So it is not just from the position of a social and economic basket case—albeit possessing natural resources and military hardware—that Russia bargains with West and East. It can also use its strategic geographic importance and its transport infrastructure as bargaining chips in the context of rising international trade wars.

WV Map

The Looting of Vladivostok

From just about any vantage point in Vladivostok, the first city I visited, you get a breathtaking panorama, the dramatic sweep of the harbor naval base, transport and fishing docks. Several strategic assets remain in spite of the devastation wrought by capitalist counterrevolution. Besides the terminus of the Trans-Siberian rail line, which uniquely links the Russian Pacific coast to Europe, there is a vast natural harbor that is home to the Russian Pacific Fleet, the Far Eastern Shipping Company and some of Russia's largest fishing-industry facilities. Until recently, Vladivostok also had the RFE's largest ship repair and construction enterprises. But above all, Vladivostok has its geographic advantage: it is the trade crossroads for Japan, South Korea and China. These factors resulted in a boom in port trade in 1992-93, when many Soviet-era restrictions were dropped.

In addition, Vladivostok is the administrative center of the Primorsky Krai (Maritime Region). And here it is worth mentioning some characteristics of the Primorsky Krai as a whole. While Vladivostok's population is estimated between 650,000 and 800,000, the krai has 2.2 million people (1.7 million urban). The gross regional domestic product for 1997 was $3.5 billion, which dropped 8 percent in the first half of 1998. This is of course the official economy; the black-market economy is many times greater. I found that the biweekly *Vladivostok News* provided an excellent source of information and window into the area's political life.

The Primorsky Krai's industrial centers are Ussurisk (pop. 162,000) and Arseniev (pop. 71,000). The latter is where military aircraft such as the Black Shark helicopter and navigational equipment are or were produced. The Kavalerovo-Dalnegorsk mining center turns out tin, lead, zinc and boron. Of particular interest for foreign exploitation are the neighboring Sakhalin Island Shelf Oil Projects One, Two and Three, which represent the largest concentration of foreign investment in all of Russia. There are an estimated 2.5 billion barrels of oil and 15 trillion cubic feet of natural gas that Exxon, with a series of Russian consortiums and the Japanese company Sodeco, seeks to extract. Vladivostok is expected to provide machine-building and other support services—if the project ever manages to cut through frozen seas and the frozen Russian bank accounts.

With the destruction of the Soviet Union and subsequent implosion of military/industrial production, the Primorsky Krai has been devastated. The industrial collapse is probably even greater there than the national average, which New York University professor Steven Cohen recently estimated to be 50 to 83 percent in the post-Soviet period. Unemployment for the RFE as a whole is actually *1.5 times the national average*—and given the state of Russia, that is saying something. An American think tank recently estimated real unemployment in Russia at a minimum of 18 million out of a total

working population of 68 million.

What does remain viable in the Primorsky Krai is, in the first place, fishing-related industry. Annual catch is still two million tons—half the total for the RFE. But processing is down from 1.5 million to 200,000 tons. The workforce on the Vladivostok fishing docks has been reduced to 2,000, half of its former size, because federal taxes have driven much of the processing overseas or into the domestic black market. As the father of the family I stayed with described, fishing factory ships that come into port are required to pay tax on their haul in cash even before it is sold. But in the cash-strapped Russian economy that is impossible. So a major part of the catch is sold directly to ports in South Korea and America. It is only the government quota for domestic sale of fishing hauls that keeps the fishing industries of the Vladivostok port alive.

According to the son of my host family, there remains a constant demand for workers on the fishing docks, but for miserable pay, certainly not enough to raise a family. He is indignant that the Far East exports timber, oil, coal, ferrous metals, fish, submarines and whole factory assembly lines, and in return imports soft drinks and chicken legs. Timber extraction also remains important at three million cubic meters annually—second only to the neighboring Khabarovsk Krai. Coal was important, but it is undergoing the same drastic contraction that is taking place throughout Russia. The nearby coal town of Partizansk, which ten years ago employed 12,000 miners, shut all four of its primary shafts this spring. Of the 3,162 miners who stayed in town, 250 now sew T-shirts for a South Korean-owned firm, a subcontractor for Gap stores.

Just up the coast from Vladivostok is the town of Nakhodka, where Russia's first Free Economic Zone (FEZ) was established in 1991. The idea was to employ highly skilled, low-paid Russian workers to assemble computer components and so forth. After receiving $90 million in investment, the failure to come through with federal tax privileges for the 450 South Korean-, Japanese- and American-registered enterprises resulted in the FEZ going to the brink of bankruptcy this year, even before the August financial crisis hit. So instead of being superexploited at Third World levels, the bulk of the highly skilled industrial proletariat there, too, has been thrown into a struggle for survival through trade, petty business and subsistence farming.

Many skilled workers are like the father in my host family, an engineer now on "unpaid vacation" for over a year. He survives by tourism and subsistence farming. "You can shout down the barns of our silent factory and hear your echo. It is like a ghost town," he lamented. This family is not nearly as poor as many, but nonetheless speaks of how much comes "from our own garden." They eat fish they catch and even bake their own bread in a modern bread cooker. In fact, they are relatively well-off: two cars, all modern appliances, a home computer and an apartment in the center of town. But they are cash-strapped and barely able to provide for their teenage daughter.

Something like 90 percent of the population in Vladivostok lives in poverty. The outskirts look more like Kiev than Moscow: there are many long-established family dachas and fewer of the strip-garden plots that provide subsistence farming outside Moscow for the ex-proletariat there. My host noted that this season mushroom-picking areas looked like they had been thoroughly trampled by people foraging for food. Nonetheless, Vladivostok's black market and construction have actually attracted immigration. And not many people leave Vladivostok; most people simply have nowhere better to go.

Industrial Ruin and Black Market Enterprise

The Pacific Fleet is still stationed in Vladivostok, but shipbuilding and repair are at a complete standstill. I overheard from local businessmen on my flight back to Moscow that the fleet is slated to be moved out of the city harbor. It is not just the implosion of the Russian military that has devastated the shipbuilding and repair industry of the region. The lack of class cohesion within Russia's looting elite and the parasitism of the central government have driven this work to foreign countries. Moscow has set up 44 different taxes that claim 85 percent of the profits from local enterprises. It is cheaper to repair fishing factory ships in South Korea or Alaska than in Russia!

There is a secondary factor: industry directors and workers prefer postings abroad to exploit channels for black-market trade. But the main thing is that with the destruction of a centralized economy, in this area based on the high-tech military-industrial complex, gang warfare over looting the industrial sector for primitive accumulation has taken over. This loot is what fills the cargo bays of up to 75 percent of the port's outgoing ships. And this is the main source of income for the young racketeer types hanging out in front of casinos in their dark-windowed sports utility vehicles.

An example of what has happened to Vladivostok's ship repair facilities can be seen in the case of a facility in the center of town. I had a chance to visit it briefly and to observe the workforce coming and going. While they did not look as impoverished and demoralized as in many plants in Moscow, it was reminiscent of that. I saw only one stumbling drunkard, but there were very few people in general on this cold Monday. The facility has been sold to a commercial group that plans to demolish it to make way for a dock to off-load profitable foodstuffs. But Moscow regulations stipulate that purchased enterprises cannot change their "specialty" for a period of five years. So, while they are waiting, space has been rented out for business offices. They are liquidating the trade-union library to make way for this.

With the disintegration of national economic links, Moscow has sought to keep its grip on Vladivostok by fostering a really nasty war between the governor of the Primorsky region, Evgenny Nazdratenko, and the Vladivostok mayor, Viktor Cherepkov. In contrast to the single-handed control of Moscow's mayor Luzhkov, their fight over federal and local budgets and business kickbacks has wreaked havoc on the region's infrastructure. But other aspects of life in Vladivostok reminded me of Moscow 1992-95: much is done under the table, in dark corridors of buildings owned by no one knows who.

In 1994, of the half billion dollars of trade going through RFE ports, Japan accounted for 44 percent, while China and South Korea each accounted for 15 percent. The trade boom continued through the first half of 1998 when it reached $820 million, but by midyear it hit a sharp downturn. Even before the pivotal crisis of August 17, U.S. trade was down 50 percent from the previous year. After the August ruble devaluation, imports into the RFE went down another 50 percent. There is still a trickle of imported foodstuffs and construction materials, but cargos that brought 500 to 1,000 containers before the August crisis now bring in 10 percent of that. Exports of timber, seafood products and ferrous metals continue, but at a fraction of the 1994 volume. That is to say, trade at the moment is at a virtual standstill.

This is evident on the Vladivostok container cargo docks, where there is but a handful of ships in port. When my hosts and I stood on "Krestovaya Hill" overlooking the docks, they commented that just a few years ago there were hundreds of ships lined up outside the bay waiting their turn to offload. Here we are talking about official trade; in 1994, according to the *Russian Far East Directory* (Autumn/Winter 1996-97), "Unofficial statistics indicate trade is two to three times greater" than the official figure. This includes the looting of whole factory and military complexes. This black-market looting has increased, if anything. In the freight ports, it provides low-paid work for many who have been thrown out of production jobs.

Potentially far more important as a regional port is the town of Zarubino, just south of Vladivostok where Russian territory tapers off along the Chinese border and meets North Korea. It is slated for a $200 million investment from Japan aimed at creating a shipping corridor to northern China. China's own closest deep-sea port, Dalian (Dairen), is to the southwest, on the other side of the Korean peninsula, and far from the center of China's northern market, the city of Harbin (population 3.5 million). The final decision on the Japanese investment is due by March 1999, but last week the first stage was given a go-ahead. The U.S. also has a keen interest in the Zarubino project. American trade with northern China has far outweighed its trade with the RFE.

Even the used car trade has frozen for the moment, as is evidenced by the Customs Point Parking Lot next to the Sea Passenger Terminal that is full of cars waiting to be sold. Ninety percent of all cars on the roads of Vladivostok and Khabarovsk are secondhand Japanese models, with steering on the right, which are relatively cheap and high quality. One of the few remaining productive industrial sectors in Russia as a whole is auto manufacture; 70 percent of all cars are domestically produced. But even so, these Russian cars are inferior to and more expensive than used foreign cars. So, many Russians had been coming to Vladivostok to buy cars and ship them home by train. Many hustlers made their start-up capital traveling by passenger boat to South Korea or Japan, bringing back up to 20 cars using a sailor's duty-free privileges. These cars would sell for $3,500 to $6,000. As in Khabarovsk, the Vladivostok auto parts open-air market is another place that the ex-proletariat has gone to make a living as petty traders.

The Chinese and Korean Minorities

One neighborhood in Vladivostok is still called the "Chinese Millions." This is a block of buildings where Chinese had

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Top: Port of Vladivostok was center of maritime industries before ravages of capitalist restoration. Below: As shipbuilding and repair have halted, wrecked ships spill oil and industrial waste into harbor.

Yury Lugansky

Moscoop

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Deadly outgrowth of capitalist counterrevolution: rally of Russian National Unity fascists; Cossack rides in Vladivostok main square near monument celebrating Bolshevik victory in Civil War.

Russia...

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lived and worked in service trades before, as one local resident casually put it, "they were driven out." In some ways, the treatment of Chinese in Vladivostok is even worse than the racism Caucasians and Central Asians experience in Moscow. At least Moscow allows its 600,000 Azeris to live, work and trade throughout the city. But in Vladivostok, only a small number of Chinese are allowed in at all, and those seem to be segregated in certain market areas and housing compounds. In contrast to Khabarovsk, I rarely saw any Chinese in the rest of the city. Throughout the Primorsky Krai, Chinese workers were rounded up in trucks for mass deportation in a campaign known as "Operation Foreigner" that officially "ended" in February 1997.

There is an economic basis for this difference. In Moscow, few Russians would try to take on the miserable social niche of the vegetable traders from the Caucasus and Central Asia. In the Russian Far East—from Magadan down to Vladivostok—ex-proletarian Russians seek survival by taking over the small stalls of the Chinese. This is reminiscent of the revanchist drive by the fascistic regime of general Josef Pilsudski in Poland during the 1930s to have ethnic Poles take over the social niche of the poorest Jews there. The Vladivostok "Chinese Market" was in fact formerly predominantly Chinese but there are now only about 200 Chinese traders there; today Russians, who sell the same wares from China, predominate.

In a chauvinist drive against the Chinese, the Primorsky Krai Duma voted $11 million this summer to establish a string of 60 Cossack hamlets, just as in tsarist times, along a stretch of the sparsely populated border with China, allowing 73,000 local Cossacks to patrol alongside conventional border guards. This is an obscene resuscitation of Russian chauvinist traditions, harkening back to the Cossacks' rape and pillage of Korea and China in tsarist times.

WV Photo

Valentin Trukhanenko

Chinese market in Vladivostok. Imprisoned Chinese nationals await deportation. Chinese and Korean traders and workers are victims of Intensifying Russian chauvinism.

Illegal Chinese entry into the Primorsky Krai is minuscule, considering the vast border, and in the RFE there are only about 100,000 undocumented Chinese workers and traders. In all of August, only 17 "illegals" were arrested in Primorsky. With increased patrolling, arrests of immigrants in the southernmost Russian Pacific coastal town of Khasan have dropped from 137 per month to three. But the sorry mentality of the Russian petty-bourgeois and lumpenized population leads them to believe that the rising tide of China's regional strength can be abated by sweeping back petty traders and laborers.

In Khabarovsk, the main Chinese market seemed about three times as large as Vladivostok's. In Nakhodka, there is a Chinese market street that is a kilometer long. The largest Chinese market in the region is in the city of Ussurisk, about 90 kilometers outside of Vladivostok on the rail line to Khabarovsk (and 60 kilometers from the Chinese border). In this industrial town the Chinese market has up to 2,000 traders who never leave the walled-off compound where they cook and sleep inside shipping containers, working 16 hours a day. The ruble devaluation has seriously cut into their profit margins and many are now struggling to sell off what they have—even at a loss—and return to China.

The state of siege that the Chinese market traders feel in both Vladivostok and Khabarovsk is so heavy that they cut off conversation with me the moment I tried to talk about anything beyond simply bargaining over prices. The goods on sale are strictly clothing and simple household materials—no electronics that would have to be tested and covered by warranty. The goods in city electronic stores that I saw were all Japanese and Korean.

In addition to the traders, there are Chinese laborers who are often highly skilled and work for wages even lower than those for the notoriously undisciplined Russian construction workers. I caught a glimpse of some Chinese construction workers on a site in the Vladivostok city center, but that was the only instance. A Chinese construction company has bid to build a bridge over one of the coves of Vladivostok harbor. In Khabarovsk, they have built whole modern office complexes. Economic links of petty trade with China are still vital but immediately and directly affected by the ups and downs of Russia's short-term problems. Larger-scale trade such as timber is actually on an upswing. Russian protectionism and chauvinism make the border far from open from the Russian side, but if trade routes to China through the RFE are opened up, the economic weight of the Chinese as well as the Korean minority in the RFE is bound to grow.

Near Zaruhino south of Vladivostok, just where Russian territory along the Chinese border ends at the North Korean border, lies the town of Khasan where there is a large Korean diaspora. There were other concentrations of Koreans (in Khabarovsk and other Siberian towns), but 95 percent of today's 112,000 ethnic Koreans in Russia are in the Primorsky Krai. As many as 250,000 had fled the Japanese occupation of Korea before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and achieved legal status in tsarist Russia. In the main, they fought on the Soviet side of the Civil War against Japanese and other imperialist intervention forces. But in 1937 Stalin deported all 171,781 of them on charges of "spying for Japan." As of last year, 26,000 ex-Soviet Koreans had returned to the RFE from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and other points, from which they were expelled by nationalist pogroms. Russian *derzhava* (strong state) chauvinists today fear that the Korean minority will concentrate and press for regional autonomy or even territorial unification with Korea at some point, so Koreans are discouraged from returning to the RFE through racist discrimination.

An indicator of the level of anti-Japanese paranoia is the case of environmentalist, journalist and navy captain Grigory Pasko, who was jailed by federal authorities in November 1997 in Vladivostok. He was charged with treason for allegedly providing Japanese media with information about the navy's dumping of radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan.

As for other minorities, I heard from one businessman that there are 30,000 Moslems in Vladivostok, about 5 percent of the official population. There is great religious diversity in Vladivostok—a legacy of its long and complex history as a port. Protestant, Lutheran and Catholic churches are being renovated today no less noticeably than Russian Orthodox ones. There is a mosque, a Buddhist and even a Hare Krishna shrine, but there are no listings for Jewish synagogues or Confucian temples.

Soviet Encyclopedia photos

Red Korean partisan unit in Soviet Far East, 1922. Alexandra Kim, Korean Bolshevik organizer in Khabarovsk. Moscow newspaper reports formation of Chinese-Bolshevik Red Army battalion in 1918.

Signs of Political Life

There is a real "wild west" feeling here, with, for example, a very high rate of contract killings in commercial disputes. In contrast to Moscow, where big money is more firmly and officially in the saddle, here one feels that the degree of economic collapse, the thinness of the frail upper crust, the large black-market component all contribute to an atmosphere of volatile social hatred that sooner or later is going to arc down in a bolt of violence against somebody.

The fumes of mass discontent are explosive, but the explosion can go more ways than one. Over the past year, Vladivostok has seen several labor actions by coal miners, teachers, defense, oil, medical and scientific research workers, to demand wages unpaid for over a year. These included sit-ins, demonstrations in the central city square and sensational highway/rail occupations. The freeze in spending on social services, in part coming out of the war between the governor and the mayor, provoked protests over the unprecedented collapse of social services. These actions were dramatic and very popular but, in keeping with the national pattern, they did not lead to independent or ongoing movements, they were desperate appeals that evaporated. The fumes linger and will yet ignite, but there is no class organization or axis.

In the summer, there was a "red-brown" demonstration, which echoed Russia's own would-be imperial ambitions, against joint exercises with the American navy in the port of Vladivostok. Its popularity succeeded in moving the action some distance outside of the port, but the maneuvers did go on. At no point, in either Vladivostok or Khabarovsk, did I ever encounter a sentiment such as that expressed by the 2,500 Russian residents of the South Kuril Islands who petitioned for Japan to take over control of the area along the lines of British rule in Hong Kong. Just the opposite. I heard only: "I'd sooner starve than see Russia cut apart."

I was told in Vladivostok that the KPRF (the so-called Communist Party of the Russian Federation, really a bourgeois-nationalist party) has only two local Duma deputies who enjoy little support. They appear somewhat isolated, as they are in moneyed Moscow and St. Petersburg, and less popular than they are in the industrial wasteland of Siberia. In contrast to Moscow, I did not see a single opposition paper in any of the kiosks or bookstores and practically nothing on Soviet history. Yeltsin carried both the Primorsky and Khabarovsk Krais during both rounds of the 1996 presidential elections.

It is indicative of the character of the Federation of Independent Unions (FNPR) and the KPRF that, despite the relatively high level of spontaneous labor actions recently, neither seems to have much of a presence. As one Vladivostok resident told me: "People have long stopped turning to the union with any illusions that they'll get anything out of it." I only saw a couple of leaflets calling for a demonstration in the city square on Revolution Day, November 7, signed by the "Trudovaya Primorye" (Toiling Maritime) movement. More numerous were the leaflets posted for the fascist Russian National Unity (RNE) led by Alexander Barkashov. I passed a hangout on a pier, which was plastered with them, and there was a clot of young punks outside who looked like lumpen RNE types.

The family I stayed with, which had been working class but is now déclassé or integrated into the petty bourgeoisie, is part of a politically volatile layer, moving in a reactionary direction. My hosts made repeated anti-Chinese comments which I of course objected to. One of the first things that my host said to me was, "What we need is an army of the working people to wipe out all this scum," by which he meant not just Russia's new robber barons but certain foreigners and minorities as well. Over dinner one night he argued that someone like ex-general Alexander Lebed or ex-Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet was what the country needed. I asked him if he knew that Pinochet had killed 10,000 workers. Of course, he didn't know anything of it.

It really sent a shiver up my spine when my host said that he was glad that the liberal "democrat," State Duma deputy Galina Starovoitova, was killed. "She was the richest woman in Russia," he said. He did not care who killed her or for what, and that's dangerous. But I don't want to paint them in one color; my host is very proud of his family's heritage of fighting for the Reds in the Civil War, for example. As with many, they might well be attracted to a communist pole in the event of proletarian class struggles, but that pole does not now exist. What they need above all is the proletarian internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky to unite the cause of the ex-Soviet working class with the class struggle of the region and the world.

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

and enmity. This is starkly demonstrated by the spread of the AIDS epidemic from central Africa through southern Africa and now to South Africa, where it is devastating the black population. At the same time, the privileged white minority continues to enjoy living standards comparable to the wealthiest enclaves in North America and West Europe, including the best medical care money can buy.

In 1994, open white-supremacist rule was replaced with the dismantling of apartheid, legalised segregation, and the election of Nelson Mandela as the country's first black president. Mandela's "tripartite alliance" with the misnamed South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is a nationalist popular front in which the black working class is chained to its exploiters and oppressors through the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. The pro-capitalist COSATU leadership periodically pays lip service to the causes of the working class, while brutally enforcing capitalist austerity.

The black and also Indian and coloured (mixed race) working class has resisted these attacks by the white Randlords and their ANC/SACP front men, and South Africa is now experiencing a major upsurge of labour struggle. However, popular disillusionment with the ANC regime and its broken promises has also taken reactionary forms: the scapegoating of AIDS victims and activists and the lynching of immigrants from Mozambique and other neighbouring countries, who are often blamed for transmitting the AIDS epidemic to South Africa.

The post-1994 neo-apartheid setup in South Africa is fragile and deeply contradictory. It cannot last. The future of South Africa depends critically on the construction of a multiracial proletarian vanguard party based on the Trotskyist programme and perspective of permanent revolution. In West Europe and North America, social and economic modernisation was brought about by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. But progressive bourgeois revolutions are not possible in the backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the present epoch of capitalist imperialism. Social and economic modernisation as well as national liberation can be achieved in these countries only through proletarian revolution.

A proletarian revolution in South Africa, by expropriating the Randlords, would liberate resources to alleviate desperate social conditions both in that country and throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Among the enormous gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia were bringing literacy, basic education, modern medical care and women's equality to the backward, Turkic-speaking and traditionally Islamic peoples of Soviet Central Asia. Ultimately, overcoming the hideous impoverishment and cultural backwardness of sub-Saharan Africa requires an ***internationally planned socialist economy*** based on proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan.

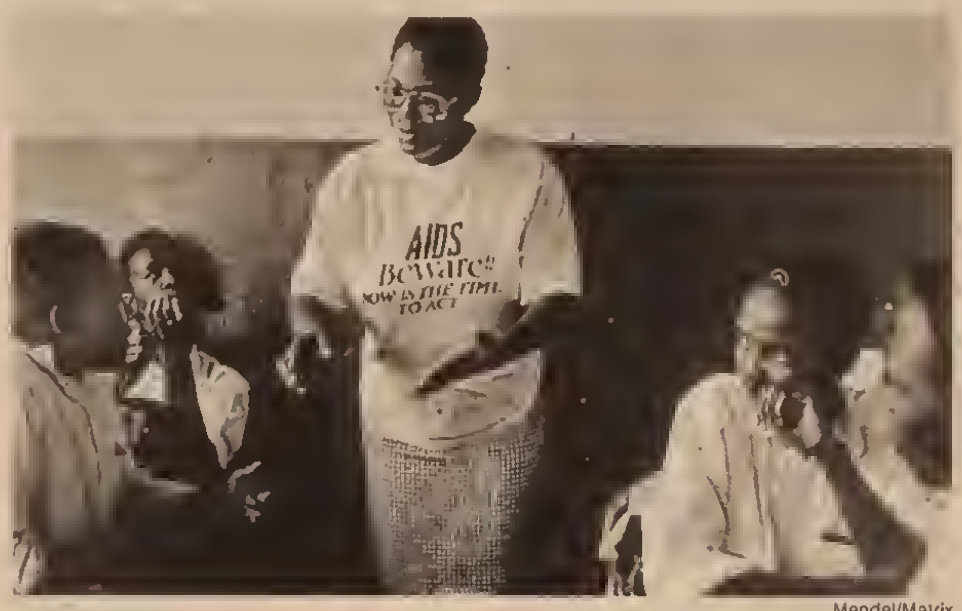
Spartacist

Government fired 60,000 nurses after September 1995 wildcat in which strikers carried signs reading "Away with Mandela."

AIDS Epidemic in Neo-Apartheid South Africa

The AIDS crisis in South Africa is compounded by dangerous, widely held superstitions and backward social beliefs, stemming particularly from the oppression of women, and the effects of mass poverty—prostitution, illiteracy, lack of education. The AIDS virus is transmitted through semen or other secretions during unprotected sex, through intravenous drug use and blood transfusions, from a pregnant woman to a fetus, or through breast milk to a baby. Though there is no cure at present, the spread of the disease could be reduced through condom use, the distribution of sterile needles for drug users, drug therapies for pregnant women and providing infant formula. Because good medical care and especially drug therapies are extremely expensive, AIDS has increasingly become a *disease of poverty* around the globe, from Southeast Asia to the black ghettos of the U.S. The AIDS pandemic in southern Africa is so acute that the rate of new infections is over *ten times* that of West Europe and the U.S. Most medical insurers refuse HIV treatment, which costs from 1,500 rand (roughly U.S. $250) to 4,500 rand per day, while the average black miner earns 700 rand a month.

On the streets of Durban, purveyors of *muthi* (traditional medicines) offering mystery powders and ground bones as cures for the ravages of AIDS are found side by side with the advanced technology and technique necessary to operate the world's ninth most-active industrial port. *Inyangas* (traditional healers) are more often than not called upon to "throw the bones" to diagnose the disease. Worse still, "some healers end up sucking the blood from the infected person" (*The Star* [Johannesburg], 1 December 1998). Some AIDS sufferers are led to believe that they are bewitched by a girlfriend or wife.



Mendel/Matrix

Volunteer instructs South African high-school students on AIDS prevention. Over 22.5 million in sub-Saharan Africa are already infected with HIV.

In KwaZulu-Natal and throughout South Africa, immigrants from Mozambique and elsewhere "north of the Limpopo" are increasingly being used as scapegoats for the vast spread of AIDS. In early January in Tembisa, northeast of Johannesburg, six Mozambicans were "necklaced"—burned alive—by a 400-strong "street committee" mob run by the ANC, as a direct consequence of the government campaign of blaming immigrants for escalating crime born of desperate poverty. Spartacist South Africa demands: full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

With elections impending after four years in power, ANC deputy president Thabo Mbeki took pains to kiss HIV-positive babies at AIDS Day photo-ops, hypocritically donned red ribbons and pontificated on the "African renaissance." Mbeki launched an 80 million rand "awareness" campaign, which has as its main theme a call on youth to refrain from sex until marriage. This "family values" crusade is part and parcel of the ANC campaign for "moral renewal," which is meant to camouflage the regime's manifest inability to deliver real improvements for the masses. Bourgeois-nationalist politicians, the church and other institutions push the lie that sex outside marriage is "dangerous" and "immoral" in order to shore up the institution of the family, the key prop of women's oppression under capitalism.

In the advanced capitalist countries, those with HIV are stigmatised and often denied care or even simple democratic rights. Sexual bigotry and racism in the U.S. have meant indifference to the deadly disease, which is seen as the problem of marginalised groups like homosexuals and the ghetto poor. In South Africa today, blaming immigrants, women and gays for the spread of AIDS and other social ills can mean murder, as shown by the cases of Dlamini and the Mozambicans. The fate of women and the struggle for their full emancipation is tied to the proletarian class struggle against capitalism. For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

Criminal Negligence of the ANC/SACP Regime

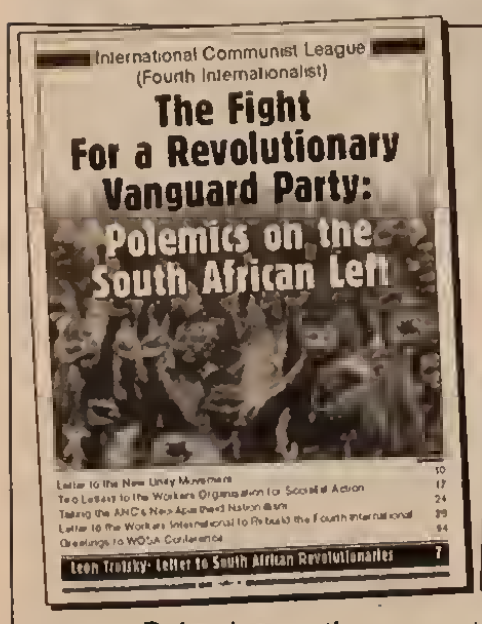
Last fall, in a public relations move the giant Glaxo-Wellcome pharmaceutical company offered free three-day kits of the anti-AIDS drug AZT to health care workers who had been exposed to the HIV virus. Yet the Department of Health criminally refused this offer, presumably because the government was unwilling to spend the money to continue treatment after the three-day supply was used up. Although more than 20 percent of pregnant women are estimated to be HIV-positive, the government also scuttled a multimillion rand pilot programme to provide them with AZT, which has been shown to reduce by at least 50 percent the likelihood of a mother's passing the AIDS virus to an unborn child. Some government officials obscenely argued that "if the baby does not have HIV, it will live, and the mother will die of AIDS. Who will look after the orphans?" (*Sunday Times* [Johannesburg], 24 January).

There is no way that the mass of South African blacks infected with HIV can afford the expensive, life-prolonging drug treatments called "AIDS cocktails." But even the effective use of condoms to prevent infection, literally a matter of life and death, is blocked by the negligence of the South African regime. The government imports large quantities of condoms from East Asian factories, which are supposedly inspected for quality control by South African medical officials. Yet a large fraction of these condoms turn out to be old, inferior or otherwise defective, splitting apart when used. Even the Johannesburg correspondent for the *New York Times* wrote, "Government officials were using a procurement system that almost invited manufacturers to ship their castoffs here" (27 December 1998).

While doing little to prevent the spread of AIDS, the ANC-led government is using this terrible medical tragedy to promote reactionary social values. Thus KwaZulu-Natal health minister Zweli Mkhize warned parents and communities "not to exploit young women for labour," claiming women are "vulnerable to sexual abuse" in industry—an order for women to stay jobless, at home and pregnant.

The left face of the Mandela/Mbeki regime is provided by the reformist South African Communist Party which also exercises leadership over the COSATU union federation. Linking AIDS to the left's "globalisation" shibboleth, the SACP wrote: "The lack of

continued on page 8



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Publication of the ICL, April 1997

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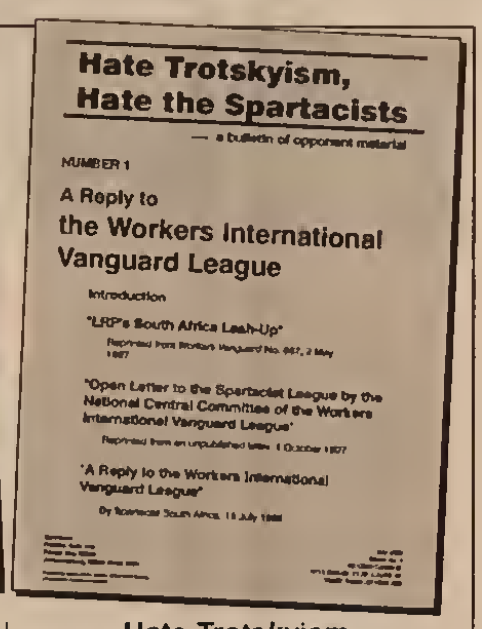

Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacists No.1

A Reply to the Workers International Vanguard League

Publication of Spartacist South Africa, July 1998

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Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

"Desert Fox" December bombing. The *Washington Post* (17 January) specified: "The heart of the Desert Fox list (49 of the 100 targets) is the Iraqi regime itself: a half-dozen palace strongholds and their supporting cast of secret police, guard and transport organizations." As with Clinton's terror bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan last August, the continued death and devastation being inflicted on Iraq—and the threats of renewed bombing against the Serbs—underline that imperialism is not merely a "policy" carried out by a particular wing of the bourgeoisie. Imperialism is, in the words of Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, the "highest stage of capitalism," a rapacious system based on the exploitation and oppression of the workers and semicolonial masses.

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the rulers of U.S. imperialism feel they have a free hand to carry out invasions or launch terror-bombing campaigns against semicolonial countries from Haiti to Somalia to Iraq. These repeated acts of terror by U.S. imperialism are aimed at enforcing the subjugation of the semicolonial peoples of the world and demonstrating to its capitalist rivals that the American bourgeoisie remains top dog. From the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the long, losing war against the heroic Vietnamese people, U.S. imperialism is the main force of oppression in the world. This system cannot be "reformed" or pressured into becoming more "humane" but must be overthrown through socialist revolution. The Spartacist League fights to forge an internationalist proletarian vanguard party modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik party, which led the workers to power in the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

AFP

Iraqi victims of U.S. missile attack near Basra in January.

Imperialist Hypocrisy and Military Terror

As usual, the imperialists couch their threats of military terror against the Serbs in the name of "humanitarian" concerns—in this instance, the murderous oppression of Kosovo's Albanian majority by Milosevic's security forces, which are trying to crush a secessionist insurgency by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK). But this is the most abject cynicism. No less than their West European counterparts, the U.S. rulers are categorically ***opposed*** to self-determination for Kosovo's Albanian population because they fear that further break-up of the Balkan states along national lines could ignite a conflagration throughout the whole region. This is fully understood in Belgrade. As Serbian government officials indicated to the *New York Times* (31 January), "Kosovo is a political and financial drain for Belgrade, and if NATO is willing to take responsibility for restraining the rebels and keeping Kosovo from independence for three years, Mr. Milosevic may see that as an advantage." If so, it is a highly dangerous gambit. The U.S. is fully prepared to unleash untold destruction on any semicolonial country whose leaders are not 100 percent under their thumb, as the Iraqi people can attest.

When the U.S. threatened air strikes against Serbia last summer, we wrote: "We defend the right of the Albanian-populated areas of Kosovo to self-determination—that is, the right to secede from the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. However, should the imperialists stage a military intervention over Kosovo, the issue of self-determination would be subordinated to our military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces" (*WV* No. 693, 3 July 1998). This is precisely what has come to pass. Today, to call for self-determination for the Kosovar Albanians can only be a cover for support to imperialist intervention.

We also defend the right of the Serbian minority to live in Kosovo on the basis of full equality. In contrast, liberals and the reformist left, who divide the world into "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples, dismiss with a wave of the hand the rights of the Serbs. In fact, the Serbian minority in Croatia has already been almost entirely driven out through "ethnic cleansing" there. The Serbs in Kosovo, like the Jews of pre-World War II Poland, make up some 10 percent of the population. With the Albanian Kosovars about to become the pawns of the imperialist occupation force, the stage is set for reversing the terms of oppression.

The Kosovo "peace" process being brokered by Washington is modeled on the NATO-imposed Dayton accords, signed following imperialist air strikes against Bosnian Serbs in the summer of 1995 and policed by an imperialist occupation force in Bosnia. As we warned at the time: "The U.S.-imposed pact and NATO occupation will produce yet more bloodshed, while further hardening nationalist hatreds among the South Slav peoples" (*WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995). Today, with hardline Serbian nationalists viscerally opposed to autonomy for the Albanian Kosovars and the UCK equally opposed to any solution short of independence, imperialist intervention can only lay the basis for further bloodshed.

The machinations in the Balkans are a harbinger of escalating interimperialist rivalries, whose logic ultimately points toward a nuclear third world war. Despite the conjunctural show of unity among the Western powers, all are pursuing their own interests in the region. Britain and France were the main big-power allies of Serbia against Germany in both world wars and are trying to restore influence in the region. Bonn's drive to restore its pre-World War I sphere of influence in the northern Balkans is aimed at the region's wealth of minerals which have strategic importance to German industry. As a recent study pointed out, Kosovo "contains the greatest concentration of mineral wealth in the whole of south-eastern Europe." During Hitler's occupation of Yugoslavia, Kosovo's mines produced massive amounts of lead, zinc, nickel and other strategic minerals for the Third Reich's war industries (Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* [1998]).

While the U.S. has no such strategic stake in the Balkans, it seeks to wield the military power of NATO, which it dominates, as a means of furthering Washington's global interests. With interimperialist rivalry increasingly coming to the fore following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S. fears that the European powers may conduct independent military operations, bypassing NATO. Today, there are more than 25,000 U.S.-commanded troops under UN auspices stationed in Croatia and Bosnia. Two thousand more soldiers occupy Macedonia, including 350 Americans who help police the border with Kosovo.

Washington also worries that the conflict in Kosovo could spread to Macedonia, where ethnic Albanians constitute over 25 percent of the population. The breakup of Macedonia could well trigger a war involving Albania as well as Bulgaria and Greece, which both have claims

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South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

autonomy that accompanies poverty is a major contributor to the spread of HIV/AIDS" and blames policies "advocated by the World Bank/IMF" (*Umsebenzi*, November/December 1998). The SACP has some nerve! It's these social-democratic ex-Stalinists who help administer the starvation, poverty and death of capitalist rule in South Africa.

The SACP/COSATU bureaucrats' anti-labour, anti-woman, anti-health-care programme was underscored when they branded one of the earliest labour struggles against the regime, the 1995 nurses strike, "counterrevolutionary." The strike of these women workers, who are on the front lines of the fight for decent health care, was smashed by the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. In the aftermath, 6,000 nurses were dismissed by the Eastern Cape provincial government headed by then SACP national chairman Raymond Mhlaba.

The black South African working class continues to defy and challenge the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange, their ANC junior partners and SACP henchmen. Last year, three million working days were lost by strikes in transport, auto, chemical, garment and other industries—the highest level of strike activity since Mandela became president. What is needed is a revolutionary party which can channel the raw militancy of the working class, and its growing disillusionment with the ANC/SACP regime, into a struggle against the neo-apartheid capitalist system. This requires combating reactionary prejudices such as hostility to immigrants and AIDS victims which pervade large sections of the proletariat. As Lenin insisted, a revolutionary party must be *a tribune of the people*, fighting for the democratic rights and interests of all the oppressed.

AIDS and the South African Left

Standing to the left of the ANC/SACP regime are a number of groups identified with or claiming to be in the Trotskyist tradition which act as left tails of the nationalist popular front. The International Socialist Movement (ISM), a split from the tendency led by Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, recently wrote in an article titled "Socialists and the AIDS Epidemic": "Obvious steps to counter this problem would be to launch an international campaign featuring presidents, general secretaries, archbishops and even the Pope talking openly about sex and sexual practices; it would involve the mass, free distribution of condoms as well as ensuring that drug addicts would have access to clean needles" (*Revolutionary Socialist*, New Year 1999). One might rightly wonder what world the ISM inhabits thinking that the religious and political leaders of capitalist reaction are about to hand out condoms and give drug users clean needles. But these reformists have long tailed such forces, from cheering counterrevolutionary Solidarność in Poland to supporting the woman-hating, anti-Soviet *mujahedin* in Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the centrist Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL) has issued a 1999 election manifesto which barely mentions health care and completely omits any mention of AIDS and women! While the WIVL likes to sound "left" compared to the reformists and nationalists, they similarly capitulate to the pervasive social backwardness in this society and reject the fight to break the working class from bourgeois nationalism, including by tailing the reactionary communalist vigilantes of People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (see the Spartacist South Africa pamphlet *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacists* No. 1).

SilvaSygma

Mozambicans awaiting deportation in South African jail. ANC regime's policies fuel violent attacks on immigrants who are blamed for AIDS and other social ills.

The killing of Dlamini and the recent anti-immigrant lynchings are symptomatic of an escalation of ethnic/tribalist hostilities. Only the forging of a revolutionary proletarian party that fights for a black-centred workers government to expropriate the Randlords and all of the parasitic capitalists can cut through the hatreds born of superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the bourgeois masters. A victorious proletarian revolution in South Africa would lay the basis for smashing imperialist domination throughout sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, it would immediately face the military might of world imperialism, especially the U.S. This underscores the burning urgency of a revolutionary *internationalist* programme and perspective. Spartacist South Africa fights for new October Revolutions as the precondition for an egalitarian socialist society which will marshal the world's resources in eradicating hunger and poverty and advancing the struggle against deadly disease. For a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!■

on Macedonia. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which were mainly fought to determine which Balkan states would get Macedonia and Kosovo as the Ottoman Empire fell apart, were the prelude to the First World War.

The endless cycle of ethnic slaughter in the Balkans underscores the fact that a democratic resolution of the conflicting national claims in that region can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing and exacerbating national claims. This was demonstrated by the 1917 Russian Revolution which laid the basis for the numerous nationalities which had been under the boot of the tsarist empire to achieve self-determination. The Bolshevik Revolution opened the road to genuine national equality by expropriating the capitalists and landlords and fighting to extend proletarian power internationally.

WV Photo

December 1995 Spartacist demonstration outside UN headquarters in New York City protests imperialist occupation of Bosnia.

Left Face of Imperialist Warmongering

It is striking that the most virulent anti-Serb warmongering in the Western imperialist countries often comes not from the right wing of the political spectrum but from liberals, social democrats and even the "far left." In the U.S., rad-lib notables like Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens were prominent in calling for bombing Serbian forces in Bosnia, while the liberal *Nation* (30 March 1998) has called for a "U.S. military reaction" against the Serbs in Kosovo. In Europe, fake-Trotskyist groups like Cliff Slaughter's Movement for Socialism in Britain and the West European-centered United Secretariat (USec), tailing the mass social-democratic parties, call for Western governments to act against Serbian "aggression."

The left's support for bloody imperialist terror cloaked in "humanitarian" garb goes back to the 1991 Persian Gulf War against Iraq. At that time, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, called for defeat of the U.S.-led onslaught and defense of Iraq while appealing to the Iraqi proletariat to lead the Kurds and other oppressed peoples in the overthrow of the despot Saddam Hussein. But many liberals and leftists, echoing the imperialist hue and cry over "poor little Kuwait," donned yellow ribbons in solidarity with the imperialist troops and backed the starvation blockade of Iraq as a "peaceful alternative" to bombing.

By the time it came to "poor little Bosnia" a couple of years later, many of these types were among the most bellicose advocates of imperialist intervention. The most active agency on the left promoting imperialist military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs was the "Workers Aid" campaign, dominated by the Slaughterites and the USec. Under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for the "multiethnic" working class in Bosnia, Workers Aid was in reality a pressure group on the imperialists to attack the Serbian forces besieging the cities controlled by the Muslim regime.

The centrist Workers Power (WP) group in Britain, one of the boosters of the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" campaign, scandalously refused to defend the Serbs in the face of imperialist attack. In a 5 September 1995 statement, WP declared that "each side's strategic goals are reactionary," repudiating the Leninist position of military defense of small nations and semicolonial peoples against imperialist aggression. Marxists understand that imperialism is not a question of one or another "strategic goal" but a *system* of domination over the vast masses of the world's people by a handful of powerful capitalist classes.

That WP, the USec et al. genuflect before the imperialists' "democratic" pretensions harks back to their support to the Cold War campaign against the Soviet Union. As Trotskyists, the ICL stood for unconditional military defense of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, and the deformed workers states of East Europe against capitalist counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies. Groups like WP and the USec, on the other hand, bought into the imperialists' drive to restore capitalism in the name of abstract "democracy," supporting Polish Solidarność, the fake "union" backed by the Pope, the CIA and Western bankers, and hailing the forces on Yeltsin's barricades of counterrevolution. From Yugoslavia to the former Soviet Union, capitalist counterrevolution has meant mass privation, continual nationalist bloodletting and social disintegration. However limited their influence, those "leftists" who championed the forces of capitalist restoration bear their share of responsibility for these horrors.

Imperialist War Moves Abroad, Escalating Repression at Home

The imperialist military intervention in the Balkans and the Near East is carried out by the same racist American ruling class that has ruthlessly driven down the living standards of working people in the U.S., that brutally oppresses blacks, Hispanics and immigrants, that has condemned millions to homelessness and starvation through the axing of welfare and other social services. Seeking to contain the explosive contradictions between a handful of filthy rich and those at the bottom, the parties of capital—Democrats and Republicans—join in ratcheting up capitalist repression. This has translated into an explosion of the prison population, mounting racist cop terror in the ghettos and barrios, and the grisly speedup on death row.

Most recently, in an interview with the *New York Times* (22 January), Clinton revealed a Pentagon proposal to appoint a high-level military commander for defense of the continental U.S. against "terrorists" using chemical or biological weapons. Veiled as a means of ensuring transport of medical supplies and such, this plan would significantly augment the repressive powers of the capitalist state. The plan met with immediate opposition from a range of civil libertarians. In response, one Pentagon official claimed that the measure would avoid such "overreactions" as the locking up of some 120,000 Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II. Yet concentration camps have been an integral part of the repressive apparatus in the U.S. as elsewhere, especially during war time.

During and immediately after World War I, thousands of German Americans, antiwar socialists and anarchists were rounded up and imprisoned, while foreign-born radicals were deported. Currently empowered to carry out such mass roundups of "undesirables" is the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Originally charged with overseeing disaster relief, FEMA was transformed by Republican president Reagan into an apparatus to put down urban insurrection. A top-secret master plan, Rex 84, called for the detention of up to 100,000 political dissidents and immigrants in several concentration camps in the event of "social unrest."

Liberals have opposed Clinton's proposal on the basis of the Posse Comitatus law, which bars the U.S. military from engaging in domestic police activity. But this law, enacted in 1878 to prevent Union soldiers from enforcing the right of blacks to vote in the post-Civil War South, has repeatedly been ignored by the government. The militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, which resulted in the Marines gunning down a Hispanic youth in Texas two years ago, was made possible by an exception to the Posse Comitatus law allowing troops to be used in the racist "war on drugs." And according to the *New York Times* (28 January), a "little-noticed" bill passed by Congress some years back already "gives the Pentagon power to step in domestically in the event of chemical and germ attacks."

As Marxists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we seek to mobilize the multiracial proletariat against the rapacious, bloodsoaked capitalist rulers. This requires a political struggle inside the labor movement against the class-collaborationist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which chains workers to the capitalist Democratic Party and embraces the aims of the imperialist rulers. In opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of war and racism, we fight to build a revolutionary workers party as the essential instrument in the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away this system of exploitation and imperialist oppression. ■

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Boston...

(continued from page 12)

a state-paid living stipend for all! Our program is ***revolutionary integrationism***—the struggle to smash the color line once and for all through the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society.

Boston: Hardcore Segregation in the "Deep North"

In Boston, where racist mobs attacked black schoolchildren during the fight to implement school busing in the 1970s, the white bourgeois rulers today feel confident that they can drop even the pretense of school integration and take back the few crumbs thrown to the city's besieged minority schoolchildren. In November, the federal First Circuit Court of Appeals declared the affirmative action admissions policy of prestigious Boston Latin High School unconstitutional.

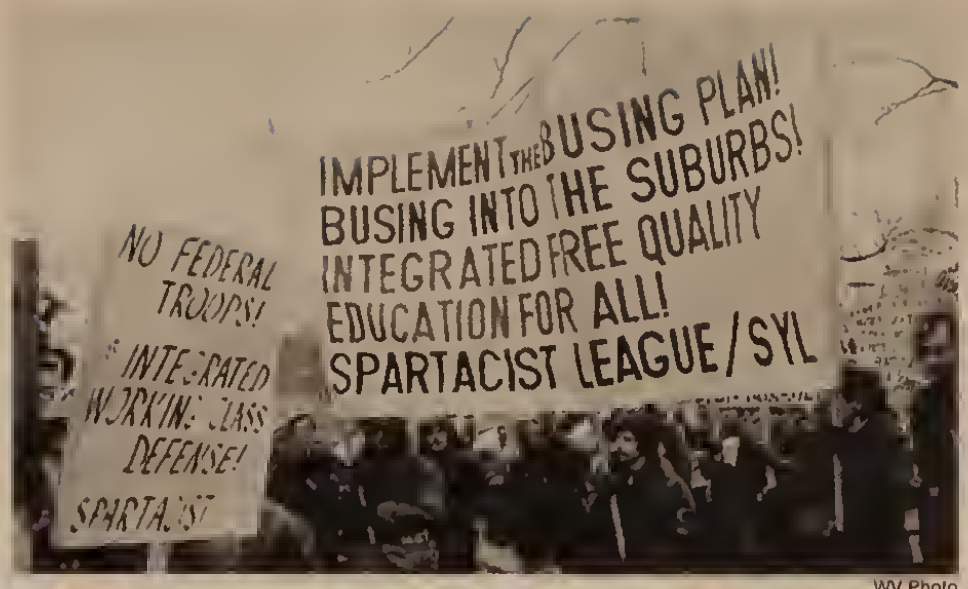
Boston Latin is one of three "examination" schools—virtually the only decent public schools in Boston—which had reserved a certain number of seats for minority students. Long seen as a gateway to success, Boston Latin has been the target of choice in a series of attacks against school integration in the last few years. In the 1995 McLaughlin case, a white yuppie lawyer successfully sued the city to get his daughter into the school, contravening the quota system. Pending a Supreme Court appeal of the First Circuit Court ruling, the Boston School Committee has announced that "all students invited to the city's three exam schools for next September will be admitted strictly on merit, without considering race" (*Boston Globe*, 3 December 1998). Two months after the ruling, Mayor Thomas M. Menino pledged to construct five "neighborhood schools"—long the code word for school segregation.

Whatever its pretensions to academic liberalism, Boston has always been a hub of hardcore urban segregation and nasty Deep North racism. For the past 25 years, the political leadership of the city has been a veritable rogues' gallery of those who built their careers on the racist mobilizations against busing. Late City Council president Louise Day Hicks, who threw herself in front of buses carrying black schoolchildren, rode her demagoguery into a Congressional seat. Raymond Flynn, cofounder of ROAR ("Restore Our Alienated Rights"), the reactionary umbrella group that organized the racist anti-busing mobs, went on to become the city's "liberal" mayor and then Clinton's ambassador to the Vatican.

Carrying on the fight for segregation is James M. Kelly, who has just been reelected Boston City Council president for the sixth time. Kelly began his career as leader of the South Boston Information Center, the front for the fascistic South Boston Marshals—paramilitary gangs that showered rocks on buses of black schoolchildren during the anti-busing riots. Joining him is Councilor at Large Albert L. "Dapper" O'Neil, who lauds the Council of Conservative Citizens—a Southern group that is the direct heir to the Klan-infested White Citizens Councils which fought against school desegregation in the 1950s—as "a good group" (*Boston Globe*, 15 January).

To this day, racist politicians and newspaper pundits heap scorn on the busing program and the judge who ordered it, Arthur Garrity Jr. Menino's call for neighborhood schools coincided with Garrity's donation of his papers documenting the implementation of busing to a local university. This touched off a flurry of anti-Garrity and anti-busing tirades in the press, with right-wing *Globe* columnist Jeff Jacoby denouncing Garrity as "the Most Hated Bostonian" and "a megalomaniac, intoxicated with his own power and blinded by self-importance" (*Boston Globe*, 4 January).

Vehemently opposing the desegregation program, even in its recent vestigial forms, many white parents have sent their children to either private or parochial schools. This has given the Boston public education system a rather peculiar character considering the racial demographics of the city. While Boston is almost 53 percent white according to the 1990 census, the school system is now 49 percent black, 26 percent Hispanic, and 9 percent Asian (*Boston Globe*, 1 December 1998). Ironically, South Boston High School, a center of the anti-busing racists during the 1970s, is now largely black. But parochial schools cost money, and racists who would never send their kids to overwhelmingly minority schools would like to get "their schools" back. Hence, the calls for a return to "neighborhood schools."



WV Photo

Forman/Boston Herald American

Boston: Spartacist contingent at 1974 demonstration calls for labor/black defense of black schoolchildren. Racist anti-busing mob attacks blacks in the streets, 1976.

WV Photo

1,500 turned out for integrated united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee against Klansman David Duke in Boston, 1991. SYCs call for youth to ally with labor in fight against racist terror.

The Battle Over Busing in Boston

The defeat of busing in Boston, a quintessential Democratic Party stronghold, foreshadowed its defeat nationwide. During the first year of the plan, the only neighborhoods affected were poor, black Roxbury and poor, heavily Irish Catholic South Boston. When a federal court implemented a limited busing plan to desegregate Boston's schools in 1974, it was immediately met with a white boycott of South Boston High School which rapidly escalated into city-wide racist mobilizations and lynch mob terror. Frenzied mobs roamed the streets intimidating and assaulting blacks, shooting at black housing projects and firebombing the NAACP headquarters.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League immediately mobilized in defense of busing, despite the severe limitations and bureaucratic implementation of the desegregation plan. The busing program was consciously designed to provoke racial polarization by busing black children from deteriorating inner-city black schools to decrepit inner-city white schools—the "Brahmin bourgeoisie" made sure that no black kids would be bused to swanky suburban schools. Nevertheless, busing was a step against the rigid segregation of the schools. We raised the call, "Implement the Busing Plan! Extend Busing into the Suburbs! Integrated Quality Education for All!" and agitated for the key integrated unions—including teachers, bus drivers and meatpackers—to organize labor/black defense of black schoolchildren. We declared:

> "A victory for the racists would represent an enormous defeat for the oppressed black masses in this country. The busing of schoolchildren, which represents a step toward ensuring black people's democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities, must be implemented this fall and, moreover, extended throughout Boston and into the suburbs.
>
> "The development of an organized labor/black defense force to intimidate and demoralize the racist vigilantes, to ensure the implementation of busing, to protect black people and especially the schoolchildren threatened with racist attacks, to channel the just rage of black youth away from random retaliation into an effective, organized counteroffensive, this remains the urgent need of the hour!"
>
> —*Young Spartacus* No. 35, September 1975

Of the many leftist groups in Boston at the time, the SL/SYL was unique in our perspective of labor-centered defense of busing. Some "leftists" opposed busing outright, most outrageously the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU), forebears of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Catering to backward white workers, the RU paper *Revolution* (October 1974) capitulated to the racist mobs, declaring: "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan"! The International Socialists (I.S.), predecessors of today's International Socialist Organization, also capitulated to white racist backlash on the busing question while claiming to support the right of black children to attend any school they wanted. The I.S. railed against "two-way" busing because white kids might be sent to ghetto schools, while its paper *Workers Power* (10 November 1972) denounced "the 'pro'-busing and 'anti'-busing forces, both of whom use racism to further their own ends."

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) initially opposed busing out of its appetite to tail black nationalists who sought "community control" of the schools, i.e., segregated ghetto schools presided over by black administrators. However, when pro-busing protests swelled, the SWP reversed itself. Joining with liberals like the NAACP, the SWP preached reliance on the forces of the capitalist state to stop the racist mobs, calling for "federal troops to Boston" and denouncing our call for labor/black defense as "unrealistic."

In their appeal to the armed forces of racist American capitalism, the SWP consciously rejected the basic Marxist understanding that the capitalist state is the defender of the bourgeois order. The police, army and state bureaucracy cannot be pressured to serve the interests of the exploited and oppressed. The capitalist state machinery must be smashed through a socialist revolution placing the multiracial working class in power. The reformist SWP promoted the illusion that the racist capitalist government, which in 1973 pulled its troops out of its dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

force notorious for victimizing black motorists, which was brought home in the hail of bullets fired into a van carrying black and Hispanic college students last April. New Jersey governor Christine Whitman, who has placed a bounty on the head of exiled former Black Panther Assata Shakur, is calling for people to demand refunds for their tickets.

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is urgently posed! The sinister and orchestrated campaign against him and his supporters has one clear purpose: to prepare public opinion for his legal lynching. The machinery of lies went into high gear after the Pennsylvania Supreme Court announced its rejection of Jamal's appeal last October 30. In December, ABC-TV's *20/20* portrayed Jamal as a depraved cop killer, retailing evidence manufactured by the prosecution and secured through police intimidation and terror. The many who have spoken out in his defense were depicted as simply a small band of "duped" Hollywood liberals and isolated radical crazies. With this lie once again punctured by the many thousands who have bought tickets for the sold-out Meadowlands concert, the media, cops and other forces of the capitalist state are in a frenzy.

In the eyes of the ruling class of this country, Jamal is a black revolutionary. Above all, the capitalist rulers are deathly afraid of the combination of black and red, the spectre of social revolution. As we wrote in our call for a November 21 Chicago labor/black mobilization in Mumia's defense:

> "This is a fight for more than the life and freedom of one courageous man. They want to kill Mumia because of what he represents: defiance of this racist system which saps the lifeblood from the many millions to ensure fabulous profits for a wealthy few. *All of labor must mobilize now to demand: Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!*"

Jamal was in the gun sights of the police and FBI since the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, which was targeted for destruction by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation. As an award-winning journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization, his searing indictments of cop terror further enraged the police. After years of surveillance, the police were unable to charge Jamal with even the most minor offense. But on the night of 9 December 1981, the cops saw the perfect opportunity for a frame-up when they found Jamal slumped on the curb bleeding profusely from a bullet wound to his stomach, with Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner lying shot nearby.

Five different witnesses from five different vantage points told the police that they had seen another man flee the scene of the shooting. These witnesses were bribed, coerced or terrorized by the police into changing their true eyewitness accounts. The cops claimed that the bullets which killed Faulkner came from Jamal's gun. But there is no evidence that his gun was even fired that night! As for the much-touted "confession" Jamal supposedly uttered as he lay near death in the hospital, this fabricated story didn't surface until *two months after* the event, following a meeting called by the District Attorney's office to orchestrate the cops' testimony. None of this came out in the sham 1982 trial presided over by "hanging judge" Albert Sabo who, during his tenure, sent more people to death row than any sitting judge in the U.S.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a case study in the nature of the racist American "justice" system. This was brought home to high-school students in the heavily black city of Oakland, California in early January when a scheduled teach-in on Jamal's case was canceled amid an outpouring of racist vitriol against "cop killers." The purpose of education under capitalism is to inculcate bourgeois values and discipline. The clamor against the proposed teach-in expressed the fear that exposing the black and Hispanic ghettoized poor in Oakland's public schools to the facts of Jamal's case would explode the myth of American "democracy." Similarly, the rulers seek to stop youth from attending a concert promoting Jamal's defense. The same cops who threaten the Meadowlands concert and its mainly youthful audience roam school corridors and gun down minority youth with impunity.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a non-sectarian, class-struggle legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, a revolutionary Marxist organization. We understand that the cops, courts and prison system which have persecuted and seek to kill Mumia are at the core of an apparatus of repression which protects the rule and profits of a tiny minority. The death penalty is at the pinnacle of this system of capitalist repression—the lynch rope made legal.

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Cops screaming for Mumia's execution in 1995 besiege Philadelphia hospital workers union hall, site of planned fund-raiser for Jamal.

The social power to fight for Jamal's freedom lies in the hands of the multiracial working class. For this social power to be unleashed, labor must be independent of the capitalist political parties—the Democrats and Republicans—and state agencies of the enemy class. That means ridding the unions of the cops and opposing all state intervention into the labor movement. As is only further underlined by the escalating cop mobilization against Jamal and his supporters, unions infested with these deadly enemies of labor and blacks cannot effectively defend themselves much less the victims of the state's frame-up machine.

The capitalist rulers are mobilizing their forces for Jamal's death. We must mobilize ours to free him. Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation and to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system. A mobilization of the union movement, drawing in youth, minorities and all the oppressed in the fight to free Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty, would be a giant step in this direction.

26 January 1999

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the PDC. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.■

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and peasants, could be made to deploy its armed forces on the side of Boston's besieged black population.

What reliance on the forces of capitalist law and order meant in Boston was displayed at Carson Beach near South Boston in August 1975, when a march of 2,000 blacks was attacked by twice as many racists hurling rocks and bottles. Eight hundred cops kept the black demonstrators confined to a narrow strip of the beach, enforcing this with brutal clubbing and motorcycle and horse charges. The racist mobs cheered, "Let the cops do the job!"

In the wake of the racist mobilizations, the busing plan became more symbolic than real. The defeat of busing in Boston led to the reversal of school desegregation plans across the country. As we wrote in an article in *WV* No. 175 (30 September 1977): "The simple truth is that it was the liberals, not the racist mobs, who actually killed busing. And those in the left and workers movement who capitulated to liberalism share the blame."

Education and Racist American Capitalism

Public education is a historic gain of the working class won through hard struggle. It is a sign of the utter decay of capitalism that conditions are being rolled back to the 19th century, when Marx and Engels called for public education as a vital democratic demand aimed at breaking the old aristocratic private school system and the hold of the church. Currently in vogue are "charter schools," which are being touted by both capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans. These schools, now spreading with the approval of local governments throughout the U.S., are meant to circumvent the constitutional separation of church and state, dismember public education and lessen the power of the teachers unions. This development has found resonance among a section of the black population for whom quality education, 45 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision against Jim Crow segregation, remains a cruel hoax. Their despair was reflected in the decision several years ago by the national NAACP—whose lawyers argued the historic *Brown* case—to debate dropping its opposition to segregation.

In fact, "public education" itself is largely a misnomer. Schools are mostly funded by property taxes. And since housing is deeply segregated by both race and class, there are actually two "publics": those of affluent white neighborhoods, whose schools get more resources, and poor working-class and minority neighborhoods. Although money might not be the answer to every problem posed by public education, in the ghetto schools it would surely go a long way toward updating facilities, purchasing modern textbooks and equipment and the other prerequisites to a meaningful education. But the bourgeoisie is not about to spend more money on educating working-class, black and Hispanic youth when there are no jobs for them. Instead, they slash education budgets while launching union-busting attacks, such as imposing "competency" tests on teachers. Meanwhile, the Democrats and Republicans join in massively strengthening the arsenal of racist capitalist repression, pouring billions into new prison construction, putting thousands more cops on the streets, criminalizing an entire generation of black and Hispanic youth through the racist "war on drugs."

There are enormous resources in this society to provide a quality education for *all*. But under capitalism, the ruling class spends only what it can realize back in profit. Today the ghettoized population is increasingly seen as "expendable" by the racist capitalist rulers. But at the same time, black workers continue to occupy a strategic place in the integrated labor movement. It is here that the power resides to carry out a socialist revolution to overthrow racist capitalist rule and create a society which will free the resources necessary to meet the needs of all. To unlock this power requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

CHICAGO

Revolutionary Marxism Today

Next classes: February 10, ***The Marxist Theory of the State***; February 17, ***Proletarian Revolution***

Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

Cobb Hall, Rm. 104, Univ. of Chicago
5811 S. Ellis
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930
or spartacus@uchicago.edu

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Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future

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Alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m.

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TORONTO

Capitalism, Communism and the Fight for Revolution

Next classes: February 9, ***Labor vs. Capital in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay***; February 23, ***Racism and Capitalist Oppression***

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

International Student Centre,
33 St. George St. (North of College St.)
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
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VANCOUVER

Capitalism, Communism and the Fight for Revolution

Next classes: February 10, ***Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!***; February 24, ***Labor Must Defend Imigrant Rights!***

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

UBC, Buchanan Building, Room B330
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

WORKERS VANGUARD

New Jersey Meadowlands Concert

Thousands Defy Cop Campaign Against Jamal Benefit

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

In the face of police threats, denunciations by state officials and a rabid media campaign, a capacity crowd of some 18,000 packed the Meadowlands arena for a January 28 concert benefiting the cause of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia police officer. Area newspapers had run daily bloodcurdling diatribes while rock DJs called to boycott the event and ban the artists' records from their stations. Undaunted by the storm against the concert, the young, largely white fans cheered as the concert initiators, the popular leftist band Rage Against the Machine, led the chant "Free Mumia!"

Guitarist Tom Morello noted that their concerts "have been protested by the Ku Klux Klan, and Rage concerts have been protested by neo-Nazi groups. And now, a Rage Against The Machine concert is being protested by the Attorney General of New Jersey." A statement by Mumia saluted those who "continue to stand up for the right to read what they want to read, say what they want to say, and support what they want to support."

After a push to stop the event fizzled because the state had lost previous suits over attempts to ban concerts, New Jersey governor Christine Whitman launched the drive for a boycott. A state trooper policing the event railed, "Everybody who buys a ticket should have blood on their hands" (*New York Post*, 29 January). The media featured interviews with relatives of the dead policeman in an attempt to whip up public sentiment behind the cops. But while some hundreds reportedly demanded refunds, the tickets were immediately resold. We publish below a January 26 Partisan Defense Committee statement, headlined "Ominous State Vendetta Against Jamal Targets Meadowlands Concert," which was distributed on site.

* * *

In a sinister escalation of the drive to execute an innocent man, a lynch mob of cops, district attorneys and capitalist politicians is trying to shut down a January 28 benefit concert for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at New Jersey's Meadowlands complex.

WV Photo

Youth rally outside Meadowlands arena as capacity crowd turns out for January 28 Mumia benefit concert.

Racist "shock jock" Howard Stern kicked off a rabid campaign to silence publicity for the concert which features Rage Against the Machine, the Beastie Boys and Bad Religion. The *New York Post* (19 January) weighed in with a chilling article headlined "Concert Benefits a Cop-Killing Vermin." Volunteering to "squeeze the needle" to end Jamal's life, the *Post* columnist quoted Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) president Richard Costello, who openly threatened: "I hope if there is a 911 call to that concert, all the cops going to the scene would observe the traffic light laws."

Setting the stage for a police provocation against those who go to the concert, the head of the New Jersey State Police bristled at assigning state troopers to the concert, declaring: "We're putting our troopers in with a hostile crowd, and my people are going to be there trying to maintain law and order" (*Daily News*, 23 January). This is no small threat coming from the top cop of a police

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25 Years After Defeat of Busing

Boston Schools: Separate and Unequal

Young Spartacus

In this deeply racist society, premised on the forcible segregation of the black population at the bottom, the fight for decent education has long been at the center of the struggle against black oppression. Under the Southern slaveholders, teaching blacks to read or write was a crime often punishable by death. During the period of Radical Reconstruction following the Civil War, former slaves strove to build schools to teach their children to read as part of the fight to gain full access to American society. And a key component of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and early '60s was opposition to "separate but equal" Jim Crow school systems, which condemned black students to miserably substandard education.

Today, as the minimal gains made in the struggle against segregation continue to be eroded, what passes for public education is more segregated than at any time since the civil rights movement began. Black students in large cities attend schools overwhelmingly made up of minority youth. With overcrowded classrooms, outdated textbooks, antiquated lab facilities and often even lacking paper, these "schools" are little more than holding pens for youth who are offered no future outside of unemployment, prison or early death in this decaying capitalist society.

In the colleges and universities, affirmative action is increasingly under attack by racists who want to deprive black people of even this minimal gain, which at best offers access for a small percentage of minorities and women while leaving intact the class, race and sex bias of education under capitalism. The struggle for black rights and social equality is now dubbed "reverse racism." The 1960s goal of racial integration in education, at least on the college level, has now been replaced with "diversity" and "meritocracy"—code words for admission of token minorities only. Last week, in an openly racist appeal, advertisements by the right-wing "Center for Individual Rights" in several university newspapers railed against using affirmative action "to promote racial diversity." The meaning of these attacks can be summarized as: "No blacks need apply."

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for free, quality and integrated education for everybody, through the highest level. We defend affirmative action and demand: Open admissions and no tuition, with

continued on page 10

Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 707

19 February 1999

Black Democrats Rally 'Round Welfare-Slasher Clinton

AP

Jesse Jackson joins Clinton on Wall Street to push project for "black capitalism" while black poor face deepening misery, as shown by children in Mississippi hovel.

Sherbell/SABA

Clinton Impeachment and Racist Reaction

Break with the Democrats!

For a Workers Party that Fights for All the Exploited and Oppressed!

Republican efforts to oust Democratic president Bill Clinton from office ground to a halt last week when the Senate predictably failed to convict on the two counts of impeachment. For the population as a whole, Clinton's impeachment for consensual sexual activity posed a threat to the fundamental democratic right to privacy. At the same time, as we noted in "Clinton Impeachment and U.S. Imperialism" (*WV* No. 704, 8 January), "the weakening of the constitutionally strong American presidency, which stands at the apex of the capitalist state apparatus, would not be a bad thing from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and the oppressed." Now, with Clinton's Senate acquittal, significant sectors of the bourgeoisie have breathed a sigh of relief that the sanctity of the imperial presidency was preserved, freeing Clinton to do what he was put in office for—to secure the profits of American capitalism by riding roughshod over the oppressed masses worldwide while ratcheting up the exploitation and brutal repression of workers and minorities across the U.S.

American ruling circles have been increasingly concerned that the illusion of "democracy" was being undermined by the recklessness of the Republicans in their impeachment of Clinton. Opinion polls consistently showed that a majority of the American people opposed the impeachment, reflecting in particular justifiable concern for the right of privacy. Faced with a population which in its majority does not vote—a crude reflection of a perception by working people and the poor that their interests are not represented by either of the dual parties of American capitalism—the bourgeoisie worried that the drive to remove Clinton from office could shatter the myth that "the people" choose their rulers.

Many commentators have opined that a good part of what fueled the Republicans' ire was that Clinton had stolen much of their program—elimination of welfare, racist "law and order," expansion of the death penalty, wholesale assaults on civil liberties and draconian attacks on immigrant rights. With Clinton carrying out the program of the "moderate" Republicans, the GOP has increasingly come under the influence of the reactionary Christian fundamentalist right. This is exemplified by Moral Majority founder Jerry Falwell, who raved that the anti-Christ—who "will be Jewish"—will appear in the next ten years and has now launched a crusade against a purple Teletubbie—a children's television character he claims is gay!

The impeachment crisis has also highlighted that the most solid base of support for the Democratic Party is in the black population. Recent opinion polls show approval for Clinton among blacks in the range of 90 percent compared to 50 percent for whites. To be sure, these polls—which exclude the opinions of the millions of blacks living in homeless shelters or on the streets, or just too poor to have a functioning telephone—cannot be taken at face value. Furthermore, the fully one-eighth of the black male population imprisoned or convicted of felonies is denied even the right to vote. But while the soaring approval ratings for Clinton are weighted toward the views of middle-class blacks, Clinton also finds support among the mass of black workers, reflecting the false consciousness sown by black politicians and trade-union bureaucrats that the Democrats represent the interests of labor and blacks.

Yet if blacks rallied behind Clinton during the impeachment crisis, it was not because they now see him as "America's first black president," as black novelist Toni Morrison dubbed him. Rather, it is because they see the men who want to remove him from the White House as the present-day incarnations of the slaveholders of the Old South. Texas Republican Congressman Tom DeLay lashed out at Clinton when he meekly voiced "regret" for centuries of black slavery during a state visit to Africa last year. Senate Republican leader Trent Lott of Mississippi and Georgia Congressman Bob Barr have addressed gatherings of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a direct descendant of the KKK-infested White Citizens Councils that terrorized civil rights marchers in the South. Speaking in the 1980s, Lott stated: "I think that a lot of the fundamental principles that [Confederate president] Jefferson Davis believed in are very important to people across the country, and they apply to the Republican Party." So it's scarcely surprising that most blacks view Clinton as good, or at least better than Lott and his ilk.

It is a measure of the racial divide in this country that Clinton's cynical courting of prominent black figures such as Rosa Parks, who was featured at the January State of the Union address, has struck a certain resonance in the black population. Even middle-class blacks understand that they, too, are targeted by the apparatus of racist state repression, in particular the cops. Thus comparisons have been made between Starr's vendetta against Clinton and the FBI's hounding of Martin Luther King. Yet it is the Clinton administration which has done more than even its Republican predecessors to strengthen these very forces of racist repression. Meanwhile, black Indiana Congresswoman Julia Carson venerated welfare-slasher Clinton for "uplifting the lives of people whose circumstances would not on their own propel them into a life of economic security"!

These politics of "lesser evilism" in reality perpetuate the racist hellhole that American society is for black people. According to government statistics, in 1998 over a quarter of the black population—nine million people—were defined as poor. To suppress the seething discontent bred by poverty and oppression, the bourgeoisie has greatly augmented its apparatus of brutal repression, placing tens of thousands of additional racist killer cops on the streets with ever more deadly high-tech weaponry. Over 1.7 million people—60 percent of them black or Hispanic—inhabit the nation's prisons, a threefold increase in the past 15 years. Mostly this is the product of the "war on drugs" pushed by both capitalist parties, among the most zealous

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Workers World and the Democrats

21 January 1999

WV Editor,

A careful reading of *Workers World* (Jan. 14, 1999) newspaper proved most revealing to me as I am struggling to gain a lucid picture of the American left.

The editorial in the *Workers World* is titled "A Tale of Two Demonstrations." The editorial lambasts the CPUSA (Communist Party) for its obsession with defending Clinton in issue after issue of the paper, and advocating that people vote for Democrats in the recent election to supposedly combat the ultra-right.

Workers World accurately points out that Clinton has been the villain in pushing through much of the anti-poor "Contract on America" and has been waging a war against the Iraqi people.

Concerning labor and other oppressed groups, *WW* states:

> "The mass progressive movements in this country—labor, civil rights, women, lesbian and gay—have for many, many years been allied with the Democratic Party. But this is no reason for those who call themselves communist or socialist to panic and fall in line. It merely shows that much work remains to be done to establish the political independence of the working class and all its allies."

Note well. No mention of the need for a revolutionary workers party to offer leadership to the "working class and all of its allies" if they should gain political independence.

WW continues: "Until the progressive movement breaks free of the bourgeois two-party system, the capitalist rulers will be able to divert the class struggle at home in imperialist war adventures abroad without any opposition from Congress..."

Opposition from Congress? Having just criticized the CPUSA for promoting Democrats, the *WW* now states that when the oppressed break with the Democrats these Democrats will put up opposition to imperialism.

Shouldn't the story read like this. When workers and their allies break with the bourgeois parties, build a revolutionary workers party that will fight to overturn capitalism and build an egalitarian socialist system, then and only then will imperialist wars end.

In another article in this issue titled "Clinton throws money at the Pentagon," the author concludes with the statement:

> "It's time for the labor movement, workers and progressive people to demand that those billions [money for Pentagon] of dollars be used for jobs, schools and people's needs—not war."

Sounds like CPUSA party line from here. Who are the people going to make this demand upon but the bourgeois government—which has been busy destroying reforms in recent years. A tad bit ideologically confused here.

In conclusion, after one reads through all the rhetoric in the *WW*, one gets a glimpse of the reformist orientation of *Workers World*.

New *Workers Vanguard* reader

The Cliffites and Police "Strikes"

15 January 1999
Boston

To the Editor:

The article "Government Hands Off District Council 37" in *WV* No. 703 (25 December 1998) exposes the International Socialist Organization's (ISO) kneeling before the capitalist state and its courts as "neutral" bodies that can be used to the benefit of the working class. But we don't even have to look to the ISO's cothinkers in Canada and Britain for examples. These "State Department socialists" have a long and sordid history of crossing the class line on this question that goes back to their predecessors, the International Socialists (I.S.). In 1971, the I.S. supported the New York City police strike, referring to the action as that of "militant workers" whose "union," the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA), was threatened by the Taylor Law:

> "Last week New York City cops discovered what it's like *to be on the other side*. As soon as they stepped out of their role and began to act like *militant workers* themselves, the power of the state came down on them even more heavily than it did on *other workers*.... If the police continue their fight against the city and the Taylor Law, the contradiction between their role as police and *their needs as employees will intensify*."
>
> —*Workers Power*, 29 January 1971 (emphasis added), quoted in *Young Communist Bulletin* No. 2, "International Socialists: Left Wing of Social Democracy"

As we stated, the cops, courts and the prison system are the core of the capitalist state, which is an instrument of class repression against the working class. The state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of the working class but must be *smashed* through a socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state. This will take the construction of a Leninist vanguard party built in opposition to those groups like the ISO whose politics are reduced to being the "socialist" mouthpieces for the capitalist class.

Comradely,
Mark M.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Oliver Cromwell: Bourgeois Revolutionary

Last month marked the 350th anniversary of the execution of the English king, Charles I, by Oliver Cromwell and his New Model Army. This act was the dramatic high point of the first of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions which led to the social and economic modernization of West Europe and North America. While Cromwell's Commonwealth of the 1650s effected the progressive transformation of English society, his consolidation of the colonial subjugation of Ireland ultimately led to a strengthening of reactionary forces in the British Isles. As Trotsky recognized, Cromwell was, within the limits of his class and historical era, a great revolutionary:

Cromwell's task was to inflict as many crushing blows as possible on the absolute monarchy, the court dignitaries, and the half-Catholic Church, which had been reduced to serve the needs of the monarch and the dignitaries. For such a blow Cromwell, the true representative of the new class, was in need of the strength and passion of the masses of the people. Under his leadership, the revolution acquires all the scope it needs. Whenever it exceeds—for instance, among the Levellers—the limits of the demands of the renovation of bourgeois society, Cromwell mercilessly berates the "madmen"....

The revolutionary realist Cromwell was building a new society. Parliament was not an end in itself; law is not an end in itself; Cromwell himself and his "holy" troops considered the realization of divine commands to be the true end, but in reality the latter were merely the ideological conditions for the construction of bourgeois society. Dispersing Parliament after Parliament, Cromwell thus revealed as little reverence for the fetish of "national" representation as he revealed an insufficient respect for the monarchy by the grace of God in his execution of Charles I.

Nevertheless, it was Cromwell who paved the way for the parliamentary and democratic methods of the two succeeding centuries. In revenge for Cromwell's execution of Charles I, Charles II had Cromwell's body suspended on a gibbet. But no Restoration could reestablish the pre-Cromwellian society. The work of Cromwell could not be liquidated by the predatory legislation of the Restoration. For the pen can never eradicate that which has been written by the sword. This reversal of the popular proverb is much more correct, particularly when we speak of the axe of revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, *Where Is Britain Going?* (1925)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON

The Fight for Communism and the Class Struggle Today

Next classes: Saturday, February 20, 1 p.m., Rm. B18A
Marxism: A Guide to Action;
Wednesday, March 3, 7 p.m., Rm. 323B
Anti-Labor Attacks, Cop Terror and the Capitalist State
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Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

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Revolutionary Marxism Today

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March 3, ***The Fight to Build a Revolutionary Vanguard Party***
Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Rm. 104
University of Chicago, 5811 S. Ellis
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930 or spartacus@uchicago.edu

NEW YORK

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future

Next classes: February 23, ***Anti-Labor Attacks, Cop Terror and the Capitalist State***;
March 9, ***Revolution vs. Reform: The Russian Revolution—How the Working Class Took Power***
Alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m.
NYU, Loeb Student Center, Room 517
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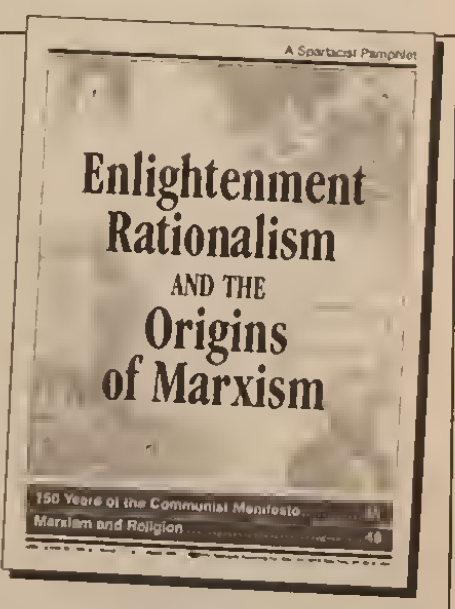

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16 Years After Cop Frame-Up

Chicago: Death Row Prisoner Freed

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

After more than 16 years on death row, an exultant Anthony Porter, who had been framed up for a double homicide, walked out of an Illinois prison a free man on February 5. Speaking outside prison, Porter said the Chicago cops "railroaded me straight up. They framed me." He went on, "I don't know how I'm going to get those years back. I'm just thankful to be alive." Had a college class not investigated the case, uncovering a prime example of racist capitalist injustice, Porter could be dead today.

While this case may be chilling, it is hardly exceptional. Nationally, for every seven prisoners executed since the death penalty was reinstituted in 1976, one death row prisoner has proven his innocence and won release. Porter is the tenth such prisoner to have been released from Illinois' death row. As in all of those cases, his escape from the death machine required overcoming enormous obstacles. We say: Abolish the racist death penalty!

Anthony Porter was convicted in 1982 for the murder of a young couple on Chicago's South Side and was to be the first inmate put to death in the new "super-maximum" facility in downstate Tamms Correctional Center. Two days before his scheduled execution last September, the Illinois Supreme Court granted Porter an emergency stay in order to allow a mental competency hearing. The Northwestern University journalism class of professor David Protess then decided to take on Porter's case as a project. In 1996, his class gained wide recognition when their investigation uncovered evidence clearing the "Ford Heights 4"—young black men wrongfully convicted of abducting and killing a white couple in suburban Chicago. The four were released after languishing in prison for *18 years*.

These cases highlight the workings of a system of racist injustice where frame-ups and police violence are everyday occurrences. In the Porter case, the journalism class, with a private eye working *pro bono*, took only *four months* to exonerate him. Among the clues the class uncovered was the fact that the state's star witness testified that the killer fired with his left hand while Porter is right-handed. Another man has since confessed to the murder and turned himself in.

As Marxists we oppose the death penalty on principle. We do not accord the state the right to say who lives and who dies. The death penalty—the historic *norm* in racist America—is at the apex of the capitalist state's bloody arsenal of repression. Only as a result of deepgoing social struggle was the American ruling class compelled to overturn the death penalty in 1972. But in 1976, after the civil rights movement and mass Vietnam antiwar protests were long over, the same court that had ruled the death penalty was "wanton and freakish" gave a green light to reinstate it. With the assembly line of death continuing to accelerate, the number of executions since 1977 reached 500 last December. Today, more than 3,500 prisoners—the majority black and Hispanic—are on death row.

Since 1982, Porter has maintained that he walked into the police station to clear his name after the murder, but was then handcuffed to a wall and beaten with a telephone book in order to force a false confession. While Porter never confessed, they managed to frame him up anyway. Chicago ranks second in the nation in the number of homicide convictions overturned because of a prosecutor concealing or entering false evidence.

A recent series of articles in the *Chicago Tribune* has documented a pattern of racist abuse perpetrated by the Cook County Prosecutor's office when Richard M. Daley Jr., now Chicago's Democratic mayor, was State's Attorney. During Daley's tenure, which included the time of Porter's frame-up conviction, dozens of other "suspects," overwhelmingly black, were tortured—by electric shocks to the genitals, burning, smothering, Russian Roulette—to coerce false confessions. One notorious torturer, police commander Lt. Jon Burge, among whose victims is the group known as the "Death Row Ten," was fired in 1993. But this does not alter one iota the nature of the police force in which racist brutality is standard operating procedure.

The Porter case has generated a flurry of proposals aimed at "reforming" the machinery of death so that it will run more smoothly. Among others, Jesse Jackson Sr. and his son, a Democratic Congressman, have come out for a "moratorium" on executions. While cloaked in the language of "safeguards" and "justice," the call for a moratorium is being supported by both liberal death penalty abolitionists and those who want to prettify this barbaric punishment. With sections of the bourgeois establishment embarrassed by the raft of exonerations freeing ten men from Illinois' death row, even Daley—the man who put many of them there—has now come out for a moratorium.

Another Chicago black Congressman,

continued on page 6

White/Chicago Sun-Times

Anthony Porter embraces his mother after his release from prison.

Prisching/Chicago Tribune

Contreras/Chicago Tribune

Mayor Richard Daley Jr. oversees Chicago cops' racist war on black ghettos.

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Report from Russia

The Grim Face of Capitalist Counterrevolution

We print below excerpts from a 5 December 1998 report by a visitor to the Russian Far East (RFE), centering on the cities of Vladivostok and Khabarovsk. Part One appeared in WV *No. 706 (5 February).*

On this trip to the Russian Far East, it appeared to me that throughout the country the former tendency toward retreat into personal survival has partly been displaced by anger at the social crisis which has wracked this country since the capitalist counterrevolution of 1991-92. This observation may stem from the fact it was my first opportunity to he outside Moscow and St. Petersburg in quite some time. In poorer, formerly more

Part Two

industrialized cities like Vladivostok and Khabarovsk one feels that the new capitalists are more isolated and hated. But the *bourgeois class* basis of these much-despised plunderers is obscured by the tremendous scale of their criminal greed. For instance, in September the banks smuggled all their remaining money abroad to avoid debt collectors. Meanwhile, Yeltsin's apparat is sitting on real estate holdings valued at 6 to 7 trillion dollars! This all nurtures the notion that "normal" capitalist exploitation, as many presume is practiced in the West, still offers a way out. This is not the only opinion, of course. Perhaps even more common is the notion that Russia is not ready for "western" capitalism and needs a despot to rule with an iron hand.

Vladivostok's center was alive when I arrived, but not crowded like Moscow or St. Petersburg. "It is cold, so most people stay home," commented my host and driver for the day. That day, "cold" meant minus 20 to minus 25 degrees Celsius (minus 4 to minus 13 Fahrenheit), but it was the winds coming in off the white-capped ocean that drove it way down.

Priamurskiye Vedomosti

Metal worker at shipbuilding facility of Soviet era, which transformed Khabarovsk into a center of industry.

WV Photo

Crumbling steam pipes and overgrown weeds framing the entrance of a closed factory in Khabarovsk symbolize devastation of industry following restoration of capitalist rule in former Soviet Union.

This winter, forecast to be the coldest in three decades, hit Vladivostok with a vengeance. I was amazed to see what is supposedly a common sight in the Far East: a driver lying under his car, thawing his gas tank with a gasoline blow torch! Overheating it is a mistake you can only make once. When I returned to Vladivostok after a few days away it was just as cold, but the wind had died down and the streets were as jammed with pedestrians as Moscow.

On the whole, indoor heating was steady during the prior winter. But this was not true for one neighborhood of 1,500 where the boiler officially belongs to the port, which cut off heat to the area. This year, that same neighborhood has been left without heat while the number of people affected has increased live times. On November 25, seven thousand freezing residents staged a protest chanting, "Give our children heat!" They blocked the bridge linking their southern neighborhood to the city center, almost overturned one TV station car and seized a well-off "new Russian" who tried to sic his German shepherd on them. The militia could maintain order only by taking the side of the protesters.

Power and water problems have been far more serious this winter. Electricity shortages have not been as bad as in the Kamchatka Peninsula where there is power only four hours a day, but the situation is still serious. The Primorsky Krai province which includes Vladivostok generates its own power—and more of it than any other part of the RFE (12 billion kilowatt-hours per year). The port waters are even heated in winter by a portside atomic power station to prevent freezing over. But in this still very corporatist part of the former Soviet Union, all municipal services, even basic ones like electricity, have been disrupted by the financial crisis, interruptions in rail deliveries of coal and oil to power stations and just plain embezzlement of power workers' salaries. The Vladivostok Thermal and Electrical Station No. 2 robbed its employees of $12 million to build private "cottages" for its directors. There were complete blackouts, except for midnight to 6:30 a.m., for all residences and businesses this July.

In addition to the scheduled blackouts, there have been rare but disastrous unannounced outages, one of which caused the death of an infant in a hospital incubator in July. In March 1997, a mother in the neighboring town of Pogranichny bled to death in the middle of a Caesarean section. In the Soviet period of relative abundance, hospital administrations never thought of backup generators, and now there is no money allocated for such things. Only two hospitals in Vladivostok have them. The family I stayed with has its own gas generator for backup. The problem with electricity is all the more acute because cooking stoves are electric in Vladivostok, which has never had any natural gas lines.

The situation with water there is even worse. This summer—a very dry one—saw the city reservoir dry up, refilled by rainfall, later closed to remove mold and cut off again by power outages in pumping stations. As a result, for three months there was a severe water shortage throughout the city. Five neighborhood water filling stations, guarded around the clock by soldiers, supplied the only available tap water. When the water came back on, often only the hot water worked.

The water is very contaminated with heavy metals. The family I stayed with uses a magnetic purifier and drinks hottled water. The harbor waters and tributaries are quite polluted. An estimated 50 sunken ships are wasting away in the harbor depths and a two-meter-thick layer of oil by-products coats the harbor floor. The junk and oil is so thick that a planned 15-year salvage/cleaning operation expects to finance itself by processing and selling the muck!

The stress and strain of the social counterrevolution, the harsh environment and the sudden breakdown of modern hygiene have all combined to create serious health hazards in Vladivostok. The tubereulosis rate among teenagers has doubled in the last year; for the population as a whole, 96 out of 100,000 people are infected. This is a third higher than the rest of Russia, where from January to May 1998 three million new cases of TB had appeared. Syphilis cases in Vladivostok have jumped up 400 percent from the period of 1996-97. Compounding the problems, the state budget for health services has been axed. The Vladivostok Tuberculosis Hospital staff has not been paid for half a year. Lack of medicines, supplies (and occasionally water and power) have led to some staff members becoming infected. Sanitary services in the city have also been cut out. Nothing has been paid for rat control since October 1997, while the infestation of disease-bearing pests has risen by 250 percent.

Ambulance paramedics struck on August 4, demanding pay that has been withheld for 16 months. Some were fainting from hunger. There are only 40 ambulances for a city of some 700,000. When I was in Khabarovsk, a similar and clearly very popular sit-down strike of emergency service workers took place after the city's final offer to pay 25 percent of their July salaries. This is all part of the drive to choke off the remnants of the extensive Soviet medical system. There are still 126 hospital beds for every 10,000 people in Russia as a whole, compared to 34 beds for every 10,000 Americans.

Meanwhile, for the wealthy, finding adequate medical care is a matter of sifting through the hundreds of private clinics that have sprung up. The two Vladivostok businessmen I sat next to on the way back to Moscow said that the key problem was finding competent specialists amid the mass of careerists. For those without money, but with connections, deals can be made. I heard of one instance where a maternity clinic was paid with a television set for the birth of a baby.

To go from the banal to the surreal: there is the slight problem of tigers. An Ussuri tiger, the largest variety in the world, padded through a picnic in a Vladivostok suburban neighborhood on

Voron Publishing

Severe deforestation has driven Ussuri tigers into suburban neighborhoods of Vladivostok.

August 15. The animal was known to people there, and had not attacked anyone. But her mate, after having been shot and wounded, understandably began attacking humans, and had to be killed. It was recent severe deforestation and rapacious poaching that created this problem. So life is a little rougher in the Far East than in Moscow.

Construction projects everywhere have frozen in their tracks, graphically illustrating the "boom gone bust" character of Vladivostok. Most of these are unfinished brick villas whose owners are either dead, on the run or broke. Many old, run-down buildings near the city center have been emptied for demolition to make way for major road projects, but they stand abandoned while the projects are ensnared in the turf war between the mayor and governor.

Standing out against the older, dilapidated buildings are beautifully restored homes of the new rich, hotels and, above all, the magnificent Vladivostok train station right in the center. I have never seen anything like the quality of external and internal renovations, which were done by an Italian firm when the city was booming. The other notable recent addition is the Hyundai Hotel. This glistening $100 million Korean development currently stands almost empty, but is indicative of South Korean intentions to invest in the RFE. Meanwhile, American businessmen on Sakhalin island, like colonial masters, have created walled-off hamlets of modern housing with their own municipal facilities.

Khabarovsk: Military and Industrial Center

My two days in Khabarovsk were maximized by the fortunate circumstance of staying with a very interesting working-class family. They were unstoppably political, literate and glad to find a sympathetic ear for their vivid descriptions of what the destruction of the Soviet Union had done to the local economy and the working class.

Khabarovsk is about 380 miles north of Vladivostok, at the same latitude as the U.S.-Canadian border, on the east bank of the Amur River, where it intersects the Ussuri River. Historically, this location made it key to control of Siberia. The city began as the Chinese town of Boli in the 12th century and was taken over by Russia in the mid-1600s. Khabarovsk and Vladivostok grew in importance for Russia after the Japanese won the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and occupied Port Arthur on the other side of the Korean peninsula. The Trans-Siberian and Baikal-Amur rail lines intersect in Khabarovsk, and the city is the administrative center of a region with a population of 1.6 million (80 percent urban). Up until the time I got there, Khabarovsk had been having a relatively mild winter, though the strong wind off of the Amur River often makes it feel much colder.

In addition to the river port and rail junctions, the city has the RFE's largest airports, both civilian (4 million passengers annually) and military, capable of handling the largest military craft in the world. The city is also the seat of the Far East Military District Headquarters, with an army academy in the center of town, making soldiers and cadets a common sight. The relative importance of Khabarovsk in the RFE was shown by the fact that it was there, not Vladivostok, that a major conference was held to discuss the economic and social crisis in the RFE and the neighboring Trans-Baikal regions. And in contrast to how interference from Moscow has hobbled Vladivostok, Khabarovsk has defied the central government by withholding federal taxes.

When Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet leader from the mid-1950s to early '60s, reduced the military and promoted industrialization, Khabarovsk began a steady growth that eventually doubled its population to today's 612,000. By the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union, 124 industrial enterprises were concentrated here—30 percent of all RFE industrial production. All manner of machine tool factories—ship building, turbines for power stations, diesel engines, cables, prefabricated housing units—were set up here, more than the rest of the RFE put together.

Vyacheslav Voyakin

With city water supplies repeatedly shut off, residents of Vladivostok use buckets to obtain potable water.

Yury Maltsev

Vladivostok ambulance workers went on strike last August after not being paid since April 1997. Health care workers are hungry, equipment is broken, medicine is scarce.

Vladivostok News

November 1998: As temperatures plunged far below zero, Vladivostok residents blocked bridge in protest demanding heat for their homes.

Even before the August 1998 banking crisis, civilian and military production was already down 50 percent from 1991. Economic life in the Khabarovsk region can be summed up bluntly: even with the regional gross product rising slightly, industry has been devastated and whole assembly lines are being looted, taken to China and beyond. The city is losing population for the first time in 20 years, including Volga Germans who were settled here in the 1930s. However, transport, communications and extractive industries are working, and infrastructure construction (roadways) also continues. Most impressive is the recent upgrade of the two-tier rail and auto bridge over the Amur that links the Khabarovsk region with the Jewish Autonomous Republic of Birobidjan and with China.

However important military industry was for Khabarovsk, about 170 miles north on the Amur River are the towns of Amursk and Komsomolsk-on-Amur, where the greatest military industrial production of the region is concentrated. There they still produce whole defense industry assembly lines for China.

In extraction and processing of natural resources, the Khabarovsk Krai is in several respects more important than the Primorsky Krai. It extracts more timber, has the RFE's only iron and steel production and both of the region's oil refineries. As a result, the Khabarovsk region traded more than the Primorsky Krai, exporting ferrous metals, oil and timber. Major partners were Japan (54 percent) and South Korea (12 percent). The Amur River Steamship Company still carries 20 percent of Russia's trade with Japan (30 million tons annually). But rail still carries twice as much as any other means and employs about 80,000 workers in the region. Since military orders plummeted, timber exports have provided 40 to 60 percent of revenues. Other mineral resources include gold, tin, manganese and tungsten. Geographically, the Khabarovsk Krai has not only the advantage of a longer border with China, but also ports that are even better suited than Vladivostok to service the oil- and gas-rich island of Sakhalin.

Everyday Life in Khabarovsk

The atmosphere of Khabarovsk is notably more serene than Vladivostok. It reminded me of the Ukrainian academic city of Kharkov. There are fewer garish signs of the criminal rich: the wealthy and the poor shop in the same main *gastronome*. The city's theaters and film houses are few but they seem to be for everyone, and pensioners even get free passes on certain days. There does not seem to be a separate world of casinos, nightclubs and restaurants for "new Russians" as in Vladivostok. It is possible for ordinary people to sit down in a sidewalk cafe on the main street, something unheard of in Moscow.

This is not to say that there is less social polarization, just the opposite. While I saw fewer gangster types in downtown Khabarovsk than in Vladivostok, there seems to be a more developed and deepgoing social differentiation here and wealthy "new Russians" actually seem more ensconced. If in Vladivostok only individual mansions are newly renovated, in Khabarovsk whole fancy, Moscow-style apartment complexes are going up amid quaint turn-of-the-century cottages and Soviet-era apartment buildings—and their construction has not been stopped by the banking crisis. Alongside the noticeably large layer of wealthy people in Khabarovsk, there also seem to be many more desperately poor. Quite often during my two days in town I saw pensioners picking through the garbage—not for bottles as they would in Moscow, but for food! Just a few bus stops from the city center one can see two-story wooden World War II-era barracks, built as civilian housing with outhouses and no hot water. In Moscow, such miserable places can be found only on the outskirts.

But while there were ghastly signs of poverty among pensioners, I did not see any signs of skinheads or "rockers," and a 20-year-old acquaintance described rock concerts as free from such types. When he and his school buddy drove me to the train station, they said that they are lucky to be in Khabarovsk where they feel there is a future. Even though he is from a poor working-class family, he is about to graduate from the former Higher Party School, now the prestigious Public Service Academy. I don't know how his family manages it; no education is free. There are three times more students in Khabarovsk than in Vladivostok.

In Khabarovsk, unlike Vladivostok, there is no dog fight between the governor and the mayor. Governor Ishayev is a popular autocrat, somewhat akin to Moscow mayor Luzhkov. Ishayev has channeled a percentage of kickbacks and bribes into restoring many historic landmark buildings to their original charm. For instance, one of the most beautiful downtown prerevolutionary mansions, which served as the Palace of Pioneers in Soviet days, is now occupied by a private business. But it is obliged to provide a small club for children.

The city in general has retained more Soviet atmosphere and terminology than any other city I have seen. None of the monuments for Lenin or the Russian Civil War have been touched. Even when the main street was given back its prerevolutionary name—Muravyov-Amur Street—at the time of the city's 140th anniversary, only the historic, downtown part reverted to this. The rest, built in Soviet times, remains Karl Marx Prospect and the main square is Lenin Square. It makes some sense since these areas were only built after the October Revolution of 1917.

Spontaneous labor protests occur throughout the Khabarovsk Krai just as often as the rest of the RFE. It was notable that a national day of protest

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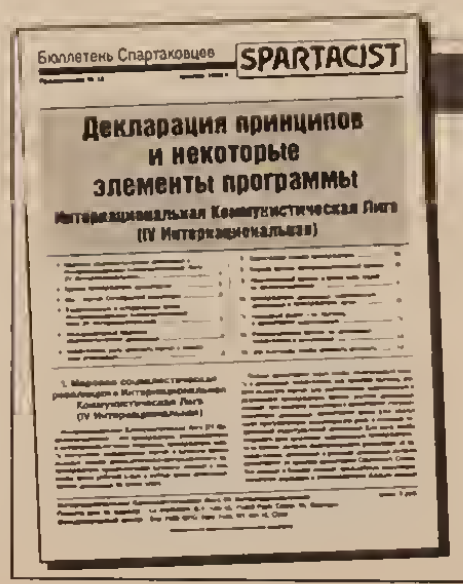

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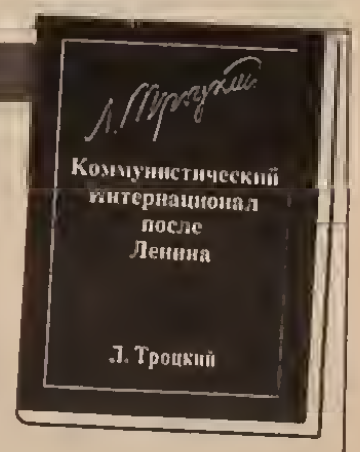

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The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klax Klan from mnrching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority nnd working people in militant integrated straggle ngainst the brutal system of rocist oppression that is copitolist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with tlie Spartacist League, n maltiracial revalutionary Marxist organization, tlie Labor Black Leagaes are pnrt of the revolutianary movement af the workers and appressed against the basses and for socialism.

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Chicago...

(continued from page 3)

Bobby Rush, cynically claims to oppose the death penalty. However, Rush supported Clinton's 1994 crime bill, which greatly *expanded* the use of the death penalty for federal offenses. While Rush touts his credentials as an ex-Black Panther in his bid for mayor, like many of his generation of young black militants he was co-opted long ago into the fold of the capitalist Democratic Party which ran "Segregation City" in 1969 when his Panther comrades Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were murdered by the cops on Chicago's West Side.

As liberals try to streamline the death penalty, reformists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) are climbing all over the moratorium bandwagon. At a February 10 press conference at City Hall to "demand accountability from Daley for Burge death row cases," speaker after speaker called for the abolition of the death penalty. But ISO supporter Joan Parkin, speaking for the Campaign to End the Death Penalty, focused solely on pressuring Daley to investigate the cases of the Death Row Ten and to "urge" the Illinois governor to impose a moratorium, making not a peep about abolishing the death penalty. That day, five protesters were arrested at a City Council meeting where the ISO's death penalty group was again pleading for Daley to pressure the governor. Drop the charges against the anti-death penalty protesters!

The ISO's reformist pressure politics have recently been re-energized by Bohby Rush's mayoral campaign. Harking back to the class-collaborationist alliance of union bureaucrats, black nationalists and fake leftists which brought black Democrat Harold Washington into City Hall in 1983, an ISO leaflet gushes, "Congressman Bobby Rush has positioned himself as a force that can re-huild the kind of movement that brought people together in the early eighties." Abetted by the reformist left, the Washington campaign fostered the illusion that a black face atop the Democratic Party machine would change life for blacks and other minorities. In contrast, our article "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago" (*WV* No. 328, 22 April 1983) warned:

> "He's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job."

And Washington did his job to the best of his ability. By sowing illusions in the capitalist Democrats and the "reformability" of the bourgeois state, reformists like the ISO serve to undermine the class consciousness of the proletariat and maintain its political subordination to the ruling class.

The fight to abolish the racist death penalty must be waged as part of a broader program of integrated class struggle against the Republican and Democratic parties of capital and the entire system of capitalist repression. This means that cops and prison guards, the agencies of capitalist state repression, have no place in the labor movement. The Spartacist League seeks to mobilize the multiracial proletariat which has the interest and social power to bring down the capitalist death machine through socialist revolution.

Last November, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a united-front labor/black mobilization in downtown Chicago calling for the freedom of another innocent man the state is bent on executing, Mumia Abu-Jamal, the most prominent death row prisoner in America today. As the PDC stated in its call for the demonstration (see *WV* No. 701, 20 November 1998):

> "In taking up the fight for Mumia's freedom, the working class will be striking a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist oppression of the black population. The fight for black freedom is central to the emancipation of labor itself. Those who labor must rule!"■

WV Photo

November 1998 united-front rally in Chicago initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee represented potential to mobilize labor in fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

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Impeachment...

(continued from page 1)

being the black Democrats. During the Senate trial of Clinton, four white New York City cops fired 41 bullets to kill a young West African immigrant who was simply standing in the lobby of his own apartment house. This is the reality of "justice" for blacks in the America of Bill Clinton and Trent Lott. And it's a reality which immigrants are thrown right into when they arrive in this country, where their prospects for advancement are largely determined by the color of their skin.

The forcible subjugation and segregation of the black population at the bottom of this society is an essential foundation stone of American capitalism. The capitalist rulers have fomented racial hatred and made the color bar a fundamental dividing line in the working class in order to obscure the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. Once supplying a "reserve army of labor" to be employed when the bosses needed them, the ghetto poor have been discarded by a ruling class that no longer needs their labor power. But black workers remain a significant component of organized labor, integrated into strategic

CITIZENS *INFORMER*

Large Crowd Attends Meetings

Republican Senate leader Trent Lott addressing "Council of Conservative Citizens," successor to KKK-infested White Citizens Councils.

Young Socialist

National Guard mobilized against striking black sanitation workers in Memphis, 1968.

sections of the proletariat in whose hands lies the power to break the chains of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression.

The road to black freedom lies in the smashing of the capitalist system on which black oppression is founded. As opposed to the dead end of support to "lesser evil" Democrats and the reactionary black capitalist nationalism of Louis Farrakhan, we stand on the perspective of revolutionary integrationism, fighting against every instance of discrimination and for the full integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. For black liberation through socialist revolution!

The Trap of the Capitalist Two-Party System

With labor bureaucrats and black pols like Jesse Jackson delivering the labor and black vote while squelching any sort of struggle that might jeopardize the party's electoral prospects, the Democrats have been able to gain public acceptance for imperialist adventures abroad while at home they savage social programs like welfare which were a lifeline particularly for the black and Hispanic poor. In rallying around the welfare-slashing president, Jackson made a point of speaking out in support of Clinton's terror bombing of Iraq in December.

Jackson and the other black elected officials claim to represent all black people but in reality represent the interests of a layer of black yuppies who were the main beneficiaries of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s. In particular, they benefitted from the government's "War on Poverty" programs which were designed to co-opt a layer of young black activists. There is today a greater disparity in income among blacks than among whites, with 20 percent of black families earning half of all black income. This layer owes its social and economic status to government programs and policies, which are reversible. The black middle class is, to a much larger extent than its white counterpart, made up of bureaucrats in the various federal, state and local government agencies. Furthermore, many black small businessmen (e.g., in construction) are financially dependent on government contracts awarded on the basis of affirmative action.

It is the black Democratic Party political leaders, based on the middle class, who tie the mass of black workers and poor to the capitalist system of exploitation, impoverishment and racist oppression. Yet the entire network of government programs upon which the black middle class is largely based have been steadily under bipartisan attack. This is a direct product of the sharp shift to the right throughout the bourgeois political spectrum. As we explained in "Clinton Impeachment and U.S. Imperialism":

> "The shape of bourgeois politics in America was fundamentally altered in the wake of the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The 'New Deal' Democratic Party alliance between labor, Northern liberals and the Southern segregationists cemented by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1930s was blown apart. Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater—who voted against the Civil Rights Act—authored the Republican Party's 'Southern Strategy,' persuading racist Southern Democrats—the Dixiecrats—to defect. For the past 35 years, every presidential election has centered on race, with the Democrats desperately working to reverse the perception that they were beholden to 'special interests' like blacks and labor."

Central to Clinton's electoral strategy in 1992 was recapturing some of the racist white vote which had gone Republican during the Reagan-Bush years of the 1980s. To this end he engaged in calculated insults of Jesse Jackson, the main representative of black influence in the Democratic Party. During the campaign, he flew back to Arkansas to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, Rickey Ray Rector. He lectured blacks that they had to take "personal responsibility" for improving their economic condition and told parishioners in a black church in Memphis, Tennessee that the high homicide rate among blacks would shame Martin Luther King.

Blacks recognized that Clinton was appealing to the white racist vote to a far greater degree than the Democratic presidential candidates of the 1980s and they reacted accordingly. While overall voter turnout was up in 1992, there was a sharp falling off among blacks. Many blacks figured it wasn't worth going to the polls to choose between the "moderate" Republican George Bush and "New" Democrat Clinton.

By moving the Democratic Party more openly to the right, especially on the race question, Clinton legitimized the white-supremacist and religious-fundamentalist demagogy of the Republican right. In 1994, the Republicans decisively won control of both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years in part because of a low voter turnout among trade unionists and blacks. We wrote at the time:

> "The Republican sweep puts a seal on years of bipartisan social reaction rolling back the minimal gains of the 1960s civil rights movement. With Clinton's yuppie racist 'New' Democrats going out of their way to spit on the party's traditional black and labor constituencies, the field was open for a rout by the more openly racist Republican right."
>
> —"Right-Wing, Racist Sweep in Elections," *WV* No. 611, 25 November 1994

Clinton was now thrown into a position of confronting an aggressively right-wing Republican Congress which, moreover, was personally hostile to him. The recent impeachment by the House and trial in the Senate culminated a five-year-long Republican vendetta to remove Clinton from the White House using special prosecutor Kenneth Starr for this purpose. Once he realized he was fighting for his political life, Clinton cynically turned for support to the Democratic Party's traditional constituencies of organized labor and blacks. Jesse Jackson, who in 1992 was told to go to the back of the Democratic Party bus—or better still, to hide under one of the seats—was brought into Clinton's inner circle to help get out the black vote in last year's Congressional elections.

The Civil Rights Movement and the Bankruptcy of Liberal Reformism

The fact that the overwhelming majority of the black population looks to the Democrats—the historic party of slavery and Jim Crow segregation in the South—as a "lesser evil" dates to the 1930s. With their work relief and social programs and populist appeals, the Democrats under Franklin Roosevelt forged a "New Deal" coalition including the emerging industrial unions and blacks and joining them to the Southern Dixiecrats, who ruled the South through brutal police terror against blacks, labor and reds.

In reality, the New Deal was aimed at *suppressing* class struggle at a time of massive CIO organizing drives and militant strikes, in which black workers were beginning to play a prominent role. To ward off any spectre of red revolution, the government instituted a welter of reforms even though, out of deference to the Dixiecrats, these measures largely excluded the bulk of the black population, such as Southern sharecroppers and domestic servants. At the same time, a spate of measures was carried out aiming to chain the combative industrial unions to the mechanisms of the bourgeois state, such as the National Labor Relations Board.

The reformist left, particularly the Communist Party, worked to channel the turbulent class battles of the time into the New Deal coalition. In the process, a bureaucratic layer emerged at the top of the new, integrated unions which was directly beholden to the Democrats and the capitalist state. This layer was consolidated in the 1940s and early '50s through the purge of some 25,000 union members, centrally Communists and other militants who had been key leaders in the CIO organizing drives. The ties of the labor tops to the Democratic Party are the central political expression of their class-collaborationist program, serving to block any development toward class consciousness and independent political organization by the multiracial working class. All this is reinforced by the racism of the trade-union tops.

The labor bureaucrats made a feeble attempt to organize the "open shop" South—obscenely called "Operation Dixie"—in 1946-47. But that was immediately shipwrecked on the shoals of the red purges, racism and the bureaucrats' ties to the Democratic Party. In many cases, to get the "reds" the labor bureaucrats worked to destroy already existing Southern unions that were largely Communist-led and had a substantial black membership.

With the onset of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, the system of Jim Crow segregation in the South became an embarrassment for U.S. imperialism internationally. In the late 1940s, Democratic president Truman's Committee on Civil Rights bluntly expressed its foremost motivation for recommending laws against lynching and voting discrimination:

> "We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics.... Those with competing philosophies have stressed—and are shamelessly distorting—our shortcomings.... They have tried to prove our democracy an empty fraud, and our nation a consistent oppressor of underprivileged people."
>
> —quoted in Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (1980)

However, it was not the federal government that tore down the system of legally

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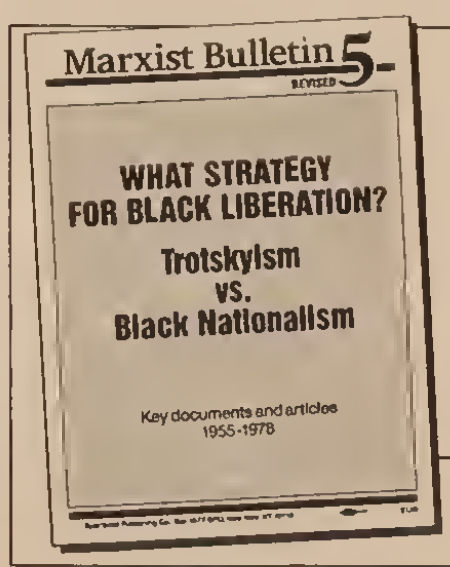
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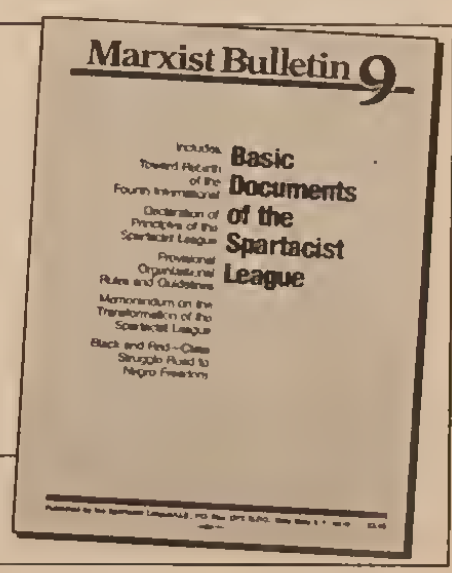

Marxist Bulletin 9

Basic Documents of the Spartacist League

Impeachment...

(continued from page 7)

enforced segregation in the South but the struggles of the black masses. The fight for black equality which erupted in the 1950s and extended throughout the U.S. in the '60s broke apart the conservative Cold War consensus and profoundly shook the American bourgeois order. However, the liberal black leadership represented by Martin Luther King sought to contain the civil rights struggles within the framework of "respectable" bourgeois politics, in particular tying the movement to the Democratic Party Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

A major event of the civil rights movement was the 1963 March on Washington, which witnessed the growing tensions between the younger black militants and the King leadership and his sponsors in the white liberal establishment, especially the Walter Reuther wing of the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy. John Lewis, then the head of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), drafted a speech denouncing the Democratic Party, saying "the party of Kennedy is the party of Eastland," Mississippi's Dixiecrat Senator. He concluded: "We cannot depend on any political party for both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence." March leaders, particularly Walter Reuther and black social-democratic union leader A. Philip Randolph, pressured Lewis into deleting this section of the speech.

The Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism

With millions taking to the streets and battling the racist cops from Birmingham, Alabama to Los Angeles and Detroit, the fight for black equality intersected growing popular opposition to U.S. imperialism's dirty colonial war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. However, the ruling class was able to restabilize the society through a combination of murderous repression, particularly directed at the Black Panther Party and other radicals, and the co-optation of a layer of black leaders and activists. Today, the core of the black wing of the Democratic Party—from King's lieutenant Jesse Jackson to former SNCC leader John Lewis—derives from this period.

This was not a preordained outcome. In the early '60s, an entire generation of young radicals, black and white, began to confront the "white power structure" and became increasingly open to a revolutionary perspective. This was also the period when the Spartacist League originated as the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). A central component of the RT's opposition to the SWP leadership was the struggle for a revolutionary integrationist perspective, linking the tumultuous battles for black equality to labor's fight against capital. In this, the RT based itself on Richard S. Fraser's pioneering struggle in the SWP of the 1950s for revolutionary integrationism.

Counterposed to liberal integrationism—the false view that blacks could achieve social equality within the confines of racist American capitalism—revolutionary integrationism is premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. When the tremendous productive resources of this country are deployed for the benefit of those who labor to produce it, the foundations will be laid for the full integration of blacks and the eradication of all social inequalities.

The rightward-moving SWP refused to intervene directly into the civil rights struggles while simultaneously uncritically supporting the liberal reformism of King & Co. and advocating black nationalism. Expelled from the SWP, in 1966 the Spartacist tendency pointed to the limits and growing contradictions of the liberal-led civil rights movement:

> "The goal was formal, legal, equality; civil rights; or the northernizing of the south. The beneficiaries of this campaign were to be that narrow segment of the black population which is middle class or close to it and is commonly called 'the black bourgeoisie.' The political strategy was to seek the support of, and to avoid antagonizing, the liberal establishment, and, logically enough, to seek to bring to bear the powers of the federal government which is controlled by this establishment. The tactics to be used were characterized by a heavy reliance on nonviolence and moral confrontation....
>
> "In contrast to the reform program of the civil rights movement, the demands of the black masses are necessarily and inherently class demands, and demands which the ruling class cannot meet. The call for jobs, for housing, and for emancipation from police brutalization (attacking the very basis of the state)—these cannot be answered by another civil rights bill from Washington. Their pursuit leads inevitably to a sharper and sharper confrontation with the ruling class."
>
> —"Black Power—Class Power," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5, "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"

These contradictions would explode in the ghetto upheavals which shook the Northern cities in the mid- to late-'60s. At this critical juncture, we put forward a concrete program, based on the perspective of revolutionary integrationism, against both the increasingly discredited liberal reformism of King and the emerging currents of radical black nationalism. Many black youth turned to radical black separatist currents in part because they saw in the organized labor movement only its racist, pro-imperialist leadership, personified by the treacherous Walter Reuther and outright bigots like George Meany.

The 1967 Spartacist League document "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9) stated:

> "The struggle for black freedom demands the total break of the Negro people from the Democratic Party....
>
> "Only by the development of a working-class program and by explicitly opening the door to support by white workers can real political independence be maintained, real gains won and the basis laid for eventual working-class political unity. This unity will come about when the exploited section of the white South is driven into opposition and is compelled to forego color prejudice in order to struggle along class lines against its real enemies—the owners of land and industry.
>
> "The creation of a South-wide Freedom Labor Party would serve as a tremendous impetus for similar action by Northern workers. The struggle for such a party would necessitate a rank-and-file revolt within the organized labor movement to overthrow the present labor bureaucracy."

Earl Grant

Young civil rights militants like John Lewis (fourth from left), in Harlem in 1964, denounced Democrats as well as Republicans. Today Lewis is a Democratic Congressman and ardent Clinton supporter.

UPI

Martin Luther King (second from left) and UAW head Walter Reuther (far right), shown with John F. Kennedy in 1963. Liberals sought to divert struggle for black rights into reliance on capitalist government and Democratic Party.

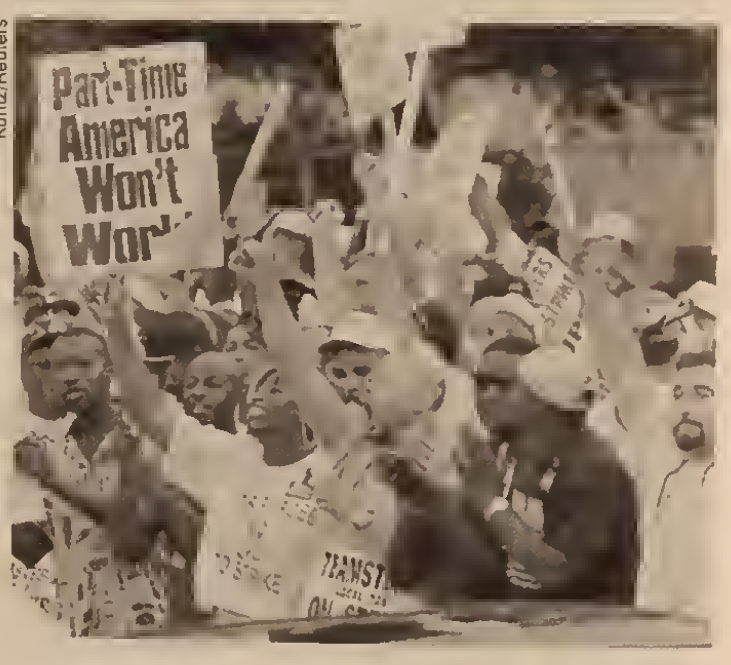
The civil rights struggles highlighted a fundamental truth about racist capitalist American society: that black rights and labor rights can only go forward by marching together. This understanding was expressed in a series of transitional demands advanced by the SL, such as the call for "a Southern organizing drive backed by organized labor," which would lay the material basis for a Freedom Labor Party in this historically non-union, low-wage area. We raised the demand for armed self-defense against racist attacks and supported the efforts of the Deacons for Defense and Justice toward this end. We also called for a "workers united front against federal intervention," addressing both the use of federal troops to put down militant black struggles and the imposition of government anti-labor measures such as wage controls and anti-strike bills.

Since that time, the further flight of industrial production from the North and Midwest to the South only underscores the critical need for labor to unionize the South. This struggle cannot and will not have a narrow trade-unionist character, nor will it likely come from the upper echelons of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. On the one side, the entire black community will tend to rally behind racially integrated workers fighting the local racist power structure. On the other side, the Southern branch of the American ruling class will resort not only to the police, company goons and strikebreakers but also, if hard-pressed, to the Klan and its ilk while using racist demagogy to turn backward white workers against the integrated labor movement. A union organizing drive will become a major arena of struggle between the oppressed black masses and the white ruling class.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

While dismantling formal Jim Crow segregation in the South, the liberal-led civil rights movement could not address the roots of black oppression in the capitalist system. By every measure—education, housing, job prospects, wages for those who can get work—the mass of the black population is materially worse off than before the struggles of the 1960s. The bipartisan effort led by Clinton to destroy welfare signifies that for the racist capitalist rulers the masses of the ghettos and barrios are a surplus population, to be left to starve and subjected to increasingly brutal repression. Even the affirmative action and other programs instituted in the '60s to buy off a section of middle-class blacks are under increasing attack.

Conditioning these attacks on blacks, as well as the racist anti-immigrant campaigns, has been the sharp decline in the strength of organized labor over the past quarter century. The deindustrialization of cities like Detroit has led to an erosion in the position of black workers who have been key components of the auto, steel and other industrial unions. Nevertheless, black workers continue to play a prominent role in the labor movement which in the 1997 UPS Teamsters strike and last year's UAW strike against GM in Flint has again shown strength and solidity. Recognizing the double oppression of blacks—both race and class—the Spartacist League has advanced the need for special organizations of black struggle. Through our Labor Black Leagues, we seek to provide such vehicles through advancing the Marxist program in struggles against racist oppression and reaction.



Kuntz/Reuters

Widely popular 1997 UPS Teamster strike demonstrated power of integrated labor movement.

As we wrote in *WV* No. 696 (11 September 1998) following the Flint GM strike:

> "The Spartacist League fights to build a workers party whose aim is to make the working class conscious of its historic interest in fighting to abolish this entire racist profit system. A workers party will be built not in *counterposition* to the trade unions, which are organizations for economic defense of the working class, but in the crucible of big class battles, which will result in the fight for a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions....
>
> "The fight for labor's emancipation from capitalist wage slavery can only go forward if the multiracial proletariat takes up the struggle against racial oppression. At the same time, black workers are a strategic component of the working class. Combined with their double oppression as workers and blacks in racist American society, this will impel them to play a leading role in the socialist revolution in this country." ■

Russia...

(continued from page 5)

called by the Federation of Independent Unions on 7 October 1998 drew 15,000 to a demonstration here as opposed to only 3,000 in Vladivostok. Driving through the city's industrial suburbs was really a depressing sight: a rusting wasteland overgrown with weeds. In the entire industrial quarter which makes up one-third of Khaharovsk, the only working smokestacks were those of the power plants. Only the railroad repair depots were providing steady work. Some food processing plants were calling in shifts as work appeared. Tellingly, one of the few working plants we saw was a Canadian-equipped factory, producing aluminum kiosks for petty traders, which pays extremely low wages. The workforce of one of the biggest defense plants in Khaharovsk has been cut from 4,000 to 700, enough to produce a trickle of household implements.

After we left the empty industrial flats, we drove through a large adjacent working-class residential neighborhood. There was a scattering of people from Central Asia and the Caucasus in the workers' quarters, perhaps due to the fact that Khabarovsk was always an "open city" for Soviets to travel to. That Vladivostok was a "closed city" probably had a chauvinist aspect. Today in Siberia, some towns prefer to remain closed to visitors, supposedly for "security reasons," but actually to keep out refugees from Central Asia and the Caucasus.

During the one night I was in Khabarovsk, we went driving out to high bluffs overlooking the Amur. On the way, I saw the gas fires of an oil refinery that is still working, if only intermittently. When we got to the banks of the river, it was a dramatic sight: the golden sun going down over the dark blue river islands, and beyond them, China. As the night wind blew ever colder, we stood and listened to the eerie crunching sound of the slowly shifting ice floes jamming the river below.

I was startled to see a row of dilapidated shacks right along the banks. They were so ramshackle it was hard to believe that people could actually live in them. But there they were, with their wood stove chimneys billowing smoke. Later that night we heard on the news that burglars trying to make their way to the dachas on the far shores of the river that same night had perished falling between the ice floes into the freezing black water.

Social services and infrastructure in Khabarovsk do not seem to be in as bad a state as the Primorsky Krai. There generally seems to be electricity, water, heat and gas for cooking. One of the two mornings I was there, the truck bringing natural gas for the neighborhood tank was late, so breakfast was delayed. The city does not have centralized natural gas lines.

The Chinese of Khabarovsk

In contrast to Vladivostok, there is a small but notable minority population stemming from mixed marriages between ethnic Russians and various Asian peoples, including Chinese and diverse aboriginal peoples. As one person said, "It produces a beautiful result." But she expressed distinctly different attitudes toward, on the one hand, Asiatic peoples of the former USSR and, on the other hand, Chinese nationals. She bluntly stated, "I don't like Chinese. I lost a friend during the terrible times of the border conflict" of the 1960s and '70s. Her husband bitterly complained about Chinese claims on some of the islands in the Amur River just off Khabarovsk. On a clear day, one can see these very islands from the bluffs overlooking the Amur, so the question looms large.

As a rising economic power, China seems to figure more in the popular consciousness in Khabarovsk than in Vladivostok, where racism is aimed principally at the petty traders with whom Russians directly compete. In Khabarovsk this racism also exists, but it finds a counterweight in the presence of large-scale Chinese business interests. Harassment and arbitrary deportation of Chinese traders by local militia prompted the Chinese consul in Khabarovsk to submit an official protest at the beginning of November to the head of the Regional Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The daily *Priamursky Vedomosti* (18 November 1998) detailed anti-Chinese harassment including random arrests, fines, beatings, even torture with cigarette burns. After living amid the seamless chauvinism against Central Asians and Caucasians in Moscow, I was surprised to find an article here that exposed and condemned racist police harassment of Chinese. Initially I even took the article superhead—"It Is Shameful, Fellow Countrymen!"—to be a sarcastic, racist jibe, as would be typical in Moscow. But it turned out to be sincere!

An even more pleasant surprise was the fact that on the page facing this article was a column by a writer from Azerbaijan spewing acidic sarcasm on the self-serving, narrow protests by sectors of the Russian establishment against the anti-Semitism of General Makashov, leader of the KPRF, the so-called Communist Party of the Russian Federation. All of the parliamentary factions have been quietly complicit in the Chechen War, the regular "ethnic cleansings" of Moscow, or the pan-Slavic politics of Russian ambitions in Serbia, etc. The author pointed out that "racism in Russia has long been an offensive phenomenon." He concluded with an old joke about a dying Armenian's last request to his family: "Care for the Jews, protect them," said the old man. "When they finish off the Jews, they'll come for us." The author wound up with a call along the lines of "an injury to one is an injury to all." I found that to be a breath of fresh air, a sign that in Khaharovsk there is a current of opposition to the pervasive racist chauvinism.

The "Chinese Market" in Khaharovsk is about 600-strong, and as in Vladivostok the Russian section here is also growing. The prominence of Chinese business interests is evident in the modern office buildings and adjacent housing complexes they built. My host bitterly summarized the nature of these Chinese concerns as simply "buying up scrap metal, machine tools and whole factories stolen and embezzled for them by Russians themselves." (Indeed, even bronze plaques from monuments in Vladivostok harbor have been stripped away!)

Stores in Vladivostok and Khaharovsk are obliged to display the country of origin for all goods, encouraging the already pervasive chauvinist protectionism. This actually may be true for all of Russia as well. A young man I met in Vladivostok drove considerably out of his way to buy Russian gasoline rather than the widely available South Korean brands. He was indignant that Russia, once the world's largest producer of crude oil, has to import refined fuels! But he conceded that Russian oil refineries work with such an irregular flow that it might well be that they could not keep up with the huge demand for gasoline in Vladivostok. Continuing from Soviet times, North Korean logging camps operate deep in the forests of the Primorsky and Khabarovsk Krais. Both the Russian local authorities and the North Korean camp administrations strive to keep the Korean loggers isolated from the population.

There are absolutely no foreigners on the streets of Khabarovsk in the winter. This allowed me to see the bare social contours of the city, unobstructed by the foliage of the tourists that I am told come in great numbers in the fall. Lots of German and Japanese and even wealthy Chinese tourists visit both Khabarovsk and Vladivostok. For many elderly Japanese and even some Germans, it is a chance to visit the place of their youth: Stalin's postwar prisoner-of-war camps. Other Japanese come from their cramped island quarters simply to experience the vast open expanses of the Russian Far East—the kind of feeling that no doubt inspired Japanese film maker Kurosawa to shoot "Dersu Uzala," the epic Soviet movie of Siberia based on the story by Arseniev, who was one of the explorers and founding fathers of Vladivostok.

Kadet & Herbert

1920 Bolshevik demonstration at Vladivostok train station during Civil War. Middle banner reads: "Long Live the Third International!"

Ki Ho Park/Kistone

South Korean Hyundai workers on strike during 1998 financial crisis. Workers of Russian Far East must be won to proletarian-Internationalist perspective.

Crossroads of the Far East

Though closed until 1993, Vladivostok is now open for travelers, with air, sea, bus and rail lines to neighboring countries. Transport now happens to be paralyzed by the financial implosion and industrial collapse in Russia and the depression in Asia. But concrete travel information is hard to come by. Unlike in Moscow, where every train station has a posted comprehensive timetable, there is no printed schedule available here. No doubt this is at least in part due to the city's having been "closed" before and is still the home port of Russia's Pacific Fleet. But doubtless the biggest factor is that the port is a gigantic hub of international black market trade, and nobody in power is interested in casting too much light on the movement of goods.

Vladivostok papers are full of ads for bus excursions to the Chinese town of Suifenhe—one of five such trading towns about four hours away—on the border of the Primorsky Krai. This town grew to today's population of 180,000 from 10,000 in 1991 solely on the basis of Russian tourism. When there are no Russian tourists, city transport and electricity is shut off! In 1996, Russian shoppers and traders bought an estimated $1.5 billion worth of goods in China. Travel sharply dropped when the August financial crisis hit and the ruble lost two-thirds of its value. By September, when the ruble became relatively stabilized and the further collapse of Russian economic life made petty trade all the more vital to the survival of many, the number of Russians coming through the Suifenhe customs point climbed back up to 28,000 per month. By October, it reached 37,000. As well, before the crisis hit in Russia, 140,000 Russian tourists were visiting South Korea annually. Half of them were from the Russian Far East.

Back in Moscow, I found that infighting among the oligarchic clans was again at full boil, stirred by the crisis of succession to ailing "Tsar Boris" Yeltsin. KPRF leader Makashov was calling for the roundup and extermination of Jews, while competing gangs were demanding a state of emergency and the banning of the KPRF and "all extremists." Such are the vile results of the capitalist counterrevolution which was prepared by decades of misrule by the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy.

Moscow is the vortex of the capitalists' whirlpool of plunder, draining and dragging down the regions. Today, the scant seven million inhabitants of the vast RFE are condemned to serve as the starving border guards of capitalist Russia's regional ambitions, which are sinking under the weight of the economic crisis. In the days of Lenin and Trotsky's Soviet Republic and Communist International, Vladivostok and Khaharovsk were transformed from outposts of tsarist conquest into crossroads linking Russia's successful workers revolution to the class struggles of China, Japan and Korea. The very survival of the RFE's working masses depends on their escaping poisonous nationalism and reaching across the borders to make common cause with all the toilers of the East, from capitalist South Korea and Japan to the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states. This means raising again the banner of the October Revolution through the forging of Trotskyist parties throughout the region. This is the task to which the International Communist League is dedicated.■

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Police Invade NYC Conference for Mumia

NEW YORK CITY, 14 February—In a chilling display of the police vendetta against death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, dozens of city cops burst into a "Justice for Mumia" conference yesterday at City College (CCNY) in Harlem. Police arrested four participants in the conference, which was mainly built by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its liberal Campaign to End the Death Penalty.

Young Spartacus

Those arrested included supporters of the ISO and League for the Revolutionary Party.

The police invasion had all the markings of a planned provocation, which was especially ominous in the context of widespread outrage over the gruesome NYPD killing of West African immigrant Amadou Diallo two weeks ago. The threadbare pretext occurred when a conference organizer accidently dropped some chairs he was moving. Campus security guards immediately moved to eject him from the building and called in the NYPD. Within minutes, some 30 to 40 thugs in blue poured into the building, throwing one youth to the ground and arresting him on the spot. At least eight squad cars and two police vans appeared. One of the cops scurrying into the building was heard to say, "Are we going to shoot?" Police with their hands on their guns stormed up the down escalator, pushing people out of their way.

A Partisan Defense Committee representative, responding to a request from conference organizers for legal assistance, interceded on behalf of those arrested. Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club supporters called on conference participants to join in demanding that charges against all those arrested be dropped immediately. While the four were released from custody, they were issued summonses and face charges of disorderly conduct. We demand: *Drop all charges now!*

The cop provocation is but the latest in a nationwide police campaign to intimidate Mumia's supporters into silence in order to push through the legal lynching of this courageous spokesman for the oppressed. It comes on the heels of the failed effort by police and politicians to shut down a benefit concert at New Jersey's Meadowlands arena for Jamal last month (see "Thousands Defy Cop Campaign Against Jamal Benefit," *WV* No. 706, 5 February).

Even before the NYPD stormtroopers arrived on the scene, CCNY campus cops had been harassing conference participants for hours. In an attempt to obstruct distribution of any literature publicizing Mumia's cause, security guards banned organizations from accepting money inside the building and went around tearing down posters from the walls. The CCNY administration has a long history of repression and harassment of student activists. Last year, CCNY spokesmen admitted that secret cameras had been installed in smoke detectors outside rooms where student activists met to organize protests against cuts in remedial education and other programs.

The frenzied cop assault on the Mumia conference was an object lesson in the nature of the bourgeois state—the cops, courts, prisons—as enforcers of racist capitalist rule. It is precisely this understanding which the ISO's reformist outlook obscures. The strategy pursued by the ISO and other reformists to build liberal coalitions to demand a new trial to free Mumia feeds the illusion that Jamal can somehow get justice from the courts and cops who have used every frame-up method at their disposal to see his execution through. In counterposition, SL/SYC speakers intervened in conference sessions to put forward our perspective of united-front mobilizations drawing on the power of the integrated labor movement to demand freedom for Jamal.

Of a piece with the ISO's faith in the capitalist "justice" system is their view that the racist cops can cease to be "agents of the state" if only they "rebel collectively" (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *WV* No. 664, 21 March 1997). The NYPD's "collective" action at CCNY only underscores the danger of such illusions. As a Spartacist speaker pointed out in one of the conference workshops:

> "The cops are in fact part of the apparatus of repression. There is no winning the cops over. The ultimate solution is a working-class revolution and building a working-class party. That's what the Spartacist League stands for."

Young Spartacus

Spartacist at CCNY conference protests NYPD attack on Mumia supporters.

NYPD Death Squad...

(continued from page 12)

private property whose job is to suppress workers and minorities through organized terror.

* * *

In a hail of 41 bullets, four NYPD cops blew away Guinean immigrant Amadou Diallo as he stood unarmed in the foyer of his Bronx apartment building on February 4. The sadistic undercover cops didn't stop shooting until their 9mm handguns ran out of bullets. Glorying in the knowledge that the cops act with impunity, the elite "Street Crime Unit" that gunned down Diallo sports the unofficial motto "We Own the Night." This sinister plainclothes outfit roams the ghettos and barrios in unmarked cars, under the cover of searching out "illegal" weapons, stopping youth at will, harassing and even shooting them.

In 1997-98 alone, Street Crime cops reportedly stopped and frisked 45,000 people, killing three. Last month, prominent rap artist Ol' Dirty Bastard was shot at by Street Crime cops in Brooklyn after a high-speed chase and thrown in jail for a week on charges of attempted murder of a police officer and criminal possession of a weapon—which turned out to be a cell phone! So nonexistent was the evidence against him that the grand jury had to drop the charges. The Street Crime Unit is walking proof that gun control kills blacks! We say: Defend the right to bear arms!

Such brutal, sadistic cop terror is not an "aberration." The cops, courts and prison system are at the core of the *capitalist state*, the repressive apparatus which protects the rule, the property and the profits of the tiny minority which owns the wealth of this country. While the capitalist class drives to increase profits, squeezing the working class and starving the ghettos, the gap between rich and poor grows ever wider. To enforce its rule, the capitalists must strengthen their apparatus of murderous repression.

Yet today, from all sides illusions are being pushed that a different department of this same capitalist state should come in and "clean things up." With people all over the city outraged by the Diallo killing, liberals like Al Sharpton and the NAACP have called for the federal government to run an investigation. But the Feds have blood on their hands just like the NYPD! It was the FBI that carried out a deadly terror operation against the Black Panthers and leftist militants in the 1960s through the notorious COINTELPRO program. And it was top cop Janet Reno who took pride in directing the incineration of more than 80 men, women and children of the Branch Davidian religious group near Waco, Texas in 1993. The Clinton administration—with the backing of both parties of capital, the Democrats and Republicans—has beefed up police forces and massively augmented the prison system throughout the country. Meanwhile, social services and education budgets have been slashed, with minorities and immigrants particularly targeted. Amadou Diallo was caught in the cross hairs of this murderous campaign.

Democratic Party politician Al Sharpton postures as the champion of those victimized by cop violence. Yet this charlatan, who today poses as an opponent of Giuliani and his reign of cop terror, literally worked as an FBI link for Giuliani when the latter was a federal prosecutor in the 1980s. Sharpton calls for putting "teeth" into the Civilian Complaint Review Board. Such sham boards give the illusion that the problem is a few "bad apples," with the aim of making the apparatus of police repression appear more credible. The notion that "the people" can have any control over the capitalists' guard dogs is a deadly myth. Likewise, calls for more black and Hispanic cops, neighborhood patrols and "sensitivity training" will not change the racist, repressive nature of the police force.

New York City is a heavily union city with blacks, Hispanics and other minorities playing a key role in the labor movement. Transit workers, city and hospital workers have the social power that can bring the financial capital of U.S. imperialism to a screeching halt. But the bureaucratic union leaders and "reformers" alike sabotage the ability of labor to fight with their appeals for government intervention, such as the call to "clean out corruption" in AFSCME District Council 37. The government's aim is not to "clean up" but to ***destroy*** any power the unions have by putting them under the thumb of their class enemy, the capitalist state. We say: Government hands off the unions! Labor must clean its own house! Similarly, we oppose bringing the police—the armed thugs of the capitalist state—into the unions. Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

The power of the multiracial labor movement must be brought out in force to protest racist atrocities like the killing of Amadou Diallo. But as long as labor is tied to the class enemy through the Democratic Party, the unions cannot and will not be mobilized to actively champion the cause of black liberation and the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. There must be a political struggle inside the unions against the labor bureaucracy whose overt and fundamental loyalty to the capitalist class and its dual parties, the Democrats and Republicans, makes the union tops bitter enemies of any struggle that challenges the capitalist exploiters and their state.

Whether City Hall is run by Democrats or Republicans, racist terror is standard operating procedure for the NYPD. While the cops have felt even more emboldened under Republican Giuliani, who was elected as the "cop's mayor," it was black Democratic former mayor David Dinkins who hired thousands more cops even as he slashed city workers' jobs.

Some groups that claim to be socialist share with liberals like Sharpton the notion that the capitalist state can be "cleaned up" and made to serve the interests of minorities and the working class. After the cop torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in 1997, a Workers World Party leaflet called for "disarming the cops, conducting an independent investigation of the racist brutality inside of the 70th Precinct and giving the power to the people to establish community control of the police." This sows the worst illusions in the reformability of the capitalist state.

Another reformist left group, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), actually maintains that cops would cease to be "agents of the state" if only they "rebel collectively" (see "ISO: Looking for a Few Good Cops," *Workers Vanguard* No. 664, 21 March 1997). How about the NYC cops' "collective" demand to be issued more deadly hollow-tipped bullets? Or look at the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, which amply illustrates the role of a cop "union" in its bloodthirsty drive for the legal lynching of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Last month, in a sinister escalation of the drive to execute this innocent man, New Jersey state and police forces tried unsuccessfully to shut down a benefit concert for Jamal at the Meadowlands. The death penalty is the pinnacle of the state's apparatus of repression. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

In 1986, NYC transit worker James Grimes faced a gun rap for defending himself on the job against an assault by three muggers. After a vigorous defense campaign joined by transit workers citywide, all charges against Grimes were dismissed. In the wake of this victory, the Spartacist League initiated the NY Labor Black League for Social Defense. Together with the LBLSD, the Spartacist League seeks to build a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government which will sweep away murderous police terror and the whole system of capitalist exploitation through socialist revolution. When those who labor rule, the tremendous wealth of this society will be used to provide a decent life for the working people, the poor, blacks, immigrants, young and aged. Join us!

8 February 1999

New York Spartacist League

Court Slams American Airlines Pilots

FEBRUARY 15—In a case study of the role of the capitalist state, a Dallas federal court last week ordered American Airlines pilots back to work and levied massive fines on their union to put an end to their week-long sickout. The Allied Pilots Association (APA) was demanding that pilots at recently acquired Reno Air, whose salaries are about half those at American, be quickly granted the same pay scale as American pilots. With the airline forced to cancel almost half of its scheduled flights, Judge Joe Kendall charged the union with contempt of court, charging it with defying his back-to-work order. Provocatively accusing the union of "extortion," he ordered the APA to set aside $10 million toward a much larger fine. If the pilots continued their work action, he threatened, "all the assets of the union, including their strike war chest, will be capable of being safely stored in the overhead bin of a Piper Cub."

The U.S. ruling class acted like the pilots staged an insurrection rather than a job action which, after all, only affected a small fraction of passengers. Behind the outrageous fine, the threats, the comparison of the pilots union to the Mafia is a determination to uphold the authority of the *capitalists' state*. This is intended as a message to all workers: don't you dare defy the country's harsh anti-labor laws. And in fact the AFL-CIO leadership and the entire trade-union bureaucracy hide behind such laws to justify their refusal to wage hard class struggle.

The APA union tops vainly hoped that the sickout would avoid challenging the 1926 Railway Labor Act, which severely restricts strikes in the transportation industry. It is hardly surprising that American Airlines was able to get a raving anti-union judge to go after the pilots in Dallas, where the company has its corporate headquarters and owns a piece of the city. But this only points to the nature of the capitalist state as an instrument of repression to defend the profits and rule of the ruling class.

Like the American Airlines bosses, Judge Kendall tried to whip up popular sentiment against the pilots, sarcastically quizzing them about their six-figure salaries in order to portray them as selfish and arrogant compared to the lower-paid flight attendants and baggage handlers. But the central issue in the job action, the two-tier wage scale, is a prime concern for all U.S. workers, as it has been a major factor in the dramatic decline in real wages over the past 25 years. American Airlines was one of the pioneers of two-tiered wages with its so-called "b-scale," which was introduced in the early 1980s by former CEO Robert Crandall in order to compete with non-union upstarts like New York Air and People Express. Yet, as documented in Thomas Petzinger Jr.'s *Hard Landing* (1995), a key factor in the introduction of b-scales at American was their endorsement by the APA leadership.

And the APA leadership continues to accept a two-tier system. While demanding an equal pay scale for Reno Air pilots, the APA also wants to "staple" the roughly 300 Reno pilots at the bottom of seniority lists of American's more than 9,000 pilots. This would mean a pay raise for most Reno pilots, but at the same time they would have to accept demotions, poorer choices of flights, etc. Not surprisingly, even though many pilots at Reno declared their support for the job action, they did not join it; a number even displayed "no stapler" signs on their luggage.

The APA, which is not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, received little support last week from other unions or from the Air Line Pilots Association, from which it split in 1963. Key to overcoming such divisions in the workforce is to form *a single industrial union* covering all airlines, embracing pilots, mechanics, flight attendants, baggage handlers, cleaners and other workers. Such an airline workers union would be able to carry out the basic labor principle: an injury to one is an injury to all.

Vietnamese...

(continued from page 12)

contract provision prohibiting "displays that create a public nuisance"! Complying with the order, Tran's wife left the store holding the flag high in defiance of a crowd chanting "Down with the Communist!" After Tran and his lawyers challenged this ruling as a blatant attack on free speech, on February 10 the judge vacated the order. Fully 200 anti-Communists attended the court hearing and followed Tran back to his shop, where the latest assault occurred.

These mob scenes display the seething hatred of those who *lost* the Vietnam War. A column in the *Orange County Register* (21 January) commented, "It can hurt to look at the face of an old enemy. Especially if he won." Among the right-wing "refugees" are no small number of CIA-trained torturers, war criminals and outright fascists who have the blood of countless revolutionary fighters on their hands. The same types who have besieged Tran and Kim staged reactionary protests last year against two Hanoi-based theater groups performing in Southern California. Most of those demonstrating were middle-aged and elderly, who seethe with bitterness over the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution. They have reason to worry that their fanatical hatred and anti-Communism is not being passed down to their children, who for one thing regularly face anti-Asian racism in the U.S.

More than two million Vietnamese were slaughtered and the countryside devastated in U.S. imperialism's dirty war against the heroic workers and peasants. The military victory of the NVA/NLF was a stunning humiliation for Washington, creating deep and lasting aversion among the American population toward any foreign military adventure that might result in the deaths of U.S. soldiers—the "Vietnam Syndrome." While the reformist left cried "No more Vietnams"—echoing the title of imperialist war criminal Richard Nixon's memoirs—the Spartacist League proclaimed that for the working class and oppressed the world over, "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

Young Spartacus

Vietnam News Agency

Spartacist contingent at Oakland demonstration in 1975, the year Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) fell to North Vietnamese/National Liberation Front forces. Right: Ho Chi Minh.

As revolutionaries in the "belly of the beast," we call for the unconditional military defense of Vietnam against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. However, the social revolution which accompanied the defeat of the U.S./South Vietnamese forces and created a collectivized economy was deformed from its inception, with the workers and peasants ruled by a bureaucratic caste following the nationalist Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." From 1975 on, Vietnam has faced relentless economic and military pressure from U.S. imperialism and its partners in Southeast Asia. This has massively increased following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92.

Today, echoing the venal Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, the Vietnamese regime has increasingly opened the economy to foreign capitalist investment, pushing for "normalization" of trade relations with the U.S. Through such penetration, the imperialists seek to win back what they lost on the battlefield. In recent years, there have been significant social protests by peasants and unemployed workers economically displaced by the regime's market-oriented "reforms" and the partial opening of Vietnam to foreign investment.

While defending Vietnam and the other deformed workers states—China, North Korea and Cuba—against imperialism, we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist bureaucracies and stop the threat of capitalist counterrevolution. What is crucially needed is the forging of internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist parties to link this struggle for political revolution to the fight for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries from Southeast Asia and South Korea to the imperialist centers of Japan and the U.S.

As we declared in *WV* No. 374 (8 March 1985) in an article on the heinous assassination in Orange County of leftist American academic Edward Cooperman by Vietnamese reactionaries:

> "Defend the Vietnamese Revolution! Forward to the American workers revolution, which will finally settle accounts with the Viet fascists together with their imperialist puppetmasters, and will liberate the technological resources of moribund capitalism on behalf of those who have long suffered under the yoke of hunger, disease, backwardness and war—the legacy of imperialist world domination."■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Unarmed Man Gunned Down in Hail of Bullets

NYPD Death Squad

No Illusions in Feds, Civilian Review Boards, Capitalist Courts!

Since the brutal cop killing of Guinean immigrant Amadou Diallo on February 4, thousands of outraged New Yorkers have come out on the streets to protest. Demonstrations were held on February 7 outside the Bronx apartment house where he was blown away and two days later at the Foley Square federal courthouse in Manhattan. On February 12, up to 2,000 attended Diallo's funeral at the Islamic Cultural Center of New York, where racist mayor Rudolph Giuliani was roundly jeered. Diallo's parents, who flew to New York to take their son's body back home for burial, refused to meet with Giuliani. The Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense participated in the protests, distributing the leaflet reprinted below.

While Wall Street stockbrokers and bankers crow about how the crackdown on "crime" has made *their* streets safer, in the ghettos and barrios this has meant a wave of police terror. The "Special Crimes Unit" which killed Diallo has become especially notorious. In 1998 alone, five out of six of the over 22,000 people stopped, thrown up against walls and beaten by this "elite" squad were not charged with *anything*. As 27-year-old Floyd Coleman told the *New York Times* (10 February), "Even when it's cold, I try not to wear my hood. Especially at night, because you're going to get stopped." Now, NYC police commissioner Howard Safir, saying that the Special Crimes Unit cops kept shooting at Diallo because their bullets kept passing through his body, is rewarding his cold-blooded killers by equipping them with new ammunition—the even more lethal hollow-point bullets!

NY Daily News

WV Photo

Killing of West African immigrant Amadou Diallo sparked angry protests by thousands in NYC.

Democratic Party politician Al Sharpton has worked overtime to divert the explosive anger into impotent appeals to the racist capitalist government. Calling at the Foley Square protest for federal intervention to ensure "justice," Sharpton reassured the city's capitalist rulers, "We are not anti-police—we are anti-police brutality." Tailing behind him is the reformist Workers World Party, whose leaflet on the Diallo killing calls for "community control of the police." Like calls for more "powerful" police review boards, such demands obscure the role of the cops as armed defenders of capitalist

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Vietnamese Shopkeeper Besieged Over Ho Chi Minh Portrait

LOS ANGELES, February 11—Vietnamese immigrant Truong Van Tran was set upon by a howling mob yesterday as he attempted to return to his electronics shop in the Orange County town of Westminster with a large poster of the late Communist leader Ho Chi Minh. As his wife, Kim Nguyen, and two children watched helplessly from their car, Tran was spat at, punched and beaten to the ground by the rabidly right-wing Vietnamese exiles. With the crowd screaming "Down with Communism!" and "Go back to Vietnam!" the 37-year-old Tran, who has already undergone two heart surgeries, began suffering chest pains and was taken from the scene by ambulance.

The strip mall with Tran's shop is in an area known as "Little Saigon," home to some 300,000 Vietnamese. The bulk of these are virulent anti-Communists who fled to Southern California as the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) and South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) defeated U.S. imperialism and its South Vietnamese puppets, overthrowing capitalist rule in the South and reunifying the country in 1975. The vendetta against Tran was launched last month after he had hung up the poster along with a Vietnamese flag in his shop to show his support for normalizing relations between the U.S. and his former homeland. For four days, hundreds of Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries besieged the shop. Reportedly, pages of signatures were collected on petitions to the Immigration and Naturalization Service demanding the deportation of Tran and his wife.

On January 20, Tran's landlord posted an eviction notice on his shop as a mob of some 200 screamed their approval. Backing up the right-wing mobilizations, an Orange County Superior Court judge ordered the portrait and flag removed from the store on the grounds that they violated a rental

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Almeida/NY Times photos

Truong Van Tran (above) was thrown to ground by anti-Communist mob and draped with South Vietnamese flag, banner of former U.S. puppet regime.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 708 5 March 1999

U.S. Sets Up Capture of Kurdish Leader for Turkish Regime

Freedom for Öcalan!

Defend Kurds Against Bloody State Terror!
No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights!
For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

The kidnapping and arrest in Kenya of Kurdish nationalist leader Abdullah Öcalan on February 15 by Turkish security forces aided by the U.S. placed his life in immediate peril. With Öcalan seized, the Turkish regime carried out mass arrests of Kurds in southeast Turkey and launched military attacks in northern Iraq against Öcalan's Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). Leaflets were dropped from planes with photos of Öcalan blindfolded and humiliated by being forced to pose in front of Turkish flags. Actively supported by its NATO allies—the U.S., Germany, Italy and France—Turkey has carried out a 14-year war against the oppressed Kurdish population that has left some 30,000 dead, totally destroyed 3,500 villages and forced more than three million Kurds to flee their homes.

In response to the provocative seizure of Öcalan, and in the face of the deadly revenge which the blood-drenched Turkish dictatorship intends to extract as punishment for the Kurdish people's struggle, the PKK organized emergency protest demonstrations worldwide. In a score of European cities, protesters rallied in large numbers outside embassies and consulates. An estimated 20,000 turned out in London on February 20, while some 50,000 demonstrated in Rome on February 24. PKK supporters also initiated protests in Canada and Australia.

In Germany, where it is illegal even to display the banner of the PKK, Kurdish protesters repeatedly took to the streets in cities across the country. The demonstrations were met with naked repression, with hundreds of Kurds rounded up by the cops and now in danger of deportation to the Turkish torture chambers. In Berlin on February 17, three Kurdish protesters were shot and killed (and a fourth died ten days later) by Israeli security guards outside the Israeli embassy; 16 demonstrators were injured and over 100 reportedly arrested. The International Communist League demands: Drop all charges against the Kurdish demonstrators! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The ICL has actively participated in the demonstrations to protest the persecution of Öcalan and the PKK and to defend the national rights of the Kurdish people. At many of the protests, other left groups have been conspicuous by their absence, apparently willing to leave

continued on page 4

Germany: Demonstrations protesting kidnapping of PKK leader Öcalan have been met with a wall of state repression.

AFP photos

No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution!

Iran: 20 Years of Islamic Dictatorship

On February 11, Iran's ayatollahs marked the 20th anniversary of their reactionary rule. Twenty years ago, they culminated a wave of mass protests by overthrowing the country's despised autocratic ruler, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, and ushering in a reactionary theocracy led by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Since then, the Iranian workers and peasants, women, downtrodden nationalities and religious and ethnic minorities have suffered under the oppressive rule of the turbaned *ulema* (clergy), which has maintained its domination through naked state terror, devastating war and the stifling strictures of the Koran.

As it does today, Iran in 1978-79 exemplified the Marxist conception of combined and uneven development. Side by side with a sizable, militant and strategic industrial proletariat were thousands of rural villages under the sway of the Shi'ite clerical caste. A chauvinist "prison house of peoples," Iran oppressed its non-Persian populations which constituted a majority of the country. At the very bottom of the social ladder were millions of hideously oppressed peasant women. All wings of the Iranian ruling class were subservient to a changing spectrum of imperialist overlords and patently incapable of accomplishing the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions achieved long ago in the West.

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Economist

Iranian women march with portraits of "liberal" clericalist president Khatami. Current regime perpetuates horrible oppression of women symbolized by the stifling *chador*.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Stop Deportation of L.A. Eight!

Judith Gabriel

Members of the L.A. Eight, targeted for support to Palestinian national rights, after arrest in 1987.

In a frontal attack on First Amendment rights, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on February 24 that "illegal aliens" could be selectively targeted for deportation solely on the basis of their political beliefs and activities. In its ruling against the Los Angeles Eight—supporters of Palestinian national rights—the high court of racist American capitalism also upheld the restrictions contained in Clinton's draconian 1996 immigration "reform" law against federal court review of deportation orders, thus removing one of the slim chances immigrants have to challenge deportation, and ruled that the law could be applied retroactively.

With its ruling, the Supreme Court overturned two prior decisions by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in California, which held that the Clinton/Reno "Justice" Department had singled out the L.A. Eight for lawful political activities. The Feds claimed that the eight were supporters of the radical-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The state's vendetta against the L.A. Eight is an intersection of anti-immigrant racism and anti-communist criminalization of political beliefs. On a smaller scale, this recalls the infamous Palmer Raids of the early 1920s, when the U.S. rulers deported thousands of foreign-born Communists and syndicalists to purge the labor movement of radical influence. This went hand in hand with massive union-busting and a rise of social reaction generally, exemplified by the growth of the Ku Klux Klan.

The L.A. Eight—businessmen, students and working people with families—were arrested in dawn raids in January 1987 and charged under the McCarthyite McCarran-Walter Act with "advocating world communism." In 1990, with much hypocritical fanfare in Washington and in the media, Congress repealed the McCarran-Walter Act. But it was immediately replaced with a more sweeping law ordering deportations of those alleged to be supporters of "terrorist" groups. The Feds immediately seized upon this to step up their persecution of the L.A. Eight (see "Stop Deportations of the L.A. Eight!" *WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991).

America's racist rulers have consistently whipped up anti-immigrant witchhunts to spearhead attacks on the rights of all. In its decision denying protection against selective prosecution, the Supreme Court ruled on an issue that wasn't even addressed in the appeal before it, denying attorneys for the L.A. Eight the basic right to submit legal briefs or present arguments in their defense. In tandem with the 1996 "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act," under which immigrants can be "tried" in "anti-terrorism" courts without ever knowing the charges against them, this is a direct attack on due process and on the rights of all those the capitalist ruling class deems "undesirable." We demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants, "legal" or "illegal"! Stop the deportations!

The Capitalist State and Its Ideological Tools

TROTSKY

LENIN

The capitalist class maintains its exploitation of the working class through systematic repression and ideological mystification. In Iran, these functions are manifested in the Islamic hierarchy, which serves as a central component of the state. In advanced capitalist countries such as the U.S., religion, education and the media also serve as adjuncts of the state, but their role is deliberately obscured through illusions in bourgeois "democracy." We fight to forge a Leninist vanguard party—based on the communism of Lenin and Trotsky—to break the working class from the grip of bourgeois ideology and instill in it the necessity to sweep away the capitalist state through proletarian revolution.

The capitalist State is not only the largest and most powerful among hourgeois organisations; it is at the same time the most complex of these organisations, for it has a very large number of subdivisions, and tentacles issue from these in every direction. The primary aim of all this is to protect, to consolidate, and to expand the exploitation of the working class. Against the working class, the State can employ measures of two different kinds, brute force and spiritual subjugation. These constitute the most important instruments of the capitalist State.

Among the organs of ***brute force***, must first be enumerated the army and the police, the prisons and the law-courts. Next must be mentioned accessory organs, such as spies, provocative agents, organised strikebreakers, hired assassins, etc....

Among the means of ***spiritual subjugation*** at the disposal of the capitalist State, three deserve especial mention: the State school; the State church; and the State, or State-supported, press.

The bourgeoisie is well aware that it cannot control the working masses by the use of force alone. It is necessary that the workers' brains should be completely enmeshed as if in a spider's web. The bourgeois State looks upon the workers as working cattle; these beasts must labour, but they must not bite. Consequently, they must not merely be whipped or shot when they attempt to bite, but they must be trained and tamed, just as wild beasts in a menagerie are trained by beast-tamers. Similarly, the capitalist State maintains specialists to stupefy and subdue the proletariat; it maintains bourgeois teachers and professors, the clergy, bourgeois authors and journalists....

In this manner the capitalist system ensures its own development. The machine of exploitation does its work. Surplus value is continually extracted from the working class. The capitalist State stands on guard, and takes good care that there shall be no uprising of the wage slaves.

—N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism*, 1922

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is March 2.

No. 708 **5 March 1999**

Racist Court Throws Out Jamal Hart Appeal

In a display of sheer racist arrogance and political spite, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Pennsylvania has summarily turned down the appeal of Jamal Hart, son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. A featured speaker at rallies initiated by the PDC and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, Jamal Hart found himself in the cross hairs of the racist Philadelphia cops and Feds as they step up their campaign for the legal lynching of his father. Last year, he was framed up and sentenced to 15 1/2 years in prison on bogus firearm possession charges. Hart's lawyers will now file a motion for rehearing in the Third Circuit and then petition for review in the U.S. Supreme Court.

In October 1996, police stopped Hart's car for allegedly going through a stop sign. The cops put a gun to his head, stomped on him while he was on the ground and then claimed to have found a .357 magnum in his waistband. The cop who "found" the gun was the same one who had taken a report on the theft of this very same gun...three and a half years earlier. Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania law, which would have carried a probationary sentence. But Clinton's Justice Department took over the case in order to railroad him to prison under harsher federal penalty guidelines. Hart is not eligible for parole.

The court's two-paragraph dismissal, which sneers that Hart's "arguments are clearly without merit," mirrors the contempt expressed in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's denial of his father's appeal last October. The Third Circuit Court uttered not one word about Hart's claim that the takeover of his prosecution by the Feds was unconstitutional. Nor did it say anything in response to his charge that the cops' stopping and searching his car was a pretext, based on their knowledge that he was Mumia's son, to ensnare him. However, the court did act to refute Hart's charge that the trial judge's racist taunting of him as "boy" and telling Hart to "shut up" rendered his "impartiality" suspect! Hart's treatment by the courts brings to mind Mumia's 1982 frame-up "trial," in which he was silenced by Judge Albert Sabo whenever he tried to defend himself.

Those who promote illusions in the racist "justice" system by calling for a new trial for Mumia should consider the following: it is the Third Circuit Court, which just approved the sentence of his son to more than 15 years of prison hell, which will play a critical role in the outcome of Mumia's final appeal. Free Jamal Hart! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

A Victory for the Right to Organize

A small but significant victory has been won for the right to organize and distribute literature in the interests of labor and black rights. On December 17, charges were dropped against two trade unionists, Keith Anwar and Dan Smith, who were arrested outside a UPS facility in the Willow Springs suburb of Chicago as they were distributing *Workers Vanguard* and handing out flyers building for a November 21 labor/black protest demanding: "All Out to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Now, in a February 9 letter responding to a federal civil rights lawsuit filed by Anwar and Smith, the Willow Springs police department has acknowledged the First Amendment right "to distribute the *Workers Vanguard* and solicit donations therefrom."

Keith Anwar, a member of Chicago Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, told *WV*, "Contrary to the wishes of UPS and its cops, the working class has the right to organize. This is important for anyone who seeks to mobilize the power of labor against exploitation and injustice." Anwar and Smith, a member of the Service Employees International Union, were assaulted and illegally detained by UPS security, acting in concert with the local cops who dispatched nine squad cars. This was intended as a message of intimidation to all those seeking to link the struggle for black rights to the power of the multiracial working class. It came amid a national campaign led by the Fraternal Order of Police aiming to silence Mumia's supporters to pave the way for

continued on page 4

Young Spartacus

SYC Speakouts Demand:

U.S./UN/NATO Hands Off the Balkans!

Young Spartacus

AFP

February 24 SYC protest at UCLA. Below: Baghdad neighborhood devastated by December U.S./British terror bombing of Iraq.

Last week, Spartacus Youth Clubs at the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses of the University of California held protests against U.S. imperialist threats to bomb Serbia. The attempt by the imperialists to enforce a dictated "settlement" of the nationalist conflict between the Kosovo Albanians and the Serbs came amid stepped-up terror bombing of Iraq by the U.S. and Britain and the kidnapping of Kurdish nationalist leader Abdullah Öcalan by Turkey, with help from its American patrons. While the bombing of Serbia was put on hold when the Kosovo delegation at the "peace" talks in France did not go along with U.S. Secretary of State Madeline Albright's diktat, the imperialists remain poised for intervention in the Balkans, including a NATO occupation of Kosovo.

Slogans raised by our comrades at the protests included: "Capitalism Equals War, Racist Terror! For Workers Revolution!" and "U.S. Imperialism—World's Biggest Terrorist!" Our revolutionary opposition to the U.S. capitalist rulers stands in stark contrast to the rest of the left, which chases the reformist chimera of pressuring the imperialist bourgeoisie to rein in its terror. Thus the International Socialist Organization's newspaper *Socialist Worker* (12 February) opines that the Kosovo settlement proposed by the U.S. "doesn't address the roots of the conflict." Only the ISO could come up with this subhead: "NATO Bombs Won't Stop the Killing"! As if the U.S./NATO imperialists do anything but perpetuate bloody nationalist divisions in the service of dominating the semicolonial countries!

We print below slightly edited excerpts from an SYC speech at the February 22 Berkeley speakout.

* * *

This weekend, the U.S. came within mere hours of a threatened bombing of Serbia and has already mobilized thousands more troops to be sent to the region as part of a so-called "peacekeeping force." But U.S. imperialism is not a force for good in the world! For all the harping doubletalk about "human rights," coming most strongly from so-called leftists and liberals (really war hawks and cheerleaders for U.S. imperial domination of the world), the U.S. has no real interests in any sort of democratic rights at home or abroad, but only in the profits of its own ruling class.

The wave of terror from the Balkans to Iraq is not simply a policy but the inherent nature of modern capitalist imperialism. Under pretexts such as "human rights," "democracy" and "autonomy," the U.S. seeks to control markets and resources, carve up the world into semicolonial nations under its thumb, and maintain the upper hand against trade rivals such as Japan, Germany and France.

U.S. military interventions in countries like Haiti and Somalia have done nothing for the workers of these countries and everything for the power of the U.S. bourgeoisie. The northern "no-fly zone" in Iraq was ostensibly instituted to protect Kurds. But when the Turkish state—a U.S. strongman in the Near East—massacres and imprisons its own Kurdish population, the U.S. showers it with aid, especially when the Kurdish nationalists threaten to disrupt U.S. plans to run the Azerbaijan oil pipeline through Turkey. It's no coincidence that Turkey chose now, directly following the latest wave of U.S. terror bombings, to cross Iraq's border again so that it can demolish the Kurdish population there as well. People cynically attributed the U.S. attacks on Iraq to Clinton's impeachment hearings. But Congress took a day off from those hearings to unanimously give him their support. We say: From Iraq to the Balkans, Down with U.S. imperialist butchery!

In the late 1980s and early '90s, nationalism was used as a wedge to destroy the Yugoslav and other deformed workers states throughout East Europe and the degenerated Soviet workers state. Today, nationalism serves an equally sinister role, dividing the workers of various nationalities against one another and fostering the illusion that their "own" bourgeoisie is their ally, rather than their direct class enemy. There can be no resolution of the national question in the Balkans under capitalism—that is, if you don't count genocide.

The atrocities have come from all sides, Albanians and Serbs, Croats and Muslims alike. If any group seems to be the most bloody today, that is only because it is the strongest. And all their acts combined still pale in comparison to those of the United States, the only country to ever use the atom bomb in a war and which killed over two million Vietnamese workers and peasants in the Vietnam War. And then there were America's Japanese internment camps in World War II, the bloody wars throughout Latin America. And the list goes on, but this is a short speech.

U.S. imperialism doesn't care a bit about the bloodletting and terror in the Balkans. In fact, the imperialists set it in motion! Now, they want to reassert their dominance over this region and over the world. Their goal is to establish stable nationalist regimes, under their own respective thumbs. This would be all the better to control resources and exploit workers. What the U.S. really fears is that continued conflict in the region, which it wants to end simply by killing everything that moves, will lead to a larger imbroglio, involving both Greek and Bulgarian claims over neighboring Macedonia. This would then heighten tensions between Greece and Turkey, two important U.S. allies. All of this could begin to chip away at the U.S. imperialists' status as top dog in the world pecking order of exploiters and butchers. U.S./UN/NATO and all imperialist troops: Out of the Balkans! U.S. get your bloody hands off the world! Defend Serbia against imperialist attack!

The only way to end U.S. imperialism abroad is through socialist revolution at home. There's only one class in the world with the power to take on the bourgeoisie—and that's the working class. But today, workers are chained to their class enemy by the labor misleaders who channel their anger and discontent back into the Democratic Party of capitalism, racism, and war. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win students to revolutionary politics and provide a training ground for future communists to change the world. Join us in our struggle! Imperialist forces out of the Balkans! ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

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725 Commonwealth Ave.

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March 23, ***Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed***, Room 511

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NYU, Loeb Student Center

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or spartacus.club@nyu.edu

BAY AREA

Revolutionary Marxism Today

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UC Berkeley
Date and Time to be announced

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO

Capitalism, Communism and the Fight for Revolution

Next class: Tuesday, March 9, 7 p.m.
Independence for Quebec!
International Student Centre,
33 St. George St. (North of College St.)

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Capitalism, Communism and the Fight for Revolution

Next classes: March 10, ***Women's Emancipation and the Struggle Against Imperialism***; March 24, ***Independence for Quebec!***

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

UBC, Buchanan Building, Room B330

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

SYC Demonstration

Monday, March 8, 5 p.m.

CIA Off Campus!

University of Chicago
in front of Ida Noyes Hall
(59th and Woodlawn)

For more information: call (312) 454-4930

Öcalan...

(continued from page 1)

Kurdish immigrants to stand alone in the face of repression. Our comrades have widely distributed a declaration issued on February 18 by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), where Turkish and Kurdish immigrant workers are a strategic component of the industrial working class. This declaration was issued in Turkish, German, Italian, French and English.

The capitalist governments in Europe, mostly headed by social democrats, seized on the militant protests to further foment racist hysteria against immigrants and to intensify police-state measures. In Berlin, all demonstrations were initially banned outright. The cops seized anyone with dark eyes in the vicinity of demonstration sites—a chilling reminder of the genocidal Nazi Third Reich. Social Democratic (SPD) interior minister Otto Schily has spearheaded a media campaign to brand the banned PKK and the Kurdish people as a whole as "terrorists." Simultaneously with its crackdown on the PKK, the SPD-Green Party regime imposed arbitration to seal a wage pact for Germany's largest union, IG Metall, heading off the prospect of a class battle in which German, Turkish and Kurdish workers would have challenged the capitalists and their government in united strike action.

At a February 25 rally and march to the Turkish consulate in Melbourne, Australia, Labor Party senator Kim Carr blatantly lied, telling the crowd that his party and the social democrats in Europe supported the Kurdish people. A speaker for the Spartacist League of Australia, demanding the dropping of all charges against arrested Kurdish protesters, pointed out that the state Labor government in New South Wales sent its cops to viciously attack and arrest Kurdish protesters. In Europe, our comrade noted, Labor's social-democratic counterparts dish out the same treatment on behalf of their capitalist masters.

Pointing to Australian imperialism's support for Washington's war against the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers, and the Australian government's complicity in the U.S.-led attacks against Iraq today, our comrade criticized the PKK and the Australian fake left for their program of trying to pressure the imperialists to be "friends" of the oppressed. Fending off efforts at political censorship, the SLA speaker was cheered by many in the crowd when he called the imperialists the enemy of liberation. When he counterposed our call to free Öcalan now to the talk of a "fair trial" for the PKK leader "under international supervision," protesters started chanting, "Freedom for Öcalan." The discomfited chairman of the rally thanked the SLA speaker for his "interesting" remarks, adding, "Apologies to Kim Carr"!

Spartakist photos

Hamburg, February 20: Thousands of Kurdish Öcalan supporters join demonstration on behalf of U.S. death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Spartakist sign in Berlin, outside Greek consulate occupied by Kurdish protesters, demands "Freedom for Öcalan!"

The petty-bourgeois nationalist PKK calls on the United Nations and imperialist powers to broker a "political solution" to the Kurdish question in Turkey. Many signs and speakers at the various demonstrations expressed the same illusions in NATO, the UN or the European Union. But the imperialists are the godfathers of the Turkish militarist government. At many of the protests, demonstrators pointedly avoided criticizing the U.S., even though Washington pressured its European allies to refuse Öcalan haven and played the key role in setting up his arrest. The U.S. imperialists are dead set against any expression of Kurdish national rights as this would weaken their Turkish ally—which has played a key role in the American terror bombing campaigns against Iraq—and destabilize the oil-rich region.

The PKK's nationalism is a dead end for the Kurdish people and their aspirations for national liberation. Only a thoroughgoing social revolution can liberate the toiling masses from the yoke of imperialism and capitalist exploitation. Even to achieve the democratic right of national self-determination for the Kurdish people requires uprooting capitalist rule throughout the entire region where the Kurds are concentrated. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian, and Turkish proletariats, who in turn must be won to actively championing the Kurdish right of self-determination.

Reuters

1991 march by striking Turkish and Kurdish coal miners joined by women, carrying portrait of Atatürk, founder of Turkish republic. Defense of oppressed Kurds is critical to united class struggle against Turkish rulers.

The potential for united class struggle was shown in the 1991 strike of 48,000 coal miners in Zonguldak, Turkey, carried out by both Turkish and Kurdish workers on the eve of the imperialist Gulf War against Iraq, which inspired solidarity strikes in Kurdish eastern Anatolia as well as among Turkish workers. Significantly, the miners reportedly raised the demand for the right of Kurds to use their own language.

The road to liberation of the Turkish toilers from the military-run dictatorship of the Kemalist bourgeoisie lies through the Turkish proletariat embracing defense of the Kurds against their "own" exploiters. As part of the multinational proletariat of the region, the Kurds can play a leading role in socialist revolution in Turkey and throughout the Near East. The key lies in forging an internationalist leadership modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik Party, which liberated the oppressed nationalities of the tsarist autocracy's "prison house of peoples" by leading the proletariat to power in the 1917 Russian Revolution.

We reprint below the February 18 declaration by the SpAD.

* * *

On 15 February, the Kurdish PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan was abducted in Kenya in a night-and-fog action conducted by the Turkish secret service—reportedly in cooperation with the American CIA and the Israeli Mossad. Öcalan was kidnapped en route to the airport from the Greek embassy, then flown to the Turkish prison island Imrali and deposited in the notorious torture chamber of the Turkish murder regime. Ominously, all other prisoners have been removed from the island; evidently the Turkish state wants no eyes and ears to witness what they intend to inflict on Öcalan. While blustering about a "fair trial," Turkey refused to even allow Öcalan's lawyers into the country. Over the last 15 years, tens of thousands of Kurdish people were murdered in Turkey's gruesome war of annihilation which has destroyed more than 3,000 villages. As the leader of the guerrilla

CSDN...

(continued from page 2)

the execution of this courageous spokesman for the oppressed.

UPS, notorious for its racist mistreatment of black workers across the country, is especially motivated to squash any attempt to mobilize labor/black power. It's no secret to Teamsters members that UPS desperately wants to destroy the union. To that end, the company beefed up its security forces after the successful 1997 strike, which broke a long chain of labor defeats. Since the strike, UPS has been breaking the terms of the contract in an attempt to weaken the union, provoking an eight-hour walkout by Teamsters in Chicago in December. Nationally, the federal government's takeover of the Teamsters is squarely aimed at crippling the ability of this union to wage *any* struggle on behalf of its members.

The capitalist rulers are mobilizing their forces for the legal lynching of Jamal, an innocent man. We must mobilize ours to free him. The November 21 Chicago rally for Mumia drew a hard core of black trade unionists. This showed the promise of mobilizing labor's social power in the fight for Mumia's freedom. Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Contact the PDC: In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area, PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852. ■

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struggle for Kurdish independence, Öcalan could now face the death penalty in Turkey. We Trotskyists of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), demand: *Freedom for Öcalan!*

Across Europe, in Australia and in Canada, thousands of Kurds took to the streets and occupied embassies to protest the arrest of Öcalan. In acts of extreme desperation, young PKK supporters set fire to themselves. From Blair's Britain, to Jospin's France and D'Alema's Italy, to Schröder's Germany, the social-democratic rulers of Fortress Europe, all of whom refused asylum to Öcalan, unleashed a storm of police terror against the Kurdish protesters who are themselves now threatened with mass deportations to Turkey's torture chambers. Yesterday, three Kurdish protesters were shot to death by Israeli security guards in front of the Israeli consulate in Berlin; another 16 were seriously injured. These murders were abetted by the racist capitalist SPD/Green government, which mounted a massive police offensive against the PKK supporters and now obscenely scapegoats the victims for their own murders. The area around the SPD offices in Hamburg which was occupied by the PKK was turned into a war zone. More than a thousand Kurds were arrested by the German cops, hundreds more have been beaten, arrested, and "disappeared." Even the names of the murdered Kurds are being kept secret. We demand: *Drop the Charges! Free the Kurdish Prisoners! No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down With the Ban on the PKK and the Kurdish Associations!*

Öcalan tried for months to get asylum in West Europe and appealed to social-democratic-led governments to mediate on behalf of the Kurds in Turkey. The struggle for Kurdish national independence has been repeatedly sacrificed by

AP

German auto workers "warning strike" in Köln in February. Social-democratic union tops rushed to settle contract when national strike could have mobilized working class, including its militant Kurdish and Turkish component, at time of vicious repression against Kurds.

bourgeois nationalists in futile pursuit of support from imperialist powers and regional capitalist regimes, be it Hussein's Iraq or Assad's Syria. German imperialism, along with U.S. imperialism, is the godfather of the Turkish campaign of extermination of the Kurds, arming and training the death squadrons. Since the destruction of the degenerated Soviet workers state through capitalist counterrevolution, there has been an increase in imperialist rivalries to plunder the region's oil reserves. There can be no illusions in the rapacious imperialist powers whose only interest is increasing their own profit margins at the cost of enormous suffering and death of workers and oppressed around the world. U.S. bombers take off from the NATO base in Incirlik, Turkey to bomb Iraq back to the stone age. The German imperialists have once again stationed troops in former Yugoslavia where in World War II they murdered one-fifth of the population. The German air force, along with NATO allies, is now preparing to launch air strikes against Serbia. We Trotskyists say: *Bundeswehr/UN/NATO: Out of the Balkans! Down With the UN Starvation Embargo Against Iraq! Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Attack! Turkish Army: Out of the Kurdish Territories Now!*

Today, most Kurds live in industrial centers from Istanbul to Berlin. It is the working class, including its strategic component of workers of Kurdish and Turkish background, which produces the entire wealth of society and has the power to smash the exploitative capitalist system. These workers can serve as a living bridge between the Kurdish struggle for independence and the fight for socialist revolution in the Near East, fighting to extend proletarian revolution to the imperialist heartland of West Europe. Unity across national and ethnic lines by the most class-conscious Kurdish, Turkish and German workers would be a powerful force in the struggle to emancipate all workers from capitalist exploitation. This revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist perspective requires a sharp political struggle against the social-democratic misleaders—the SPD and PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]—who organize state terror and split the workers through racist agitation and chauvinism. Only a Trotskyist party which mobilizes the Kurdish, Turkish and German workers against the imperialist divide-and-conquer politics of the ruling class and their social-democratic lieutenants in the labor movement will be able to systematically mobilize for socialist revolution and defeat all manifestations of nationalism and class collaboration.

The 25 to 30 million Kurdish people in the Near East constitute the largest nation in the world without a state of its own. Since the downfall of the Turkish Ottoman empire in World War I, the Kurdish people have been carved up primarily among four countries—Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq, with a small scattering of Kurds in the Caucasian republics of the former Soviet Union. The realization of an independent Kurdistan requires the revolutionary overthrow of at least four different capitalist powers in the region. This is the Trotskyist perspective of *permanent revolution*—that in the colonial and semicolonial countries in the imperialist epoch, only the proletariat in power can achieve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This perspective is counterposed to the illusions peddled by petty-bourgeois nationalists who appeal to the immediate oppressors of the Kurdish people and their imperialist godfathers. The fight for Kurdish national and social emancipation requires revolutionary leadership—the construction of Trotskyist parties rooted in the proletariats of the Near East and among the workers of Europe—a reforged Fourth International to struggle as the world party of socialist revolution. Building such a party is the task to which we are dedicated. *For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!*■

Correcting a Misstatement on IG Opportunism

In our article "Brazil: Cardoso Regime Bleeds Workers, Poor" (*WV* No. 702, 4 December 1998), we incorrectly state that the April 1998 issue of *Vanguarda Operária* (*VO*), newspaper of the Brazilian Liga Quarta-Internacionalista (LQB), was "silent about recent struggles of the landless peasants." This was due to a failure to verify our translation of the April *VO* from the Portuguese original—a failure that goes against our standard practice.

The April *VO* does write about the struggles of the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra* (MST), the most prominent organization of landless peasants. Our misstatement sent the Internationalist Group (IG), U.S. affiliate of the LQB, into a frenzy, and they posted an article titled "*WV*'s New Crop of Fabrications" on their Web site in December. The failure to note the paragraphs about the MST in the April *VO* has done a disservice to ourselves and our readers, undercutting our correct polemic and continued exposure of the deeply centrist and dishonest charlatans of the IG/LQB. For what they do say is far more damning than any omission.

The MST is a petty-bourgeois formation which supports the Brazilian popular front whose largest component party is Luíz Inácio "Lula" da Silva's reformist Workers Party (PT). In our previous article, we noted that "petty-bourgeois strata such as the peasantry cannot play an independent class role. They are inevitably pulled in the wake of either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. With the Brazilian proletariat politically disarmed, the landless peasant movement is delivered, with Lula as the intermediary, to an impotent perspective of militant pressure politics."

While criticizing the MST, the IG/LQB deliberately obscures the class character of this *peasant* formation. Thus it writes:

> "In reality, all these groups [Stalinists, Morenoites, LBI, etc.] are mere appendices of the PT and as such, their activities in this electoral period will be fundamentally electoralist, even when they claim to be anti-electoralist.
>
> "The case is similar with the Landless Peasants Movement (MST), which supports the PT's Lula for president and, at the same time as it backs occupations of landed estates in a dozen states, is turning increasingly to the electoral terrain. While it is hunted at gunpoint by the landlords' goons and the Military Police, the MST has gone hunting for votes.... Despite their sometimes combative tactics, in reality they are a transmission belt for the bourgeoisie through the PT, a bourgeois workers party." (Translation, ellipses and interpolations by the IG.)

But the MST is not a bourgeois workers party or akin to reformist and centrist left groups like the Stalinists or the pseudo-Trotskyist LBI. Nor is it simply "a transmission belt for the bourgeoisie through the PT." To be sure, it hustles votes for Lula's popular front, but its social base lies outside the working class. The peasantry is an extremely heterogeneous social layer, ranging from the most oppressed elements to wealthy rural exploiters. Peasant parties and formations tend to be highly volatile and transient but ultimately reflect the domination of its wealthier layers, which go along with the big bourgeoisie in all decisive cases. As Trotsky underscores in *The Third International After Lenin*, his scathing 1928 critique of Stalin's catastrophic policies in the failed Chinese Revolution of 1925-27:

> "Those organizations which in capitalist countries label themselves peasant parties are in reality one of the varieties of bourgeois parties. Every peasant who has not adopted the proletarian position, abandoning his proprietor psychology, will inevitably follow the bourgeoisie when it comes to fundamental political issues."

The IG/LQB's liquidation of the distinction between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie cited above is not an accidental misformulation. In its other reference to the MST in the same April 1998 article, *VO* again misleadingly presents the MST as an appendage of reformist forces *within* the proletariat:

> "It is necessary to bring the working class the consciousness of the role it must play as leader of the peasantry's struggles. In practice the MST is following the reformist CUT [labor federation] leadership, which leads it to join in the internal struggles of politicians of the bourgeois class. Thus while in hundreds of places around the country landless peasants confront the police and landlord goons who try to expel them at gunpoint from the occupied lands, the political response of the MST is to participate in this rotten broad front [Lula's "Union of the People"] with the landlord Brizola, representative of the large landowners of Rio Grande do Sul, and Arraes, chief of the landowners of Pernambuco."

Peasant-based movements sometimes engage in militant confrontations with landlords and the bourgeois state. It is hardly surprising that naive radical-minded youth—or long-of-tooth but fatuous impressionists like Norden—are swayed by such episodic militancy, which stands out in comparison with the parliamentary legalism of reformist workers' leaders like Lula. It is therefore doubly important to be clear on the class character of peasant-based movements such as the MST or the Zapatistas in Mexico, and the crucial need to defend the class independence of the proletariat. As Trotsky again stresses in *The Third International After Lenin*:

> "Had the vanguard of the Russian proletariat failed to oppose itself to the peasantry, had it failed to wage a ruthless struggle against the all-devouring petty bourgeois amorphousness of the latter, it would inevitably have dissolved itself among the petty-bourgeois elements through the medium of the Social Revolutionary Party or some other 'two-class party' which, in turn, would inevitably have subjected the vanguard to bourgeois leadership."

This points to the core of the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution* which asserts that in countries of belated development "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy* and *national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" (Trotsky, "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" [1930]).

It is precisely the need for a conscious proletarian vanguard that the IG/LQB obliterates. This is inherent to centrists, who thrive on militant-sounding rhetoric, the more so when this paper radicalism carries no practical obligations. The IG/LQB's criticism of other fake-left groups for capitulating to Lula's reformist bureaucracy is sheer hypocrisy coming from those who have crossed the class line by bringing the bourgeois courts into the SFPMVR municipal workers union in Volta Redonda. We published the hard facts about this. (See "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" and "Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* Nos. 669 and 671, 30 May and 11 July 1997.) The IG/LQB has never answered our challenge to publish the public documents (court case numbers 30.831, 30.832, 30.833 on file in the Volta Redonda courthouse), which prove its class betrayal. Let workers see for themselves what side of the class line they stand on.■

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

In these respects Iran resembled the tsarist empire on the eve of the Russian Revolution of 1917. But it lacked a revolutionary leadership like the Russian Bolsheviks, acting as a tribune of all the people in the struggle to lead the working class to the conquest of state power. Instead, the multiple discontents over the rule of the bloody-handed U.S.-backed Shah were channeled into support for a reactionary clericalist movement which brought Khomeini to power. This result was a bitter defeat for the proletariat.

The so-called "Islamic revolution" of 1979 represented a *negative confirmation* of Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution. In backward countries like Iran, whose economic and social development has been retarded by imperialist enslavement, the historic achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in West Europe and North America remain on the agenda: agrarian revolution, national independence and integration, social and economic modernization. From this, many self-styled leftists draw the utterly false conclusion that there must be a "two-stage revolution," with the first stage led by the "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" elements of the bourgeoisie and limited to "democratic" capitalist rule. With the proletariat subordinated to the bourgeoisie, socialist revolution is indefinitely postponed. But all wings of the bourgeoisie in such countries are too backward and dependent on imperialism to play any progressive role.

As Trotsky pointed out, it is only the proletariat, leading the peasant and urban plebeian masses, which can liberate the societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the chains of reactionary traditionalism and imperialist subjugation. In seizing state power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers of the backward countries will be compelled to institute socialist measures such as the expropriation of the means of production and the establishment of a planned economy. However, these revolutions will survive and flourish only if they are extended to the advanced countries of the West and Japan.

In 1978-79, the Iranian left, centrally the Stalinist Tudeh party, supported the forces of reactionary traditionalism, led by Khomeini, in the name of the "anti-imperialist" revolution. The reactionary character of the Islamic opposition was manifest from the outset, above all by its position on the woman question. The mullahs' hostility to the Shah's regime was fueled in good part by their visceral hatred of the Westernized attitudes and behavior of a thin layer of privileged Iranian women. The Shi'ite hierarchy feared that such "liberated" attitudes might seep down to the peasant women in the villages and working women in the cities, thereby undermining the harsh patriarchal character of Iranian society at its base.

Today, once again, powerful forces are undermining the oppressive traditionalism of Iranian society and the rule of its clericalist guardians. In the last few years,

Illustrated London News

Teheran, 1951: Stalinist Tudeh party subordinated plebeian struggles behind bourgeois-nationalist Mohammad Mossadeq, who was overthrown by CIA-backed 1953 coup.

Topham Picture Library

Iran has been rocked by workers strikes and protests by women fed up with their slave-like status, symbolized by the suffocating *chador* (veil). Youth have begun to openly defy the conservative morality of the mosque and watch films or read books that the religious censors loathe as examples of Western "decadence."

In response, a campaign of terror has been mounted by the regime, sections of which apparently fear that even limited liberalization is setting in motion forces that may challenge mullah rule. The assassination of dissident writers and political figures is intended to intimidate all restless elements, and critical newspapers and journals are episodically suppressed.

Given the rampant disaffection in the society, the question is once again posed: which way forward for the Iranian masses? In the fight to forge a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party—the indispensable requirement for successfully consummating a socialist revolution—the need to assimilate the lessons of 20 years ago looms large. And in confronting the past, Iranian workers and leftists must come to terms with the betrayals of a whole array of leftist organizations in Iran and abroad that tailed the clericalist movement in the heady days of the "Iranian revolution."

Religious Reaction Ascendant

In 1978, fed up with the dictatorship of the butcher Shah, the Iranian masses defied the monarch's tanks and elite troops, taking to the streets in demonstration after demonstration, strike after strike. The Shah, in power since 1941 and backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism, was hated for his massive apparatus of state repression, including the SAVAK secret police, and the boundless corruption of his court. In the last years of his reign, the country's economic plight and the immiseration of vast layers of the population sparked widespread opposition. Exploiting this popular hatred, the massive and powerful religious hierarchy led by Khomeini created a mass movement that was supported by the merchants of the bazaar and heavily composed of semi-proletarian shantytown dwellers who had migrated to the cities but never broken their ties to the mosque.

For its part, the Iranian left used its authority to help chain the proletariat to the mullahs and helped heave into power a theocracy drawing its inspiration not from the twentieth century but from the seventh. Adamantly opposed to both reactionary alternatives—the Shah's Peacock Throne *and* the theocratic mullahs—the international Spartacist tendency (predecessor of the International Communist League) raised the slogan: "Down with the Shah, No support to the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" We exposed the treacherous role of the Iranian left, especially the Tudeh party with its substantial proletarian base, which supported the Khomeiniite mass movement and prevented the emergence of a proletarian challenge to the rule of the hated Shah.

The massive protest wave reached its zenith between September 1978 and January 1979. On September 4, millions of demonstrators across Iran participated in rallies, including half a million in the capital of Teheran. Led by mullahs reading verses from the Koran, the protests had a decidedly religious character. Four days later, the Shah's Royal Guard fired upon an anti-government protest in Teheran, killing at least a thousand demonstrators in the worst massacre in decades. Undeterred by this carnage, the opposition continued to demonstrate; further clashes were reported in Teheran, Mashhad and other cities. The depth of popular defiance was reflected in protesters' open fraternization with the Shah's largely conscript troops.

With the authority of the regime deeply shaken, the multinational proletariat of Iran began to enter the fray. In the first two weeks of October, Iran was rocked by strikes of bank workers, oil industry engineers and telephone and telegraph workers. Wage concessions could not stem the tide of this upsurge, as workers shut down schools, hospitals, the national airlines and the railroads. A more serious challenge to the monarchy was posed by the walkout of 30,000 workers at the Isfahan steel works. The strike wave took a qualitative leap with the walkout in the southwestern province of Khuzestan of 10,000 oil workers, many of whom were Arabs oppressed by the Persian-chauvinist monarchy. Meanwhile, the strikers had begun to raise political demands against the regime.

For decades, the oil workers had been in the vanguard of the Iranian class struggle. In 1946, 100,000 oil workers struck against the British oil monopolies, and another massive strike in 1952 sparked the movement to nationalize the industry. Time and time again, however, the workers were strangled by their historic leadership, the Tudeh party. In 1946, Tudeh broke the oil workers strike in return for three cabinet positions. During the tumultuous events that ended in the 1953 mullah-led, CIA-backed military coup against Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq, who had nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Tudeh could have taken power but instead curbed its mass proletarian base in the hope that the aristocratic Mossadeq would carry out the "democratic revolution."

The ensuing savage repression and demoralization of the working class greatly weakened Tudeh. In the 1960s, a new generation of young leftist radicals, exemplified by the Fedayeen, turned to the guerrillaist strategy espoused by Mao Zedong and Che Guevara. Although their actions were heroic and self-sacrificing, both their stagist program and strategy of populist guerrilla warfare isolated these youthful leftists from the key strategic sectors of the working class.

As long as the Shah jailed, tortured and murdered Tudeh and other leftist militants, the Shi'ite clergy raised not a peep of protest. The Khomeiniite Islamic opposition arose in response to the 1963 "White Revolution," when the Shah began to make inroads into the mullahs' endowments and property and their control over law and social mores. Given the bankruptcy of the feeble national bourgeoisie, the greatly reduced authority of Tudeh and the isolation of the leftist guerrillaists, the Shi'ite clergy developed into the only effective nationwide opposition.

Economist

As successor to regime of Ayatollah Khomeini, Khatami's Iran remains a hellhole for women and prison house of oppressed nationalities.

Nonetheless, contrary to the claims of Iranian leftists who tailed Khomeini, much of the proletariat initially remained aloof from the mullah-led protests during 1978-79, while workers carried out powerful struggles such as a sit-down strike of 37,000 oil workers. By then, large sections of the Iranian proletariat had become urbanized and secularized by the workings of the capitalist system and rejected Khomeini's retrograde, reactionary program. For its part, the religious opposition was explicitly antagonistic to independent mobilizations of the working class. Indeed, during one wave of strikes, the bazaaris in Teheran—the mullahs' traditional merchant base—*opened* the city's main bazaar, which they had earlier shut down in support of mullah-led protests. More than the clerical-dominated demonstrations, it was the crippling workers strikes that brought down the Shah.

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In 1978-79, Spartacist forums and publications advanced perspective of revolutionary proletarian struggle against danger of "Islamic republic" as bloody Shah's regime fell.

However, from Tudeh to the Fedayeen, the Iranian left subordinated the interests of the proletariat to the supposedly "anti-imperialist" mullahs. In contrast, we raised the Troiskyist hanner of workers revolution:

> "The strike battles now being waged by the Iranian workers could he the basis of the independent mobilization of the proletariat as a competitor for power with Khomeini, not as cannon fodder for the mullahs. In the imperialist epoch, the democratic tasks of freeing oppressed nationalities, agrarian revolution, and breaking down imperialist domination can he earried out only under the leadership of the Iranian proletariat. But these urgent democratie demands require the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship for their success, not the dissolution of the working elass into the petty-bourgeois masses. Only a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party ean win the proletariat to this perspective and lead it to victory."
>
> —"Down with the Shah! Don't Bow to Khomeini!" (*WV* No. 221, 15 December 1978)

The victory of the Shi'ite *ulema* came about in alliance with a section of the Shah's officer corps. Although Khomeini first went after the Shah's state apparatus and executed former SAVAK torturers, he wasted no time in suppressing non-Persian nationalities and ethnic minorities and women. On International Women's Day, 8 March 1979, a demonstration of tens of thousands was dispersed with bullets by Khomeini's Islamic marshals. Forces of the "Islamic revolution" began to wage bloody war against the Kurds and in May, government troops killed several Arab protesters in Khorramshahr who were fighting for a larger share of oil revenues for their region, the use of Arabic as a semi-official language and local autonomy.

Soon the mullahs used the fascistic *hezbollahis* to go after leftist organizations, while the new government shut down dozens of opposition newspapers. In the years to come, the regime would destroy the Iranian left, executing its leaders and supporters *en masse*. By 1982, *50 executions a day* had become normal. Meanwhile, Khomeini's Pasdaran (Islamic Revolutionary Guard) went on a rampage—entering homes, conducting searches and making arrests—while "Mobile Units of God's Vengeance" enforced Islamic dress codes in the streets. Women accused of adultery were stoned to death. And in 1980, the Iranian regime began its squalid eight-year border war with Iraq, sending hundreds of thousands of soldiers to their deaths.

In general, Western liberals paid scant attention to the reign of terror by the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Iran exeept on the occasion when it targeted the well-known writer Salman Rushdie, a secular intelleetual of Indian Muslim background living in Britain. When in 1989 Rushdie brought out *The Satanic Verses*, a novel satirizing Islam, Khomeini declared on Iranian radio that Rushdie and "all those involved in its publication who were aware of its contents, are sentenced to death." If the mullahs' regime publicly threatened to kill a world-famous writer and his publishers in West Europe and North America, imagine the totalitarian thought control they imposed in Iran itself.

Pseudo-socialists such as International Socialist Organization (top left) and Socialist Workers Party hailed Khomeini's "victory" even as his regime murdered leftists, national minorities.

Karim/Al Akhbar

Cracks in the Clerical Façade

After two decades of clerical rule, the Iranian masses have begun to chafe at the bit of naked state repression. Yearning for change, in 1997 they elected a new president, Mohammad Khatami, whom the bourgeois media have consistently eulogized as a "reformer" pitted against the old-line mullahs. Following Khatami's election, Hollywood films became popular, while the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance ceased demanding that film scripts be pre-approved. The ban on dozens of books was lifted. From *Time* magazine to the German weekly *Der Spiegel*, the world press has remarked on the appearance in public of women wearing nail polish on their toes and on the appetite among youth for Leonardo DiCaprio T-shirts. After the nightmare of Khomeiniite terror, such changes are testimony to the desire of Iranians to free themselves from the suffocating hold of the theocratic dictatorship.

But most significant are the workers' struggles of recent years. In December 1996, a fight for basic trade-union rights began with a two-day oil workers strike. Several weeks later, the regime's "Revolutionary Guards" lashed out at more than 2,000 oil workers and their supporters at a demonstration in front of the oil ministry in Teheran, arresting hundreds and banning the union (see "Support Iranian Oil Workers' Struggle!" *WV* No. 663, 7 March 1997). This action followed earlier oil workers strikes in 1990, 1991 and 1992. The 1991 walkout of tens of thousands of workers was the first all-out strike in the oil industry since the 1978 strikes.

Facing an economic crisis with high unemployment and inflation, and anxious that the pressures accumulating at the base of society could reach the boiling point, the Iranian rulers have been forced to grant piecemeal concessions. Khatami, who was installed to serve as a pressure valve, has enjoyed substantial support from youth and women rebelling against the hold of the clergy. But he himself is a former minister of culture and Islamic guidance whose religious credentials were approved by the Council of Guardians, a body of clerics and judges chosen by the supreme religious leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

No friend of the oppressed national minorities such as the Kurds, Khatami is also a vocal advoeate of reopening Iran to U.S. imperialist penetration. His presidency has coincided with a growing conviction among important sections of the American bourgeoisie that the time has come to improve relations with Iran. Although Washington has occasionally had relations with the ayatollahs' regime over the years—for exampte, supplying both Iran and Iraq militarily during the 1980s border war, bteeding one side and then the other—relations between the U.S. and Iran have been generally hostile since 1979, when Islamic militants seized the U.S. embassy in Teheran. However, since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which has led to intensified interimperialist rivalries and an escalating worldwide struggle over oil, the U.S. has gradually sought a rapprochement with Iran to bolster its position in this strategic region. In 1997, U.S. oilmen were incensed that a lucrative deal for Iranian natural gas went to their foreign competitors. Khatami aims to inerease Iran's leverage by taking advantage of heightened international antagonisms and strengthening ties with the U.S.

The Khatami regime's blatant perpetuation of women's oppression speaks volumes about this "reformer." The *hijab* (headscarf), mandatory in all public places, has been upheld by Khatami's advisor on women's affairs as the "superior national dress of the women of Iran." Cosmetics are forbidden, as are showy and glittery objects, jewelry, headbands and neck scarves. Even eyeglasses fall under these strictures! While women who dress "immodestly" may no longer be punished with 74 lashes of the whip, as previously, they may be imprisoned for up to two months. "Sexual misconduct" continues to be punishable by stoning to death. Banned from higher education in 91 of 169 fields and compelled to attend segregated classes, women are slaves to their husbands and brothers. According to *Z Magazine* (October 1998), prior to his election Khatami declared:

> "One of the West's most serious mistakes was the emancipation of women, which led to the disintegration of families. Staying at home does not mean marginalization. Being a housewife does not prevent a woman from having a role in the destiny of her people. We should not think that social activity means working outside the home. Housekeeping is among one of the most important jobs."

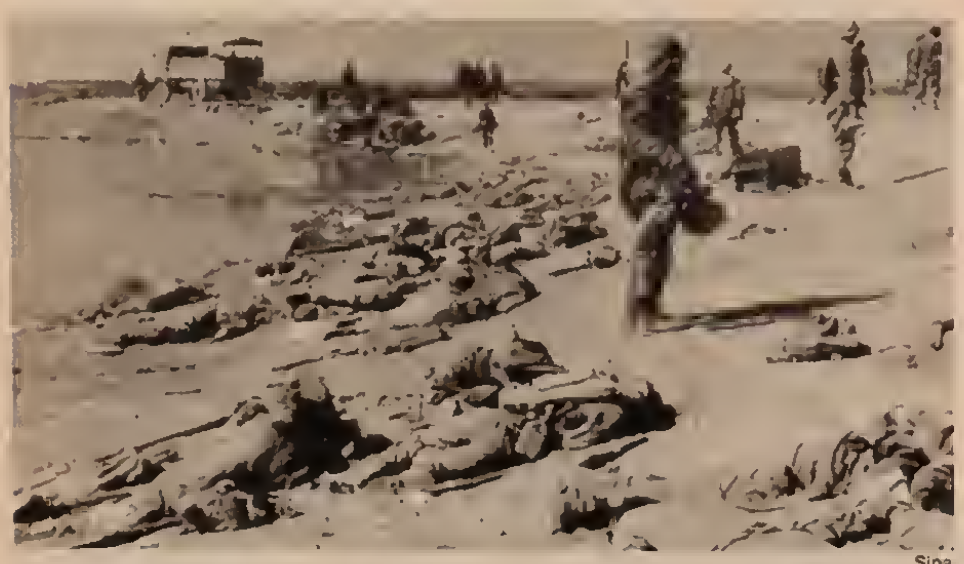
Not just a hellhole for women, Khatami's Islamic theocracy continues to be a prison house of summary executions, disappearances and torture. Continuing Khomeini's terror against religious minorities, police last September carried out massive raids and arrests against members of the Bahai faith, a religious group with wealthy entrepreneurial conneetions which the mullahs have long persecuted in order to divert anger away from their own oppressive rule. And just as Khomeini waged a border war against Iraq, Khatami engaged in his own saber rattling last year by mobilizing hundreds of thousands of troops to threaten Taliban-ruled Afghanistan.

Restless young Iranians have dared to defy the state power. When the Iranian national soccer team tied Australia in November 1997, patriotic fans went wild in the streets. The *Los Angeles Times* (23 Decemher 1997) reported:

> "Public dancing is banned, but many people danced, even on the tops of buses. Men and women are not supposed to mix, but they did. Some women threw off their scarves and let their hair free, violating decency in the eyes of the country's conservative rulers. And the regime's enforcers, the religious shock troops called the *basij* and the *komiteh*, were told to back off when they dared to intervene.
>
> "'They tried to stop things and they got their butts kicked,' recounted one excited youth. 'Everybody pushed them. They ran away and came back with more but couldn't do anything!'"

By all accounts, clerical rule has become brittle and vulnerable. Nevertheless, the prevailing political consciousness is highly contradictory and the volatile situation remains unpredictable. While many youth dislike the grip of the mullahs, they cling to Islam while maintaining enormous illusions in the "freedom" and "easy life" of racist American

continued on page 8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1985: Marshes of Basra, Iraq strewn with bodies during squalid eight-year Iran-Iraq border war.

Iran...

(continued from page 7)

capitalism. Although a thin layer of women from wealthy and influential families may wear modern Western clothing along with their *hijab* and a few even hold seats in the Majlis (parliament), the masses of peasant and working women are just as much slaves to age-old reactionary traditions as their grandmothers and great-grandmothers.

No fundamental social liberation will be accomplished short of a revolution shattering the entire power structure of capitalist and pre-capitalist social relations. A Marxist intervention in this fluid situatinn would seek to crystallize revolutionary proletarian opposition to mullah rule and combat illusions that liberal reformers, not to mention clerics like Khatami, will satisfy the masses' desire to throw off the yoke of an oppressive dictatorship.

Fake Trotskyists Bowed to Islamic Reaction

In 1978-79, a party of Marxist revolutionaries in Iran would have struggled to fracture the ayatollahs' sway over the mass movement. Although the international Spartacist tendency was largely external to the situation in Iran, we sought in a propagandistic way to raise a revolutionary proletarian perspective. In *WV* No. 215 (22 September 1978) we wrote:

> "The hundreds of thousands who are now marching behind the mullahs are by no means all Muslim fundamentalists. Many are primarily motivated by hostility to the real crimes of the shah. Many leftist workers have probably joined what they view as a potentially successful opposition to the hated regime. But the masses, particularly the workers, who are now supporting the Khomeinis and Shariatmadaris can and must be won away from the present Islamic reactionary offensive in favor of a *social revolutionary* opposition to the shah."

In contrast to this perspective, virtually the entire left worldwide lined up behind the forces of religious obscurantism. The ex-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) claimed that Khomeini's "firm opposition to the Shah and the Shah's 'modernization'" was "progressive" (*Militant*, 17 November 1978). Progressive? Khomeini was an ardent chauvinist who loudly called for a *jihad* (holy war) against all non-Persians. He consolidated his power by massacring the Kurds, forcing women to don the stifling *chador* or *hijab* and filling his prisons with homosexuals, leftists and trade unionists. For the SWP, the *chador* even became a symbol of "liberation." In contrast, we Spartacists have always demanded: No to the veil! The SWP reformists continue to serve as unabashed lobbyists for the reactionary Iranian regime—last year they appeared at a Teheran book fair adding their voices to Khatami's anti-women tirades against make-up by pushing a work titled *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*!

Echoing the SWP's craven capitulation to religious reaction on the ground were their cothinkers of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS). Even after Khomeini took power and began to bloodily suppress the left, the HKS—itself a victim of mullah terror—continued to claim the "Islamic revolution" as its own. It even ran in elections in August 1979 for an Islamic "Assembly of Experts" whose job was to rubber-stamp Khomeini's constitution. The HKS wrote at the time: "This constitution must defend the gains of the revolution and extend them.... The new constitution must pave the way for the establishment of such a government of the oppressed majority" (*Kargar* [*Worker*], 8 August 1979). In reality, the purpose of Khomeini's constitution was to institutionalize the reactionary rule of the *ulema*.

Much of the left justified supporting the mullahs with the claim that the "Iranian revolution" was "anti-imperialist," slanderously accusing us Trotskyists of taking pro-imperialist positions because we told the truth about the oppressive mullah regime and called for workers revolution. Far from being anti-imperialist, Khomeini joined with the U.S. in backing the bloodthirsty Afghan *mujahedin* in the crusade against "godless communism" after the Soviet Red Army intervened in the Afghan civil war in late 1979.

The SWP hailed Khomeini as an "anti-imperialist leader" because he opposed Washington's longtime ally, the Shah. Ernest Mandel of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), to which the SWP was then associated, went even further, proclaiming that Khomeini's Iran was a "partial bourgeois democracy." The USec got so carried away by the mullah-led "mass movement" that one of its leaders, Brian Grogan, bragged about chanting "Allah akbar" ("god is great") during a demonstration in Teheran!

The Shah's "modernization" consisted of paper-thin cosmetic reforms benefiting only a narrow layer of the extremely privileged. Plebeian hatred of this layer fuelled consolatory religious sentiments among the oppressed. In the face of religious backwardness, we insisted that the "social force of clerical reaction in Iran today is a product of economic retardation imposed upon that region by imperialism and that the masses will be emancipated from the chains of religious obscurantism only upon the economic foundations of proletarian revolution" (*Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80).

Ledru/Sygma

Reuters

1980: U.S. national security adviser Brzezinski at Khyber Pass, as Washington armed Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats in war against Soviet Army. Today, Taliban enforces Islamic rule in Afghanistan through barbaric "punishments."

Both the SWP and the Mandelites rejected in practice the Trotskyist understanding that in the imperialist epoch only the working class, led by a vanguard party, can institute revolutionary change. Standing in the anti-Trotskyist tradition of Michel Pablo, whose program of tailing the Stalinists and social democrats as an alternative to building a revolutionary party destroyed Trotsky's Fourth International in the early 1950s, the USec ended up tailing the "Islamic revolution" as a substitute for proletarian revolution.

The Cliffites: The Prophet's "Socialists"

The SWP and the USec were hardly alone in bowing miserably to Khomeini. Joining it were the anti-communists of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, which similarly justified its support to the mullahs by claiming that they were "anti-imperialist." The January 1979 issue of *Socialist Worker*, newspaper of Cliff's U.S. International Socialist Organization, unabashedly hailed Khomeini's "mass movement" and tried to put a socialist gloss on religious reactinn, headlining one article: "The Form—Religious, The Spirit—Revolution." Not surprisingly, this outfit last March grotesquely defended the presence of agents of the Islamic Republic at an International Women's Day fair in Toronto, accusing leftist protesters, including our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, of having staged a "racist assault" for driving the agents away.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO), Cliff's U.S. affiliate, has come right out and praised Khatami. While acknowledging Khatami's clericalist roots, they push the illusion that he is some sort of liberal alternative to the "conservatives" and claim that his presidency "promised to be a significant break after 19 years of Islamic rule" (*Socialist Worker*, 14 August 1998). What nerve! After dressing up Islamic rule as revolutionary in 1979, they now try to cover their tracks by whining that it's time for a change. They write: "Since taking office, Khatami has made good on some of his promises." What these dishonest cynics don't say is that Khatami has promised to strengthen the Islamic dress code, a symbol of the continued enslavement of women.

Although the Cliffites may wish to tone down their enthusiasm for mullah rule now that it has become unpopular among Iranians, since 1979 they have generalized their support for Islamic reaction, applauding vile and retrograde movements such as the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria and Muslim fundamentalists in Indonesia. In 1992, at the onset of the Algerian civil war between the mass-murdering bonapartist military regime and Islamic fundamentalists who have perpetrated a horrendous bloodletting against women, secular intellectuals and trade unionists, the Cliffites proclaimed that the FIS "reflects the rise of revolutionary feeling" (*Socialist Review*, February 1992). In the same vein, they have lined up behind Islamic reactionaries in Indonesia, who engage in heinous pogroms against the Chinese and Christian minorities. The Australian Cliffite newspaper, *Socialist Worker* (6 March 1998), declared that Indonesian Muslim leader Amien Rais could create "a rank and file revolutionary movement in the army, to split it from below."

After the bourgeoisie proclaimed the "death of communism" following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states in the late 1980s and early '90s, the British Cliffites, abjuring even the pretense of a proletarian-centered strategy, published a 60-page article by Chris Harman titled "The Prophet and the Proletariat" (*International Socialism*, Autumn 1994). Repeating the Cliffites' justification for supporting Khomeini, Harman treated Islamic fundamentalist movements as some sort of radical petty-bourgeois nationalist formations that "have taken up anti-imperialist slogans and some anti-imperialist actions." To the contrary, Islamic fundamentalism has flourished because of the abject failure of "Third World" bourgeois nationalism to alleviate the sufferings of the masses and in the absence of a recognized communist alternative. As we pointed out in "'Third Camp' Social Democrats Pander to Islamic Fundamentalism" (*WV* No. 613, 30 December 1994), militant Islam from Iran to North Africa is "hardly a reflection of 'anti-imperialism,' as the Cliffites would have it, but rather of despair and reaction, which both emotionally and in its sociological base has much in common with Hitler's 'National Socialism'."

Iran Today

Workers in Iranian oil industry form strategic part of the proletariat.

Far from being "anti-imperialist," Islamic gangs in Indonesia, together with the military, overthrew the bourgeois-nationalist regime of Sukarno in 1965, inciting an anti-Communist massacre that slaughtered more than half a million people. It was the CIA that supplied the Muslim fanatics with lists to hunt down Communists. This was no accident: in 1950, at the dawn of the Cold War, future U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles stated that there was a "common bond" between imperialism and the "religions of the East," whose "spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism."

Anti-communism serves as a common bond between the Cliffites and Islamic fundamentalism. During the Cold War, Cliff and his supporters backed every conceivable anti-communist movement

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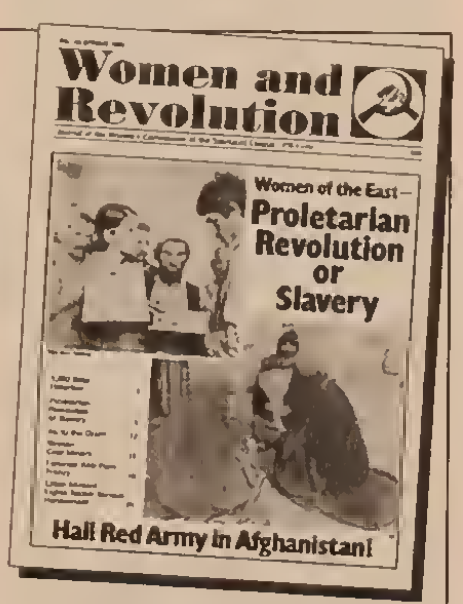

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the world over—from reactionary, anti-Semitic Polish Solidarność to Afghan counterrevolutionaries. Cliff himself broke from Trotskyism in 1950 when he refused to defend China and North Korea against U.S. imperialism during the Korean War, justifying this betrayal by claiming that these deformed workers states were "state capitalist."

In Afghanistan, the war against "godless communism" converged ferociously with Islamic fundamentalism as part of the drive to destroy the Soviet Union. In 1979, the Soviet Red Army intervened in the Afghan civil war on the side of a left-nationalist government that had tried to implement such reforms as lowering the bride price and establishing literacy programs for girls. When Afghan rebels launched a war to maintain women as virtual chattel slaves, the U.S. imperialists showered these medievalist counterrevolutionaries with arms to weaken the Soviet state. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the imperialists' hysterical response were the opening shots of Cold War II, to which the Cliffites reacted by cheering on the Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats and encouraging the imperialists to escalate their proxy war against the Soviet Union.

Against the likes of the Cliffites, we proclaimed: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend Gains of the October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" Recognizing that the incorporation of Afghanistan into the Soviet Union would have represented a tremendous step forward for the deeply oppressed Afghan masses—and especially Afghan women—we swam against the stream of imperialist reaction, to which the Cliffites, in their own modest way, actively contributed. Our forthright defense of the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan flowed from our understanding of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state, whose Stalinist bureaucracy usurped the political power of the working class while still resting on the socialized property forms established by the 1917 October Revolution. We defended the Soviet Union against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack, fighting for proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist usurpers and reestablish the revolutionary workers democracy of the early Soviet state under Lenin and Trotsky.

Rather than decisively defeat the religious fundamentalists, the Soviet bureaucracy treacherously withdrew its forces from Afghanistan in 1989 to appease the imperialists, giving the CIA-backed reactionaries the run of the country and emboldening the forces of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union itself. Today, life in Taliban-ruled Afghanistan has regressed to the point that public executions and amputations in Kabul Sports Stadium are almost weekly occurrences. Forced to wear the head-to-toe *burka*, a tent-like veil with only a screen-covered opening in front of the eyes, women are doomed to a life of abject isolation. The *Los Angeles Times* (22 October 1998) reported that the Taliban

> "relies on an extreme interpretation of Islam to mete out punishments for such sins as drinking, gambling, drugs, watching television and listening to music. Women are prohibited from wearing white socks, because they draw attention to ankles. Homosexuals are buried under toppled walls of brick. Adulterers are killed with stones."

Today, ostensible socialists like the Cliffites who clamored for a Soviet defeat in Afghanistan have their direct result: Taliban barbarism.

Pathfinder Press

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Bolshevik poster depicts Central Asian woman rejecting the veil and religious hierarchy. Turkish delegate at 1920 Soviet Baku Congress proposes program for the liberation of women of the East.

WPI: Anti-Clerical Reformists

One left group that protested against the agents of the Iranian government invading International Women's Day in Toronto last year was the Workers-communist Party of Iran (WPI). Last September, in united-front protest demonstrations in New York City, Vancouver, London, Berlin, Hamburg and Sydney, sections of the ICL joined with the WPI during Khatami's visit to the UN in denouncing the blood-drenched Iranian regime. However, while roundly despising Islamic clericalism, the WPI capitulates to it in myriad ways.

While the WPI does not formally endorse the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of two-stage revolution, it nonetheless operates within that conceptual and programmatic framework. This is indicated by its analysis of the overthrow of the Shah. A 1990 pamphlet titled "A Brief Look at the Situation of the Working Class in Iran," which was written by the WPI's predecessors of the Communist Party of Iran (CPI) and is still distributed by the WPI, claims that the "working class was the backbone of the revolutionary movement and the workers' nationwide strike were the most radical blows struck at the Shah's regime."

Workers strikes were indeed instrumental in bringing down the Shah. However, the proletariat did not play an independent class role but was *politically subordinated by its misleadership to the Khomeiniites*. To claim that the workers played a vanguard role among the "revolutionary masses" in 1979 is wishful thinking and a de facto capitulation to the Islamic reactionaries.

In the name of the "Islamic revolution," the Khomeiniites set up *shoras* (councils) after taking power in order to consolidate their hold over the restive masses. Yet the CPI pamphlet views these as bona fide workers councils representing an oppositional force to the Islamicist regime. In fact, it maintains that there was a "revolutionary period" right up to 1981. This notion accepts in practice a two-stage schema, implying that the workers had their big chance *after* the victory of the mullahs. Lacking a Marxist program and faith in the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, which can only become conscious of its fundamental class interests when led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, the WPI minimizes the leading role of the mullah opposition and shortchanges the central task of the working class during the Shah's death agony: *to steer an independent course in irreconcilable opposition to Khomeini's Islamic movement.*

The WPI does not pose the indispensability of proletarian leadership because it looks to bourgeois forces fundamentally hostile to the working class to carry out "progressive" policies. For example, the WPI's sister group in Iraq demands that the United Nations oversee a referendum on Kurdish independence, a call elaborated by WPI leader Mansoor Hekmat in the article "In Defense of the Demand for Independence for Iraqi Kurdistan" in the Farsi-language *International* (June 1995). The UN is an imperialist den of thieves and their victims, a fig leaf for imperialist wars and interventions from North Korea in 1950-53 to the Balkans today. The devastating embargo of Iraq, which has caused the deaths of a million and a half people, including hundreds of thousands of children due to malnutrition and disease, has been carried out since 1991 under UN auspices. We say: Defend Iraq against U.S./British imperialism! Down with the UN starvation blockade! In contrast to the illusion that the UN can be pressured to act in the interests of the oppressed Kurds, we fight to link the struggle for Kurdish self-determination with working-class struggles in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran. We call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan, which requires that these four capitalist states be smashed through workers revolution.

In the context of the partial and tenuous openness in Iranian society and the recent killings of Iranian writers and politicians, the WPI in Canada expressed gross illusions in imperialism. In a January leaflet titled "Against the Terrorist Islamic Regime in Iran!" the WPI demanded a trial of the leaders of the Islamic Republic before an international tribunal, the closure of the Iranian embassy in Canada and the expulsion of its representatives. By raising such demands, the WPI lends credence to the democratic pretensions of the imperialists and calls on them to act as cops of the world. The WPI's kowtowing to the imperialists represents a thorough-

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Australasian Spartacist

Australian Spartacists join WPI supporters in united-front demonstration to support striking Iranian oil workers, January 1997.

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(Fourth Internationalist)

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Legalized Cop Violence

"When a gang member is beaten by persons unknown in a mixed neighborhood, and the black gangs begin terrorizing *whites*, it is called racism, a bunch of cops can ride through black neighborhoods all day beatin' ass, and call it law, when a bunch of blacks beat one of these cops' ass it's called mob violence."
—John Africa (May 1967)

A young woman, engulfed in diabetic coma while sitting in her car, is repeatedly shot by a corps of cops, who say they are threatened by the young woman. Tyesha Miller, of Riverside, California becomes a statistic.

A young man sitting in his car in North Philly is surrounded by a phalanx of armed cops, whose guns are pointed at him from all points. He is ordered to raise his hands. When he does so, he is shot to death by one of the cops, who insists he thought he saw a gun. The 18-year old is unarmed. Dontae Dawson becomes a statistic.

An emigrant from the West African nation of Guinea comes to America, taking an apartment in New York's Bronx Borough. When four NYPD cops approach his door, reportedly because of a suspected rape (he was not a suspect) he is shot at 41 times. Nineteen shots hit him. Amadou Diallo was unarmed, and will never return to West Africa.

In case after case after case, in city after city, from coast to coast, such cases arise with alarming regularity, worsened by the realization that, in most cases, cops who have committed these acts, that if committed by others would constitute high crimes, will face no serious prosecution, if any prosecution at all.

They are, the corporate media assures us, "just doing their jobs," "under an awful lot of pressure," or "in fear" and therefore justified in what they do. In the language of the media, the very media that makes its millions off of the punishment industry calling for the vilest sentences known to man, turn, in the twinkling of an eye, into paragons of mercy, who lament that the "fine young men" who "served their community" are in "trouble," or have "suffered enough."

The suffering of the slain, because they are young, and Black, are all but forgotten in this unholy algebra that devalues Black life, while heightening the worth of the assailants because they work for the state.

The worse lie that is often trotted out when such cases occur is when politicians and media people sing the praises of such people, who are called, by virtue of their jobs, "public servants." Since when have servants (of any kind) acted in the vile, arrogant, monstrous manner that many of these cops do in Black, Hispanic and poor communities? Since when have such servants been in the position to slaughter, shoot, humiliate, and imprison the very public that they are sworn to serve?

They are servants, if at all, of the political structures of which they are a part, not of the people. They are servants, if at all, of the state. They serve the interests of capital, of the wealthy, of those who run this system from their bank vaults and corporate offices.

They do not serve the poor, the powerless, nor the unfortunate.

They never have.

They are an armed force organized to protect the interests of the established, and those who own capital. The history of labor in this country is splattered by the blood of trade unionists who were beaten, shot and crushed to the earth for striking against the trusts, combinations, and megacorporations of capital. Who did the beating? The shooting? The crushing? The cops, who served the interests of a state that declared, as did the Supreme Court, that unions were "criminal conspiracies," and that "The Constitution was...based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities" [from Frances Fox Piven & Richard A. Cloward, *The New Class War: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State and Its Consequences* (1982), citing Beard, C. A., *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1965)].

Capital's voice (the media) and their agents (the politicians) unite in a chorus of support for their legalized killers, who bomb babies with impunity (remember May 13, 1985—Philadelphia!), who shoot unarmed kids in their cars, and unarmed African emigrants, whose only capital crime is being Black in modern-day America.

This legalized violence that they do daily proves that violence is not a problem to the system—when it is their's against the people.

This awful crime must cease.

10 February 1999

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Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Iran...

(continued from page 9)

going revision of the Marxist view of the state. Marx, Engels and Lenin insisted that the state consists of bodies of armed men entrusted with the defense of a particular class' property interests. The bourgeois state, defending the interests of capitalist private property, cannot be reformed or wielded by the workers to achieve liberation; it must be smashed through workers revolution and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Workers Rule: The Key to Women's Emancipation

A crucial goal of permanent revolution in a country like Iran is the emancipation of women from traditionalist, patriarchal shackles. While the WPI calls for the equality of women, it has a thoroughly reformist conception of how to champion women's rights. The WPI's insistence in the programmatic statement "A Better World" (1994) that it does not strive for a reformed capitalism and that "the realization of the most elementary rights and liberties require bringing down the inhuman and reactionary Islamic Republic regime" is belied by its massive laundry list of reformist demands addressed to the ruling class and its statement that "Our aim is to force the existing system to recognise and abide by the unquestionable rights of the working people."

Furthermore, several WPI demands dealing with women, children and the family are openly reactionary. Thus the WPI rails "against the act of abortion," holding that abortion is "testimony to the self-alienation of people and their vulnerability in the face of the deprivations and hardships that the existing class society imposes on them." Presuming that women choose to have abortions only because of "cultural and economic pressures," the WPI echoes right-to-life fanatics by arguing that abortion displays "the inherent contempt for human life in the present system." Although saying that the decision to have an abortion rests with women alone, the WPI nevertheless calls for state counseling to dissuade women from the procedure. The clerical-reactionary nature of this demand can be seen in Germany, where state-mandated counseling centers run by the Catholic and Protestant churches intimidate women into bearing unwanted babies.

The WPI also backs "age of consent" laws against consensual sexual activity between adults and "underage" persons, demanding that such activity be outlawed and that adult perpetrators be prosecuted. This reactionary position, like its anti-abortion stance, vividly shows that despite its criticisms of religious obscurantism, the WPI is firmly wedded to bourgeois morality on the crucial question of the family. We fight for free abortion on demand and the abolition of reactionary "age of consent" laws, which reinforce puritanical sexual mores and seek to regiment children, adolescents and everyone else in the service of god and country.

The WPI ignores the role of the family as the key institution of bourgeois society for the oppression of women and the transmission of conservative social values to the younger generation. The WPI never ventures beyond the demand for "full equal rights and status for women and men in the family" and even calls for the "prohibition of imposing housework or specifically housekeeping duties on the woman in the family." This is sheer utopia: housework and child rearing are *intrinsic* to the role of women in the family. The emancipation of women from the daily drudgery of hearth and home will only come about when the proletariat conquers state power and establishes a socialist society, which will lay the material basis for the replacement of the institution of the family through collective childcare, kitchens and other social institutions. ***Women's liberation through socialist revolution!***

In the countries of the East, the question of women's oppression is one of the most powerful motive forces of socialist revolution. Indeed, when the Bolsheviks arrived in Central Asia in the years following the October Revolution, it was among women that they found the main point of support for their program and won their key cadres. The same holds true for Iran. A Leninist-Trotskyist party, championing women's rights against the age-old stranglehold of religion and the family, will find its most loyal and courageous fighters among women.

In the wake of Khomeini's rise to power, we held forums across the U.S. under the title "No to the Veil! Down with Khomeini! For a Workers Revolution in Iran!" Defying attempts by Iranian Muslims and Maoists to violently disrupt these meetings, the speaker, a Near Eastern Trotskyist of Muslim origin, told the simple truth that the veil is a prison, "a symbol of women's oppression under Islam and an instrument of that control" ("Fatima Khalil Tells the Truth on Iran," *WV* No. 230, 27 April 1979). She cited Trotsky's "Perspectives and Tasks in the East" (April 1924) on the prominent place of Eastern women in the revolutionary struggle for social emancipation. These words highlight one of the crucial tasks of the ICL in struggling to build revolutionary vanguard parties in the semi-colonial world:

"And this, moreover, means that the Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for the ideas of Communism, than the awakened woman worker." ■

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Racist Cop Terror...

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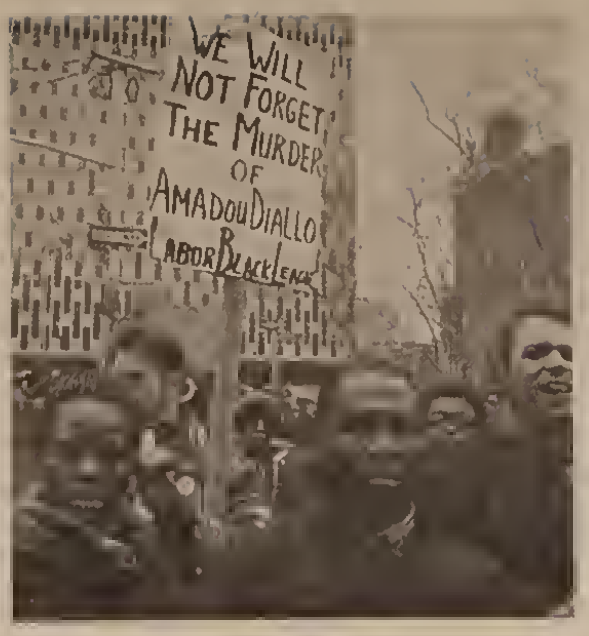
thousands of black, Hispanic, white and Asian workers, the city's unions—from transit workers and city and hospital workers to Teamsters—can unite the power of those whose labor makes this city run with the anger of the ghettos and barrios. Yet the union tops have uttered barely a peep to protest the cops' racist reign of terror, much less made any effort to organize the necessary mass protest actions.

Small wonder, when one takes a look at who sits atop these unions—for example, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 chief Willie James is himself a former cop! James, together with former AFSCME District Council 37 head Stanley Hill, supported Giuliani's re-election in 1997. Meanwhile, hospital workers union District 1199 leader Dennis Rivera is a top state official of the Democratic Party. The housebroken opposition to Giuliani's favorite labor leaders, exemplified by the TWU's "New Directions," looks to the capitalist courts and other agencies of the class enemy to advance the unions' cause. If labor's power is to be mobilized in defense of its members, it should be obvious that it must be independent of the capitalist parties and the agencies of the state.

The same cops who terrorize the ghettos break picket lines. Far from mobilizing the unions against police terror, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy aggressively seeks to "organize" the cops—the racist, strikebreaking guardians of capital—into the unions. Police "unions" are not unions; they are nothing other than the political expression of paramilitary cop bonapartism. This was chillingly shown recently when the Policemen's Benevolent Association threatened to stage a provocation against a public meeting in Manhattan's Town Hall in defense of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The protests which have taken place against the killing of Diallo have to date been dominated by Democratic Party politician Al Sharpton. In recent years, Sharpton—a fink for the FBI in the 1980s—has masqueraded as an opponent of police brutality. But every time he cynically voices condemnation of racist cop atrocities, he works to *divert* social protest into treacherous appeals to the racist capitalist government. Following the Diallo killing, Sharpton called for federal intervention to bring "justice," intoning that "We are not anti-police, we are anti-police brutality." While Sharpton calls for putting more "teeth" into the Civilian Complaint Review Board and for residency requirements for police, he opposed even reducing the size of the police force when he ran for mayor in 1997.



WV Photos

Left: February 9 NYC protest against racist police killing. The next day, vendors demonstrated at City Hall against Giullani's broad-gauged assault on population.

The purpose of liberal schemes to "reform" the police is not to stop or even restrain cop terror but to whitewash the system of racist, anti-labor repression. The cops, courts and prison system are at the core of the capitalist state—the repressive apparatus protecting the property, profits and rule of the tiny minority which owns the wealth of society and is intent on squeezing labor to maximize profits. The U.S. bourgeoisie is building prisons at the rate of *one every week*, primarily targeting minority youth caught up in the bourgeoisie's racist "war on drugs"; someone is arrested on drug charges in this country *every 20 seconds!* Both the Democrats and Republicans have supported the all-sided buildup of repressive powers in an effort to contain the massive discontents bred by this system of grinding exploitation and oppression. While Giuliani rode into City Hall on a wave of racist cop reaction against black Democrat David Dinkins, it was Dinkins who put thousands more cops on the street even as the rolls of city workers were slashed.

Liberal illusions in the "reformability" of the police have also been pushed in leaflets put out by the reformist left in response to the Diallo killing. Thus the Workers World Party, which supported Sharpton's 1997 mayoral bid, calls for "community control of the police" and the Communist Party for "civilian control." The International Socialist Organization chimes in with a call to "stop police brutality" through "the kind of fight that pressures the politicians." The reformists, following behind the procapitalist labor bureaucracy, act to blind working people and minorities to the role of the police and the Democratic Party as agencies of the class enemy which cannot be pressured into serving the interests of the exploited and oppressed.

Today, the labor movement is increasingly hamstrung by the intervention of the capitalist state—the courts, the cops, the Labor Department "overseers"—into the unions. Desperately needed is a political struggle for the independence of the working class from all the agencies of the capitalist rulers. As the New York Spartacist League wrote in an 8 February leaflet (see "NYPD Death Squad," *WV* No. 707, 19 February):

> "The power of the multiracial labor movement must be brought out in force to protest racist atrocities like the killing of Amadou Diallo. But as long as labor is tied to the class enemy through the Democratic Party, the unions cannot and will not be mobilized to actively champion the cause of black liberation and the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. There must be a political struggle inside the unions against the labor bureaucracy whose overt and fundamental loyalty to the capitalist class and its dual parties, the Democrats and Republicans, makes the union tops bitter enemies of any struggle that challenges the capitalist exploiters and their state."

We fight to unleash the power of labor to defend the real interests of the multiracial working class and all the oppressed. We fight for a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions, the force with the potential social power and fundamental class interest to teach the cops that their marauding racist terror will not go unanswered. But the racist brutality of the cops, in the service of the capitalist rulers, cannot be ended short of the smashing of the bourgeois state through proletarian revolution. The necessary instrument to unite the working class in revolutionary struggle against the class enemy is a multiracial workers party which acts as the "tribune of the people" in mobilizing to sweep away this capitalist system. ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 12)

organized terror and repression against perceived challenges to racist capitalist rule. As we wrote in "Geronimo Out After 27 Years in Prison Hell" (*WV* No. 670, 13 June 1997):

> "Justice in America is neither blind nor does it carefully weigh the evidence on balanced scales. The courts, like the cops and prison system, are part of the capitalist state, which is not a neutral body but exists to administer the exploitation of the working class by the handful of rulers who own the wealth of society. By its nature, the capitalist judicial system is based on racial discrimination and class bias."

Despite the overwhelming proof of Geronimo's innocence, it took five *habeas corpus* petitions before Judge Dickey finally ruled in his favor, reversing the frame-up conviction on the limited grounds that the prosecution had concealed evidence that its main witness, Julius Butler, was a cop/FBI/D.A. informant. In over a dozen hearings throughout his years in prison, Geronimo was consistently denied parole because he would not confess to a crime he did not commit, nor renounce his espousal of the cause of black freedom. As with the escalating vendetta against death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, every new piece of evidence of Geronimo's innocence was met with more government lies that he was guilty, accompanied by heightened repression seeking to silence Geronimo and prevent the truth from seeing the full light of day.

There are to this day many class-war prisoners in America's jails, guilty only of the "crime" of having fought against racist oppression—Ed Poindexter, Mondo we Langa, Hugo Pinell and Sundiata Acoli, to name a few. Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was targeted by the same COINTELPRO operation that stole 27 years of Geronimo's life, has become a symbol of the racist injustice inherent in American capitalism. Geronimo is finally free, but it would be obscene to speak of "closing the book" on this hideous frame-up. While there is no way to rectify the vicious actions of the ruling class and its state against him, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee will continue our efforts to mobilize the social power of the multiracial working class to demand freedom for all class-war prisoners. This is a crucial part of the struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party committed to the fight for a workers government, which will put an end to the entire system of racist capitalist injustice. ■

Contents Include:
- Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life of Struggle
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- From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal "*La Amistad* and American Law"
- The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal
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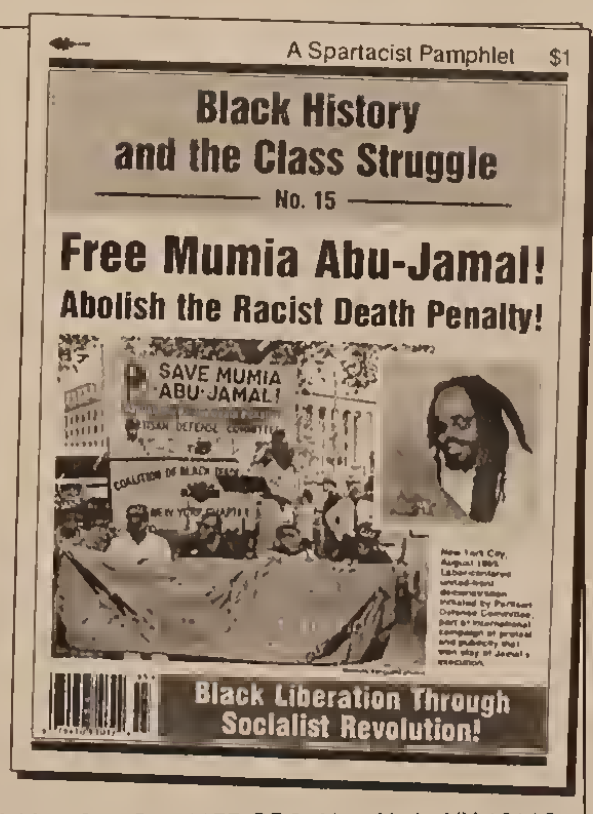

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The State Stole 27 Years of Former Black Panther's Life

— Victory! —
All Charges Dropped Against Geronimo!

Geronimo ji Jaga — WV Photo

For the past 30 years, 27 of them spent in a series of California prisons, former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) fought to overturn his frame-up conviction for a murder that state officials always knew he did not commit. Last month, that struggle finally came to an end. On February 16, the California Court of Appeals upheld the June 1997 decision by Judge Everett Dickey overturning Geronimo's 1972 conviction for the murder of Caroline Olsen and granting a new trial. The following day, Los Angeles district attorney Gil Garcetti grudgingly announced that there would be no trial—his office was finally ceasing its efforts to send Geronimo back to die in the prisons where he has spent more than half of his life.

As the Black Panther minister of defense in Los Angeles, Geronimo was one of the prime targets of the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO vendetta against black and leftist activists. Thirty-eight Black Panthers were killed and hundreds more locked away as the Feds and local police forces acted on FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's blunt admonition: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." FBI documents from 1969 record their designation of Geronimo as a "Key Black Extremist" for being an effective leader of the Panthers.

Having failed to execute Geronimo in a December 1969 raid on L.A. Panther headquarters, the FBI/LAPD used link Julius Butler to frame him up for the murder of Olsen on a Santa Monica tennis court the year before. As early as 1985, former FBI agent Wesley Swearingen testified he had seen three sets of wiretap logs confirming that at the time of the murder Geronimo was 400 miles away in Oakland, attending Panther meetings which were under heavy surveillance. The FBI then claimed those wiretaps had been lost. Now, even as Garcetti throws in the towel, he refuses to acknowledge what millions around the world have long known: that Geronimo is an innocent man. For Garcetti to admit this would expose the American system of injustice, once again revealing the bourgeois state to be an instrument of

continued on page 11

Outrage Over NYPD Killing of Amadou Diallo

For Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

NEW YORK CITY—Outrage over the racist police killing of Guinean immigrant Amadou Diallo on February 4 continues to smolder throughout this city, which has increasingly taken on the cast of an urban police state under Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Almost every day since four thugs from the NYPD's "elite" Street Crime Unit fired 41 bullets at Diallo, there has been a protest against the killing. The impact was felt as far away as Guinea, where Diallo's funeral was accompanied by protests in both the capital of Conakry and his family's village.

What the reign of cop terror means in New York's ghettos and barrios was seen again just last week, when cops opened fire on another unarmed black man, a transit worker, in response to a "domestic disturbance," as his mother screamed, "Please don't shoot, he's unarmed." As if to ensure that no one be able to survive such an assault, the police commissioner announced plans following the Diallo killing to arm the NYPD with the even more lethal hollow-point bullets.

As with the depraved cop torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in 1997, public revulsion at the NYPD's wanton brutality has extended well beyond the besieged black and Hispanic population. In his *New York Times* (21 February) column, Bob Herbert, who has often reported on racist cop violence, noted that "criticism of misconduct by the police can now readily be heard in most neighborhoods across the city." One reason for this is that youth of all races are frequent targets of arbitrary police abuse. Herbert quotes Brooklyn high school teacher Ellie Weiss, whose students are often harassed by the police: "It really, really bothers me that my kids think this is a normal thing."

AP

Thousands poured out for February 12 funeral in Manhattan for Guinean immigrant Amadou Diallo.

Williams/NY Daily News

Masses of New Yorkers are not only outraged by NYPD atrocities like the Diallo killing but are increasingly fearful of becoming a statistic themselves. Last September, Giuliani ordered the police occupation of a Harlem neighborhood. Intimidating and threatening those attending or even passing by the "Million Youth March" organized by black nationalist demagogue Khallid Muhammad, the cops finally attacked the platform. Giuliani has widened the scope of his "zero tolerance" police crackdowns beyond the barrios and ghettos, where the cops have always acted as an army of occupation, to go after everyone from cab drivers and street vendors to people who just want to preserve public garden space. And now police have been given the authority to seize vehicles of anyone simply charged with "driving while intoxicated" and to sell them back to their owners...if they're lucky! In defending this measure, Giuliani pronounced:

> "Let's say somebody is acquitted, and it's one of those acquittals in which the person was guilty but there is just not quite enough evidence beyond a reasonable doubt. That might be a situation in which the car would still be forfeited."

Here Giuliani openly expresses the appetite for police bonapartism, where the cops act not only to arrest but to judge and penalize—often by way of a 9mm gun—without even the window dressing of "accountability."

The widespread outrage over the Diallo killing and the cops' increasing brazenness cries out for massive social protest centered on the power of the multiracial labor movement. With their tens of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 709 19 March 1999

U.S./UN/NATO: Hands Off Iraq!
Down With the Starvation Blockade!

U.S. Terror Bombers Bleed Iraq

Even as Washington and its NATO allies prepare to deploy tens of thousands of "peacekeeping" forces in Kosovo, wielding the threat of a bombing campaign against Serbia, the U.S. and Britain continue to pound away at Iraq. At least 17 civilians have been murdered in the almost daily air attacks of the past three months, as more missiles and bombs have rained down on the Iraqi people and more sites struck than during the concentrated four-day assault by the U.S. and its British ally last December. This is an exercise in bloody imperialist terror, targeting a semicolonial people which has already seen tens of thousands slaughtered during the 1991 U.S.-led imperialist "Desert Slaughter" and subsequent air attacks, and well over a million more killed as a result of the economic sanctions imposed under the auspices of the United Nations. *Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the starvation blockade! U.S./NATO: Hands off the Balkans!*

AP Photos

February bombing of Iraqi oil-pumping station by U.S. and British warplanes threatened cutoff of minimal food and medical supplies Iraq is allowed to purchase.

Not content with the ongoing starvation blockade of Iraq, on February 28 the U.S. bombed an oil relay facility which plays a key role in the UN's extortionate "oil for food" program. The facility, which was subsequently repaired, controls a pipeline to Turkey that carries half of all the oil Iraq is allowed to export in order to purchase minimal quantities of food and medical supplies.

In a Spartacist League/U.S. leaflet last December headlined "Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" (see *WV* No. 704, 8 January), we wrote:

> "What's behind the murderous attack on the people of Iraq is Washington's aim of intimidating through sheer terror and blackmail all the semicolonial peoples over which it rides roughshod and maintaining its position as top dog against its imperialist rivals, especially Japan and Germany."

Washington's attempt to maintain a stranglehold over the flow of Near East oil, which is vital to its imperialist "allies," has led to ever more vocal opposition by France and other European powers to the UN sanctions. Underlining these divisions, in early March French and Italian oil companies joined in signing a deal with Iran, which is also targeted by U.S. sanctions, while Italy hosted a visit by Iranian president Khatami.

The raid on the oil facility was denounced even by Turkey, a stalwart U.S. ally which provides a key air base for American strikes against Iraq. Turkey itself has repeatedly launched murderous invasions of Kurdish-populated northern Iraq as part of a bloody war of extermination against its own Kurdish minority and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). The Turkish denunciation came only days

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Klansmen Murder Gay Man in Alabama

Only months after the torture and murder of 21-year-old Wyoming student Matthew Shepard in October, another gay man has fallen victim to a grisly slaying in Sylacauga, Alabama. Last month, Billy Jack Gaither was bludgeoned to death with an ax handle by two nightriders, who threw his body on a stack of burning tires. One of the two killers was Steven Mullins, a skinhead who paraded around in a KKK T-shirt. Coosa County sheriff's deputy Al Bradley said Mullins confessed that "he didn't like it because Gaither was gay."

Gaither's murder demonstrates that the KKK terrorists are a deadly threat not only to blacks but to gays, women and all the oppressed. Fascistic scum also took credit for the bombing of abortion clinics in Atlanta in 1997 and Birmingham one year ago. Another clinic was just bombed in Asheville, North Carolina on March 13. The depravity of the Gaither killing is reminiscent of the heinous Texas lynching of James Byrd Jr., who was dragged behind a truck and dismembered by racist KKK killers in June last year. In the eyes of right-wing bigots, anyone who does not fit into their idea of (white, Anglo-Saxon, Christian, heterosexual) "Americans" is not fit to live. Dan Gayman, a leading Christian rightist, rants, "If homosexuals refuse to repent and go straight, they should be put to death." He also rails against interracial sex and denounces Jews as the offspring of Satan.

Daily Home

Billy Jack Gaither

These vicious terror attacks underscore the fact that democratic rights are indivisible. The fates of all those subjected to special oppression in capitalist society—blacks, immigrants, women, homosexuals—are inextricably intertwined. Liberal sectoralist notions that gays, blacks and others should organize themselves separately and particularly apart from the multiracial working class

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Independence for East Timor!

The following is reprinted from Australasian Spartacist *No. 167 (Autumn 1999), newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia.*

Under intense pressure from the United States and other imperialist powers, in February the Indonesian New Order regime of B. J. Habibie mooted possible "independence" for East Timor within months unless Timorese nationalist leaders accept a sham autonomy under the continued rule of Jakarta. In 1975, Indonesia invaded and then annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and for 24 years has imposed brutal military rule in which some 200,000 have died. Even as various "negotiations" are underway, the Indonesian military continues to carry out murderous operations while arming paramilitary thugs to further terrorise the population. As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, stands for the immediate independence of East Timor, part of our struggle for workers revolution throughout the Indonesian prison-house of peoples.

Jakarta's bloody reign in East Timor has been backed throughout by the U.S. and others, who have armed and trained the notorious Indonesian military killers. None have played a dirtier role than the Australian imperialists, especially under Labor Party governments. The murderous Suharto regime was a key Cold War ally against the "spread of Communism" in Asia. But following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, today the imperialists are desperately seeking "stability" as millions of workers and peasants face starvation and utter destitution as the capitalists impose brutal austerity throughout Southeast Asia.

Spartacist League/Australia contingent at 1997 Melbourne protest against Suharto dictatorship.

Now the Australian Labor Party, for example, proclaims support for East Timorese "self-determination," and the federal Tory government has reluctantly swung into line. Fearing "a political, economic and strategic nightmare" (*Australian Financial Review*, 30-31 January), Australia's rulers oppose independence, pushing instead for "a substantial period of autonomy" as a "transition." To guarantee their "interests" and a neocolonial "solution," the imperialists are already preparing to occupy East Timor with "peacekeeping" troops—especially from Australia—under a UN figleaf. The Australian workers movement has a particular responsibility to oppose the intervention of their "own" rulers, racist overlords of oppressed neocolonies from Papua New Guinea to Fiji. We say: Australian imperialism keep your bloody hands off! No imperialist troops in East Timor!

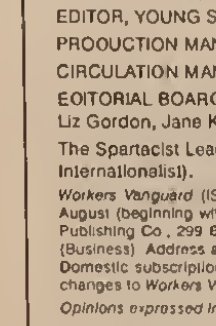
What the imperialists have in store for the East Timorese is exemplified by the continued racist hysteria of the Australian rulers over the possible inflow of dark-skinned East Timorese refugees. For years, both Labor and Liberal governments have vindictively denied permanent residency to some 1,650 East Timorese refugees in Australia and sought to expel them from the country. We say: Asylum for all East Timorese refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The imperialists have willing allies among the East Timorese petty-bourgeois nationalists. Imprisoned Fretilin guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao as well as the likes of Jose Ramos Horta have always sought to appeal to the imperialist powers and today are willing to act as local frontmen in the exploitation of their "own" people. Gusmao, now under "house arrest," has pledged, for example, to keep the oil profits from the Timor Gap flowing to Australia's giant BHP conglomerate. We oppose the Timor Gap Treaty, which from the Australian side represents nothing less than imperialist theft over the bodies of the East Timorese.

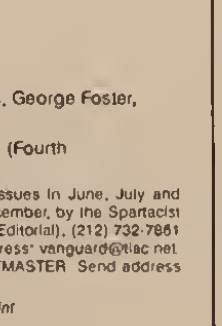
Meanwhile, the Australian reformist left, which has always pushed illusions in the "democratic" credentials of Australian imperialism, runs point for the capitalist rulers. The International Socialist Organisation peddles calls demanding that Foreign Minister Downer "support an Independent East Timor." Even more grotesque is the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), which appeals to the Australian government to "train" desperate East Timorese refugees in Australia to "enable them to play a role in re-building East Timor" (*Green Left Weekly*, 10 February)! In this the DSP are quite literally frontmen for imperialism.

At the same time, the DSP serves as publicity agent for the Indonesian PRD, an organisation, supposedly socialist, which has looked to bourgeois opposition figures such as Megawati Sukarnoputri. At a mass rally of 100,000 in Jakarta on February 15, this notorious Javanese chauvinist once again asserted her hostility to the rights of the East Timorese, declaring East Timor to be nothing other than "similar to other provinces in our beloved country" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February).

The imperialists, the blood-drenched Indonesian regime, the "opposition," the various nationalist forces—all of them seek to continue the brutal exploitation of those who labour. The road to national and social justice for all of the peoples of what is today Indonesia lies only in the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the destruction of capitalism through the seizure of state power by the proletariat standing at the head of all the oppressed masses and the victory of workers rule in the advanced capitalist countries. Genuine emancipation for all Asia's toilers and oppressed requires the forging of sections of an international Trotskyist party from Indonesia to Australia to Japan, committed to leading proletarian revolutions to smash capitalism and reconstruct Asia on a socialist basis. ■



TROTSKY



LENIN

Socialist Revolution and Women's Emancipation

In the tradition of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, we honor International Women's Day, March 8, as a proletarian holiday. Key to the success of the October Revolution of 1917 was the Bolsheviks' championing of all those exploited and oppressed under the Russian tsarist prison house of peoples. Even in the face of dire poverty and imperialist encirclement, the young Soviet state undertook pioneering efforts toward the liberation of women. Many of these policies were reversed under the rule of Stalin's nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped power in 1923-24, ultimately paving the way for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. As we fight for new October Revolutions, the International Communist League reaffirms that the struggle against women's oppression is integral to the emancipation of labor itself.

The gist of Bolshevism and the Russian October Revolution is getting into politics the very people who were most oppressed under capitalism. They were downtrodden, cheated and robbed by the capitalists, both under the monarchy and in the bourgeois-democratic republics. So long as the land and the factories were privately owned this oppression and deceit and the plunder of the people's labour by the capitalists were inevitable....

But you cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing in the women as well. For under capitalism the female half of the human race is doubly oppressed. The working woman and the peasant woman are oppressed by capital, but over and above that, even in the most democratic of the bourgeois republics, they remain, firstly, deprived of some rights because the law does not give them equality with men; and secondly—and this is the main thing—they remain in "household bondage," they continue to be "household slaves," for they are overburdened with the drudgery of the most squalid, backbreaking and stultifying toil in the kitchen and the family household.

No party or revolution in the world has ever dreamed of striking so deep at the roots of the oppression and inequality of women as the Soviet, Bolshevik revolution is doing. Over here, in Soviet Russia, no trace is left of any inequality between men and women under the law. The Soviet power has eliminated all there was of the especially disgusting, base and hypocritical inequality in the laws on marriage and the family and inequality in respect of children.

This is only the first step in the liberation of woman. But none of the bourgeois republics, including the most democratic, has dared to take even this first step. The reason is awe of "sacrosanct private property."

The second and most important step is the abolition of the private ownership of land and the factories. This and this alone opens up the way towards a complete and actual emancipation of woman, her liberation from "household bondage" through transition from petty individual housekeeping to large-scale socialized domestic services.

—V.I. Lenin, "International Working Women's Day" (March 1921)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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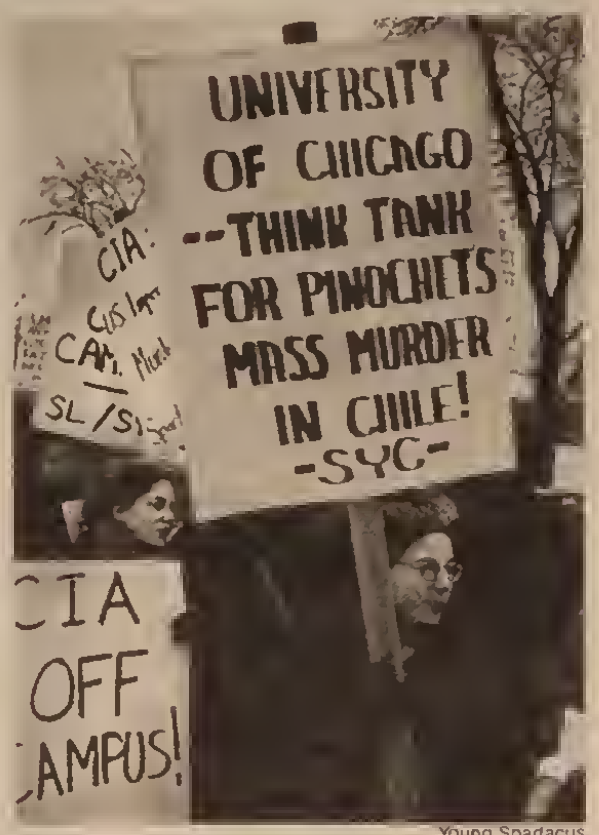
Young Spartacus

University of Chicago Protest:

Drive CIA Recruiters Off Campus!



March 8 SYC protest against CIA recruiters denounced university's role in U.S. imperialism's terror campaigns.

Young Spartacus

At the University of Chicago on March 8, some 30 students and leftists participated in a spirited picket line protest against recruiters from the Central Intelligence Agency—U.S. imperialism's premier spy agency which has tortured and murdered literally millions of people since World War II. The protest was called by the Spartacus Youth Club and drew students from U. of C. and the University of Illinois at Chicago. Demonstrators, including from the Chicano organization MEChA, enthusiastically picked up our chant: "The biggest terrorists in the world today are U.S. imperialism and the CIA!" As the SYC spokesman at the protest made clear:

> "We understand that only victorious proletarian revolution can smash the CIA. But this repressive and bloody state spy syndicate must not be free to send their agents onto campus to recruit for the operations aimed at counterrevolution and suppression of the struggles of the working class and oppressed across the globe!"

The protest had a polarizing effect on the campus. The campus newspaper, the *Chicago Maroon* (9 March), quoted a student who said that "everybody was talking about it." Another local campus paper, the *Chicago Weekly News* (11 March), correctly identified the SYC as "hardcore communist" in a caption to a photograph of the demonstration. It comes as no surprise that the CIA chose to recruit at U. of C.—notorious as a bastion of class privilege and an architect of U.S. imperialist mass murder. As the SYC leaflet building the protest laid out:

> "The Economics Department played a key role in the CIA-sponsored right-wing military coup in Chile in 1973. Milton Friedman and his 'Chicago School' cothinkers were braintrusters for Pinochet's bloody junta, which murdered, tortured, and starved to death tens of thousands of workers, peasants and leftist intellectuals. In 1975, the Spartacus Youth League led hundreds of students in a militant campaign to drive Friedman and his cohort Arnold Harberger off campus through protest and exposure. Today the Spartacus Youth Clubs are looking for a few class traitors—students who want to do away with this system of racism and war through socialist revolution."

Our sign reading: "A-Bombing of Hiroshima—U. of C. Physics Department's Contribution to Imperialist Mass Murder" addressed the fact that research at U. of C. paved the way to the A-bomb incineration of 200,000 Japanese and Koreans in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The "ivory tower" U. of C. is the leading landlord in the Chicago neighborhood of Hyde Park, and—backed by a private army of campus cops—has long been a bulwark against the black population of Chicago. In a city that is more than 40 percent black, barely 4 percent of U. of C. students are black. Protesters carried a sign demanding: "Nationalize the University of Chicago —For Open Admissions, No Tuition!" The chant "They seek their spies at U. of C., Think-tank for the bourgeoisie!" was perhaps the most popular among picketers.

DSA, Spark: Cheerleaders for CIA-Backed Counterrevolution

The University of Chicago is a natural spawning ground for all sorts of repulsive right-wing groups, which we ran into while building for the demonstration. These include the "Libertarians," who preach robber-baron laissez-faire capitalism, and the "Objectivists," disciples of far-right anti-Communist ideologue Ayn Rand who seek to become some kind of capitalist "supermen." One SYC placard at the protest read: "Libertarians, 'Objectivists': Love Imperialism, Hate the Reds, Screw the Poor." Among the CIA's fans at U. of C. are a number of students from reactionary "exile" milieus like those who fled the Vietnamese Revolution. The Cuban Revolution and especially the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam were victories for the workers and oppressed of the entire world. This was driven home in our chant: "Remember Bay of Pigs—CIA, you lost! Remember Vietnam—CIA, you lost!"

Then there are those "leftist" anti-communists like the Young Democratic Socialists—youth group of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—which has its national center at U. of C. In their longstanding championing of U.S. imperialism against communist "totalitarianism," the DSA's forebears have been on the take of the CIA for decades. As far back as 1959, DSA founder Michael Harrington took part in a CIA-funded anti-Communist provocation against an international gathering of leftist youth in Austria (see "DSA, CIA and Meese," *WV* No. 406, 20 June 1986). Gloria Steinem, a prominent feminist and member of the DSA's predecessor organization, is well known to have been on the CIA payroll. The DSA "state department socialists" also serve as waterboys for the AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucracy, which has long acted as the labor lieutenants of U.S. imperialism against leftist and Communist-led unions throughout the world, earning it the name "AFL-CIA." An SYC sign summed it up: "DSA: Pimps for the Democrats, Handmaidens for the CIA!"

Not surprisingly, the DSA has been one of the prime backers of the "Students for a Free Tibet" at U. of C. Acting as a hammer for capitalist counterrevolution in China, the "Free Tibet" movement is nothing but a front for the CIA, which inspired and armed the 1959 Tibet uprising and has financed the Dalai Lama ever since. The rule of the Tibetan

continued on page 5

International Women's Day Forums

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

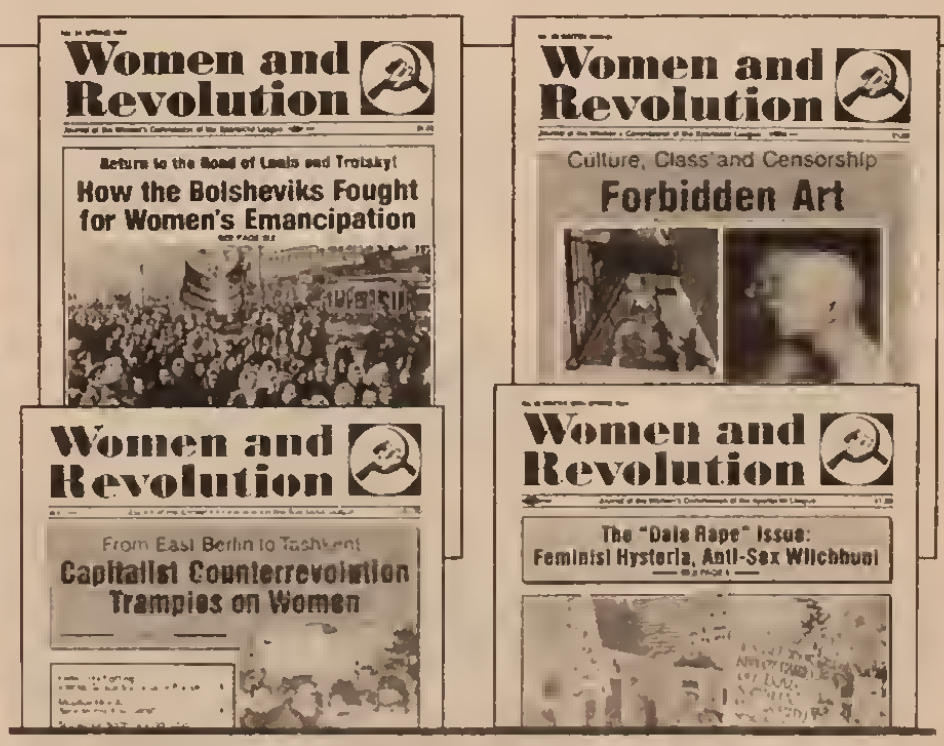
NEW YORK CITY
Thursday, March 25, 7:30 p.m.
Vanderbilt Hall, Room 214
New York University School of Law
40 Washington Square South
For more information: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO
Tuesday, March 23, 7 p.m.
International Student Centre
33 St. George Street
(north of College St.)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

The Communist Fight for Women's Liberation in the Muslim East

CHICAGO
Tuesday, March 30, 7 p.m.
Ida Noyes Library Lounge, 1st floor,
University of Chicago, 1212 E. 59th St.
For more information: (312) 454-4930

VANCOUVER
Friday, March 26, 7 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353



Order copies of *Women and Revolution*
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Bottom Row: **No. 42** $1 (48 pages); **No. 43** $1 (40 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Mass Student Protests in Mexico

Down With the Capitalist Offensive— For Free Quality Higher Education for All!

MEXICO CITY, March 16—The National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) has been rocked with militant protests by students and campus workers against anti-working-class attacks on education. Yesterday, while students blocked the administration building, UNAM officials met at a secret location to impose tuition. Our comrades in the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, have participated in the protests, including all-night building occupations, helping to barricade and guard occupied buildings from right-wing law students and cops trying to bust in on behalf of the administration. They also have engaged in lively debate of our Marxist strategy for students to ally with the labor movement in strike action against these attacks. We reprint below a translation of the March 10 leaflet issued and distributed by our comrades.

Free education has been repeatedly under attack in Mexico throughout the last decade. The imposition of tuition at UNAM will surely be followed by increased tuition at most other public universities, such as the National Polytechnic Institute, the second largest university in the country. Many other state universities already charge tuition, such as Mexico City's Autonomous Metropolitan University. If the bourgeoisie has been hesitant in imposing tuition at UNAM, it is only because of the fear of a large social explosion, since repeated attempts have been met by struggles of students and workers. In 1986, a joint struggle of students and, as today, electrical workers, prevented a similar "plan" from coming into effect.

At the same time as the Mexican bourgeoisie, following the dictates of its U.S. imperialist masters, is trying to eliminate free public education, it is also attempting to privatize the electric companies which were nationalized in the early 1950s and supply power all over Mexico. The privatization of this industry would mean mass layoffs, a sharply lowered standard of living for workers and the weakening of the powerful electricians unions, SME and SUTERM, all for the sake of "competitiveness" as demanded by the International Monetary Fund and the NAFTA "free trade" agreement. Such a move would clear the road for further privatizations, mainly of the oil industry that was nationalized in the late '30s. The privatization threat has been met by protests of SME electricity workers. The student and workers movements have intersected, leading to demonstrations of mutual solidarity, such as a joint march two weeks ago that drew several tens of thousands of students and workers.

A student strike at UNAM on March 11 paralyzed several faculties and high schools, affecting over 90,000 students, and also showed the solidarity and will to fight of workers at the university, who joined student pickets and refused to work. Giving a clear example of the role of the bourgeois state, the cops of Auxilio UNAM, the university's own police force, massed outside the struck faculties, threatening and attacking the pickets. As our comrades have stressed, any struggle that the university workers engage in will be directly threatened by the presence of these cops—the armed thugs of the bourgeois administration on campus—inside their union. We fight for the independence of the unions from the bourgeois state—Cops out of the unions and off campus! The solidarity shown by university and electricity workers during these struggles underlines the point we have fought to bring to workers and students: that the proletariat must stand at the head of all the oppressed.

Carlos Mamahua

March 4: Mass protest by students and workers against UNAM plans to impose tuition, purge poor and working-class students.

* * *

The National Autonomous University of Mexico and the remains of public education in Mexico are now under a renewed attack by the bourgeoisie with the "Barnés Plan," which is a copy of the "Carpizo Plan" of the last decade which also aimed to exclude thousands more youth from universities, high schools and CCHs [science and humanities colleges]. Even before this plan, automatic admittance to university had been limited and the cost of services exorbitantly increased. The bourgeoisie—through its arm in the UNAM, the administration—is demonstrating with this new attack on public education that any gain made by the working class and the oppressed will always be under constant threat by capitalism which is based on the making of *profit*.

Today, class struggle centered on the proletariat is necessary to put a halt to the elitist attack against public education. The Juventud Espartaquista is dedicated to winning students who will take the side of the proletariat for the rest of their lives and fight in the interests of the oppressed as part of the struggle for socialism. Against the extensive illusions in "dialogue" with the capitalist government and its representatives in the university administration, we fight for students to ally themselves with the power of the working class against these attacks. The priorities of this capitalist government are clear: maximize the rate of exploitation and maintain capitalist rule, squashing workers strikes and throwing working-class youth out of schools. This government does not want an educated working class because this would represent a potential challenge to their whole system of capitalist oppression and injustice. The actions of the ruling class recall the slogan of the fascist Spanish Falange: "Down with intelligence! Long live death!" Capitalist society offers no kind of future for working-class youth. We Spartacists say: "For free, quality education with a public stipend for all students to make this real, in the countryside just as in the cities! Nationalize the private universities! Down with all quotas and admission exams! Abolish the administration, arm of the capitalist state in the universities! For worker-student-teacher administration of the universities! For united strike action by students and workers to stop these attacks!

On March 4, some 50,000 workers and students marched together in a demonstration against the attacks on education. However, the road to victory is blocked by the poisonous nationalism which ties the exploited to their capitalist exploiters. The march concluded with the singing of the national anthem, while the SME bureaucracy pushes its slogan "Mexico for the Mexicans." There are great illusions that the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], an alternative face of the same capitalist rule in Mexico, could somehow represent workers and leftist students. The PRD is a bourgeois party committed to the defense of the capitalist order. Leon Trotsky's theory of *permanent revolution* shows us that in countries of belated capitalist development, like Mexico, the bourgeoisie is so weak and finds itself so tied to its imperialist bosses that only the proletariat, fighting as a tribune of the people in the interests of all the oppressed, can resolve even the most elementary democratic demands through a socialist revolution, establishing a society where those who labor rule.

Because of its direct relationship to the means of production, because it makes the mechanisms of production function collectively and on an international level and has only its labor as a means of subsistence, the proletariat is, in effect, the only class with the power and the historic interest to put an end, once and for all, to the exploitation of man by man. It is for this reason that we Spartacists fight for the political independence of the proletariat and are dedicated to building a proletarian, internationalist, revolutionary party. Our song is not the national anthem, but the *Internationale*. Our flag is not the "tricolor," but the red one of proletarian internationalism. Mobilize the power of the working class in defense of public education!

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—the first workers state in the world—the world bourgeoisie believes that there is no kind of obstacle to their attacks against all the conquests of the working class and the oppressed. The threat of privatization of the electrical industry, in response to the imperialist demands of "competitiveness," is fundamentally a direct attack on the living standards of the workers and against the electrical unions, the SME and SUTERM. At the same time, the Mexican bourgeoisie strengthens its repressive apparatus in order to quash any mobilization and exterminate once and for all the peasant rebels of Chiapas. Army out of Chiapas! Stop the privatization of the electrical industry! Stopping the repressive, privatizing bourgeois onslaught requires *internationalist* class struggle in opposition to the conciliationist and nationalist politics of the current misleadership of the proletariat, which subordinates the workers movement to the bourgeoisie and its parties—the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party], PRD and PAN [National Action Party] and its satellites—principally through the vehicle of nationalism.

Posing as a "Marxist alternative," the pseudo-left deserves a separate mention. The Stalinoids of En Lucha (known also as the publishers of *Los Antiojos*), in *En Lucha* No. 6 say that "the defense of free education should not fall only upon students," given that "in order to defeat capital it will be necessary to unite the resistance of the people into a single one. The 'meeting of rebellions' which the indigenous peoples have called for, can and should produce, sooner or later, a single general rebellion." What they understand

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CIA Protest...

(continued from page 3)

"Lamaocracy" meant nothing but slavery for women and abject squalor for all but the caste of privileged monks.

The CIA's bankrolling of the Dalai Lama is an expression of the central purpose of this agency of imperialist terror from the time of its inception: the fomenting of capitalist counterrevolution throughout the world, directed especially against the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state. To this end, in the 1980s the CIA sponsored Polish Solidarność and financed and armed the Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats against the Soviet Army. We said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" because its intervention there opened the road to the liberation of the horribly oppressed Afghan women and raised pointblank the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. The victory of the CIA-backed fundamentalist cutthroats, who would throw acid in the faces of unveiled women and flay alive those who taught young girls to read, has made Afghanistan today, under Taliban rule, a living hell for women. In honor of International Women's Day, the U. of C. protesters opposed the role of *all* religious fundamentalism in oppressing women, chanting "From the U.S. to Iran, Free Abortion on Demand!"

As Trotskyists we unconditionally defended the USSR, a degenerated workers state, and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, while calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies whose rule sapped and ultimately sold out those countries to capitalist restoration. Our position is sharply counterposed to fake-Trotskyists like Spark, one of whose supporters joined us on the picket line. Our comrades highlighted the contradiction between his protest of CIA recruiters and the fact that Spark, like the DSA, has regularly lined up on the same side of U.S. imperialism in Poland and Afghanistan. Unwilling to engage in such necessary political debate, the Spark supporter slinked off after some 15 minutes on the picket line.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union was a monumental historic *defeat* for the world proletariat, ushering in increased rivalries between the U.S. and its imperialist rivals such as Germany and Japan. Today, the bloody hand of the CIA is seen in its use of the cover of United Nations "weapons inspection" teams to aid the repeated U.S. terror bombings of Iraq, which along with the starvation blockade have killed well over a million Iraqis. While the U.S. claims to "protect" the Kurds in northern Iraq, it orchestrated the kidnapping of Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the nationalist Kurdistan Workers Party, who faces possible execution at the hands of his Turkish captors.

As the Spartacist League speaker at the demonstration pointed out:

> "Marxists understand that imperialism is not a 'bad policy' that can be changed through reform or by pressuring the government. It is the highest stage of capitalism featuring intense competition between the highly developed capitalist countries for sources of profit and spheres of influence. The CIA is known as 'Murder, Inc.' It murders to insure capitalists' profits, it murders to defend private property and it will commit any crime in order to reinforce the domination of U.S. imperialism over the world's peoples."

The demonstration ended with the singing of the *Internationale*—the international workers anthem. We fight for new October Revolutions as the only alternative to capitalist enslavement, imperialist wars and brutal oppression of neocolonial peoples. The SYC is a training ground for revolutionaries who want to join the side of the working class and fight to build a revolutionary party to lead the workers and oppressed in overthrowing racist capitalism and smashing its secret police once and for all! Join us!■

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth League initiated 1975 campaign of protest against U. of C. professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger, braintrusters of bloody Chilean junta.

Spartacists denounce Dalai Lama and his "Free Tibet" movement as CIA tools in drive for counterrevolution in China.

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as a "general rebellion" is explained clearly in a pamphlet from *Tepoztlán Rebelde* (a collective of which En Lucha was a part) from March 1997, when they told the Tepozteco peasants during local elections that it was "neeessary to check off the logo of the PRD." And it was under the auspices of this bourgeois party that the "Tepozteco people" drew up their list of candidates, while the pamphlet claimed that said list had been drawn up "without the interference of any party"! That is the real meaning of their "general rebellion." Now, amalgamating the proletariat as simply another sector of the oppressed, in a recent assembly in the science department at UNAM they proposed the formation of a "front" with the workers of the SME, which they will do everything possible to maintain under the ideological hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

The self-proclaimed Marxist organizations present at UNAM are in a "combative" frenzy for "unity," the "front," etc., which serves only to detract from the necessity of united worker and student struggle. The organizations that perhaps best exemplify the cult of combativity—at the expense of a crucial factor, revolutionary consciousness—are the Morenoite Partido Obrero Socialista (POS—Socialist Workers Party) and the Internationalist Group (IG). In giant letters, the POS calls for an "SME Strike" and for a solidarity strike by *all* the unions in the country (*El Socialista* No. 247). And, in their particularly pathetic tone, they state that "the magic word for the SME and for the POS...is *strike*." At the same time that they kindly "criticize" the SME bureaucracy, whose "methods" they say have "already demonstrated their inefficiency," they act as the bureaucracy's servile, reformist office boys: collecting signatures for them to demand of the *baurgeais* senators and deputies that they stop the privatization of the electrical industry! (This is from a March 1999 POS flyer, "La industria eléctrica no debe ser vendida" ["The electrical industry should not be sold"]).

The essential idea of these centrists is that if only the strikes became combative and "general" enough, the very struggle would objectively lead the oppressed masses to a confrontation with the state power—the level of consciousness of the workers being of no import—and, consequently, the shackling of the proletariat by the union misleadership would disappear. The IG states this very clearly: "Today a strike with a class-struggle leadership would give force to the struggle for *workers committees* truly independent of the bourgeois parties in order to *destroy the carporatist shackle* of the *charros*...." The IG is pretty unabashed about giving lessons to workers about how to confront the bourgeois state when their own comrades committed an act of *class treason* in Brazil by dragging a union through the bourgeois courts on three occasions, as we revealed in "IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies" [*WV* No. 671, 11 July 1997]. The IG wants to hide its treason in Brazil and its capitulation to the reformist leadership of the unions in Mexico with calls for combativity. Reinforcing the idea that revolutionary consciousness will come out of the defensive struggles of the working class, the POS and the IG, along with the rest of the left, do nothing but tail the current leadership of workers and students, seeking to become its "left" advisers.

There is nobody better than Lenin to refute all these "combative Marxists":

> "*All* worship of the spontaneity of the working-class movement, all belittling of the role of the 'conscious element,' of the role of Social-Democracy, *means, quite independently of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers.* All those who talk about 'overrating the importance of ideology,' about exaggerating the role of the conscious element, etc., imagine that the labour movement pure and simple can elaborate, and will elaborate, an independent ideology for itself, if only the workers 'wrest their fate from the hands of the leaders.' But this is a profound mistake."
>
> —Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*

You cannot, through combative phrases, "trick" a proletariat that is under the influence of "bourgeois worker" politics into carrying out a socialist revolution. The POS and the IG glorify the spontaneity of the proletariat as a substitute for the struggle to directly confront the illusions of the workers in the reformism of their leadership. It is clear that a class-struggle fight is needed to stop this bourgeois onslaught, and workers have demonstrated their eagerness for it. Class struggle is, in effect, a great teacher, but the revolutionary party is indispensable for pointing to and keeping alive the lessons of experience.

In contrast, the Juventud Espartaquista, saluting the eagerness for struggle and the solidarity demonstrated by workers and students and understanding that a united struggle centered on the proletariat is necessary, fights together with the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), to bring to the workers and students the *complete* program of revolutionary Marxism. We struggle to build the revolutionary workers party that is necessary for leading the working class to the realization of its historic role as the leader and emancipator of the whole of humanity, expropriating the capitalists and installing its own class dictatorship. Break with the bourgeoisie! Forge a revolutionary workers party! Join the Juventud Espartaquista!■

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Trotskyist League Debates BT on Quebec Independence

Bolshevik Tendency: Still in the Camp of Anglo Chauvinism

We reprint below an article from Spartacist Canada *No. 120 (Spring 1999), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.*

SPARTACIST CANADA

For the whole of its existence, the clot of quitters, renegades and accidental elements called the Bolshevik Tendency (BT) have badgered us to debate them one on one. This oft-repeated "challenge" has generally provoked distaste in us, and indifference in others. But mostly it has prompted the question: What's to debate? The BT's founding members all individually quit our international organization. Their current international leader, Bill Logan, is a vicious sociopath who was expelled from our organization 20 years ago for gross crimes against communist morality and elementary human decency. The BT's occasional "journal," *1917*, has not appeared since 1997.

So it was only at the request of a third party, the Brock Socialist Group, that on February 13 the Trotskyist League debated the Bolshevik Tendency at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario. The Brock Socialists are a student group which has been examining Marxism and sought the debate to further their understanding of Trotskyism. We proposed "The Quebec National Question and the Fight for Socialism" as an appropriate topic, as this is a central question in the fight for proletarian revolution in Canada.

Our advocacy of Quebec independence is key to the struggle to advance revolutionary class consciousness among the workers. As TL spokesman Charles Galarneau explained:

> "Chauvinism and nationalism have deeply poisoned the class struggle in both English Canada and Quebec, binding English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their capitalist enemies. This is caused by the continued existence of two separate and increasingly divergent nations, one oppressing the other, within the same bourgeois state structure....
>
> "First and foremost, we fight against Maple Leaf chauvinism in the English Canadian working class. We believe with Lenin that 'a proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its "own" nation cannot be a socialist proletariat.' At the same time, calling for independence helps combat nationalism in Quebec, giving us a hearing to win Quebec workers away from their pro-PQ [Parti Québécois] misleaders."

In sharp contrast, the BT is notorious for *opposing* Quebec independence. Thus, our speaker noted, the choice of topic for the debate was doubly appropriate: "The BT's overtly Anglo-chauvinist line exposes their opportunist positions and social-democratic appetites—in other words, it exemplifies why the BT has *nothing* to do with the struggle for a Leninist party acting as a tribune for all the oppressed."

Characteristically, Bolshevik Tendency representative Tom Riley simply ignored the poisonous reality of national oppression and its impact on the consciousness of workers of both nations. Counting his presentation and summary, he spoke for 40 minutes without once acknowledging that Quebec is an oppressed nation, or making a single substantive reference to the existence of Anglo chauvinism. This silence was maintained by the BT through several rounds of discussion, despite repeated challenges by TL comrades.

Riley sought refuge in historical descriptions of militant actions by the Quebec labor movement, and in appeals for "joint class struggle." Denying or downplaying the crippling effects of chauvinism, racism, etc. on working-class consciousness, such facile unity-mongering is counterposed to any struggle against the many forms of special oppression engendered by capitalism. The BT directly echoes the social democrats and labor bureaucrats who present any struggle in defense of the oppressed as disruptive of the "solidarity" of the labor movement.

Of course, Riley claimed the BT upholds the right of self-determination for Quebec. So does most of the English Canadian labor bureaucracy today, on paper. But like the social democrats, in the real world the BT endorses the Anglo-dominated status quo. During the narrowly defeated 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty, for instance, the BT openly called for a No vote against Quebec independence. TL spokesman Galarneau remarked that "the BT's call to vote No was a gross capitulation to the Anglo rulers." Indeed, the BT's loyalty to the cause of Canadian "national unity" did not go unremarked by the Anglo-chauvinist powers that be, who officially invited the BT to participate in the flag-waving rally orchestrated by the federal government in Montreal on the eve of the referendum. Comrade Galarneau also noted that the BT's only Quebec member quit over this, publicly denouncing his former comrades for their "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie."

As our speaker emphasized, Quebec is not the first or only place that the BT has embraced the chauvinist status quo. In Britain, their cothinkers deny that the Scots and Welsh are in any way oppressed, even as they pursue "joint work" with an outfit, the Socialist Party, which adamantly refuses to call for withdrawal of the murderous British army from Northern Ireland. In New Zealand, the BT scarcely mentions the brutal oppression of the indigenous black Maori population. "In fact," said comrade Galarneau, "on every national terrain where they exist, the BT is a walking capitulation to their 'own' capitalist rulers."

Our speaker located the source of the BT's wilful blindness on questions of special oppression in the founding impulse of its first members:

> "The BT's Anglo-chauvinist position on Quebec is perfectly consistent with their political origins, in the early 1980s, in a series of cowardly flinches over the defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state....
>
> "For example, when the Soviet Army intervened against CIA-backed Islamic cutthroats in Afghanistan in late 1979, we said 'Hail Red Army in Afghanistan,' calling to 'Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples.' The social democrats and pseudo-leftists, who were howling with the imperialist wolves against the Soviet Union, hated our slogan. At the time, we wrote that if the ET (that's the External Tendency, the BT's precursors) were more honest, they would admit that they hated it, too. Well, it took them a few years, but they finally did admit that, yes, they hated it, arguing that it meant we were putting faith in the Stalinists.
>
> "No. First of all, we were simply expressing our *unconditional* defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against capitalism. And we also recognized that the deformed expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as represented by the Soviet Army, was the only force capable of bringing some measure of liberation, especially to women, in Afghanistan.
>
> "The BT is an organization which congealed in reaction to the heat of imperialist Cold War II. From this original capitulation to their own ruling classes, it was a short step down a slippery slope to embracing the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie from Canada to Britain and beyond."

Steve Liss

Maclean's

Above: Montreal march for Quebec independence, 1990. Trotskyists call for independence to break English Canadian workers from Anglo-chauvinism and win Quebec workers from bourgeois nationalism. Right: Chauvinist 1995 "Canadian unity" rally in Montreal, which BT was officially invited to attend.

BT vs. Lenin on Revolutionary Class Consciousness

In his remarks, comrade Galarneau extensively motivated our call for Quebec independence as key to the struggle to remove the barriers to *revolutionary class consciousness* among workers on both sides of the national divide. This perspective derives from the basic Leninist proposition that without the leadership of a revolutionary party, the working people must remain in thrall to one form or another of *bourgeois consciousness*, such as national chauvinism. For communists, advocacy of Quebec independence is the means to break the grip of national chauvinism. Unless that grip is broken, the working people cannot be won to a revolutionary socialist perspective.

Denigrating and dismissing the struggle for revolutionary consciousness, the BT substitutes "militant struggle." In fact, Riley's whole presentation rested on a straight equation of class consciousness and simple trade-union militancy. His "argument" consisted of a list of binational strikes since the 1960s, many of which were sparked by the explosive Quebec labor movement of the time. On this basis, he denounced our contention that Quebec independence was necessary for the workers of each nation to see their own rulers as the enemy; he mocked our assertion that chauvinism and nationalism were the fundamental roadblock to revolutionary class consciousness, and therefore to successful working-class struggle.

The falsehood that socialist consciousness derives directly from militant struggles over economic demands is hardly new. Lenin called this view Economism and attacked it in his 1902 book *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin showed how the working class through its own struggles is unable to spontaneously develop a consciousness any higher than trade-union consciousness: the need to unite in economic struggle against the employers and government. But trade-union consciousness is itself a form of bourgeois consciousness: by itself it does not challenge the capitalist mode of production but only seeks to better the workers' immediate conditions. Revolutionary class consciousness has to be brought into the working class *from the outside*, by a revolutionary party which understands the historic necessity of destroying capitalist exploitation and oppression. Integral to this is the fight for the proletariat to take up the cause of all those strata which suffer special oppression under capitalism.

In his thoroughly Economist presentation, Riley never once hinted that the militancy of the Québécois proletariat during the '60s and '70s was fueled by resentment of and opposition to national oppression. When that militancy ran into an Anglo-chauvinist wall of hostility erected by the New Democratic Party (NDP) and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) leadership, angry Quebec workers were corralled by their own nationalist misleaders into the arms of the bourgeois nationalists of the Parti Québécois. When the TL speaker described the chauvinist opposition to the semi-insurrectionary 1972 Quebec General Strike by the NDP and CLC brass, Riley leapt to defend the social-

democratic traitors from any imputation of anti-Quebec bigotry. "The fact is that the NDP and [its leader] David Lewis did the best they could to oppose [the strike] and to scab on it, there's no question about that," Riley declared. "But comrades, they opposed and scabbed on the railway strike in '73, on the postal strike in '78, on the railway strike in '95, etc., etc."

The Anglo-chauvinist social democrats certainly are strikebreakers. Their role is to insure the subordination of the working class to the national interests of the enemy class—and key to that in this country is the ideological glue of Anglo chauvinism. This in turn deepens and hardens the reactionary nationalism instilled by the Quebec labor tops. Yet according to the BT, national chauvinism is simply not a factor. As comrade Galarneau observed, to hear the BT tell it,

> "You would not know that the social democrats foment anti-Quebec chauvinism at all. Well, anyone who watches the news knows that the likes of [NDP provincial premiers] Bob Rae, Roy Romanow and Glen Clark have been willing, aggressive point men for the 'national unity' crusade—just as David Lewis was 25 years ago."

A Sneering Indifference to Oppression

The BT's snottily dismissive attitude to the national oppression of the Québécois signals and embodies their capitulation to the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie. Indeed, for Trotskyists it would be hard to imagine an attitude more repulsive or more distant from the Leninist ideal of a tribune of the people than their arrogant contempt for specially oppressed sectors of the societies in which they find themselves. Comrade Galarneau's presentation described a notorious and typical example:

> "When we organized a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington in 1982, the BT *spat* on this work. One of their members called it 'ghetto work.' The BT accused us of 'abandoning trade-union work.' What can this mean, except that the BT sees the working class as separate from and counterposed to the black plebeian masses—exactly the view of the labor bureaucracy. In fact, our Washington mobilization brought together in microcosm the forces for American proletarian revolution—black and red. Labor, with its core centrality of black workers, bringing its power to bear in defense of the ghetto masses, who were also mobilized, all under communist leadership."

Riley showed the same kind of disdain in addressing what he called "the implications" of the TL's position on Quebec for the United States. Stating that "the division between white workers and black workers is at least as serious as the division between anglo- and francophone workers here," the BT spokesman asked demagogically: "What's the conclusion to be drawn there? Is class struggle impossible? Or does it only become possible after black workers are somehow separated from white workers?"

The national oppression of Quebec and the oppression of black people as a race-color caste within American society are very different questions. However, the racial divide in the U.S. has indeed severely undermined labor struggles against capital. No, that does not make trade-union struggles of black and white workers there "impossible," any more than national chauvinism precludes joint strikes of French- and English-speaking workers in Canada. However, until and unless the American working class becomes the active champion of the cause of black freedom, *there will be no revolutionary class consciousness and no socialist revolution in America*.

The BT's attitude toward the oppression of Northern Ireland Catholics is similarly steeped in militant indifference. The BT has denounced our simple statement that any imperialist "peace" deal over Ireland would "necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either." But this is a simple statement of *fact*. The so-called "peace process" in Northern Ireland is premised on maintaining the British army presence, and it has unleashed huge Loyalist mobilizations and deepened the communal division among the workers.

Spartacist Canada

More than 3,000 trade unionists, minorities and youth rallied against fascists in Vancouver, January 1993. Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste fights to forge Leninist vanguard party as tribune of the people.

In fact, the Irish national question exposes the BT's bogus claims to stand in the revolutionary traditions of Marxism. It was precisely over Ireland that Marx and Engels began to define the revolutionary proletarian attitude to national oppression. During the debate, BT spokesman Riley made the absurd charge that our advocacy of Quebec independence meant we had embraced the Stalinist theory of "revolution by stages": "To claim also that proletarian struggle cannot be successful until Quebec is independent implies a kind of two-stage model of social revolution. First we get Quebec independence, *then* we get a successful proletarian struggle." Comrade Galarneau replied:

> "Karl Marx said a long time ago that a nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free. Here's what Marx wrote about the Irish national question: '*It is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland....* The English working class will *never accomplish anything* before it has got rid of Ireland.' Perhaps the BT will now attack Marx as a proponent of two-stage revolution. In fact, the position of the BT is a straight capitulation to national chauvinism. Our position, like Marx's, is premised on opening the road to proletarian revolution by breaking the hold of chauvinism on the working class."

On paper, the BT is for withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. Yet the reality is that the BT's cothinkers in England have long courted the reformist Socialist Party, without ever mentioning the Socialist Party's despicable line on the British army presence, or its sponsorship of "former" Loyalist killer Billy Hutchinson. Only after years of exposure by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain did the English BT's *Marxist Bulletin* (January 1999) print the following justification:

> "[The Spartacists] claim to find a great deal of significance in the fact we have not to date written an article criticising the Socialist Party's refusal to call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from the north of Ireland. This is indeed a scandalous position for a British left-wing organisation and is indicative of the fundamental problems in their left-reformist programme. But we do not regard this as a sufficient reason to avoid any common work with them on issues where there is agreement nor to consider giving them critical support in elections when appropriate."

Obviously, the BT's paper "principles" are disposable if they interfere with opportunist combinations with open supporters of the murderous British army and its fascistic Protestant assassins.

Comrade Galarneau noted how "the BT finds the greatest difficulty in criticizing the anti-Communist, chauvinist social democrats, and indeed are always happy to unite with them." He cited BT leader Logan's participation in a so-called "International Conference" in South Africa in 1997, one of a number of recent "regroupment" attempts among reformists and centrists internationally. The "base document" for the conference enthusiastically greeted the destruction of the Soviet Union and denounced the very idea of an internationalist Leninist party, saying: "International parties run the risk of establishing predatory relationships with unaffiliated revolutionary groups." Comrade Galarneau explained our attitude:

> "We were invited to this conference, and we declined for obvious reasons, given our fundamental differences with this 'base document.' Instead, we fought independently for our views around the conference."

In contrast, the BT rushed to accept delegate status, signing on to the "base document." As the TL spokesman noted: "Not only were they too happy to attend, they *praised* the document as a 'broadly anti-capitalist' document!"

The Bolshevik Tendency: What Is It?

The BT cares nothing for the struggles of the oppressed, much less the fight for revolutionary consciousness, because it is not an organization which seeks proletarian revolution. In fact, it is a peculiar and dubious outfit with a history of insinuating itself in places and among forces which are aimed at doing us harm. Its perpetual slanders of our organization as a "bureaucratic cult" have even found their way into a premier mouthpiece of the U.S. imperialist ruling class. In the summer of 1995, the *Wall Street Journal* wielded the BT's smears to try to undermine the vitally important defense of black U.S. death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Riley repeated the BT's favored anti-Communist "cult" theme during the debate, claiming that our change of line to advocate Quebec independence several years ago came from "leader-worship." In fact, as the TL spokesman pointed out:

> "You know the world only to the extent that you intervene to change it. On the streets, in the factories—not in some library or in your head. So, we intervened and *we learned*. And when the question came to a head once again before the '95 referendum, based on all these years of work, we stopped and we thought, we reassessed our position in the fashion of Leninists, and we realized we had been wrong. We figured out—a little late, but in time—that had we not gone over to the advocacy of Quebec independence, it would have called into question our existence as a revolutionary organization in this country. I encourage everyone here to read our bulletin 'On the National Question in Quebec,' which details not only how we came to change our line to advocacy of Quebec independence, but how a truly Leninist organization arrives at a correct political line."

Contrast this to the BT and their genuinely strange internal life under Bill Logan, an individual who finds personal gratification in the sadistic exercise of power over others, especially women. Logan delights in orchestrating internal torture sessions called "communist criticism." This was exposed in a bulletin published by a BT split group, which we reprinted as No. 8 of our series *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League*. The bulletin describes an "internal struggle" inside the BT, of which a highlight was a fistfight between opposing BT factions in the streets of Oakland, California!

In his summary, TL spokesman Galarneau cited this *Hate Trotskyism* series, which makes available many documents written against us by political opponents, including the BT. He noted:

> "This is hardly what a bureaucratic organization would do. Our own history is well documented in the bound volumes of many hundreds of copies of *Workers Vanguard* and elsewhere. With our organization, what you see is what you get. We are still doing what we set out to do from the beginning—to forge a revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian party to lead the working class to power."

Building such a party means struggling to clear away the obstacles to revolutionary consciousness created by the bourgeoisie and perpetuated by its reformist henchmen. As the TL speaker concluded:

> "Let me reiterate why calling for Quebec independence is decisive if you want to build a proletarian revolutionary party. It's the only way to break the workers of English Canada from chauvinism and to shatter the grip of nationalism in Quebec. So I want to say to any members of the Brock Socialists and others who really want to dedicate their life and *fight* for proletarian revolution, that their place is among the ranks of the International Communist League—the party which uniquely has the program and perspective to achieve world socialist revolution."■

Special ICL Bulletins

On the Logan Regime
(Three parts)

In 1979, Bill Logan was expelled from the International Spartacist tendency for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate human decency." Logan is now the leader of the "International Bolshevik Tendency." As a service to the workers movement we have made our international bulletins documenting Logan's crimes publicly available.

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The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?

International Communist League pamphlet, August 1995

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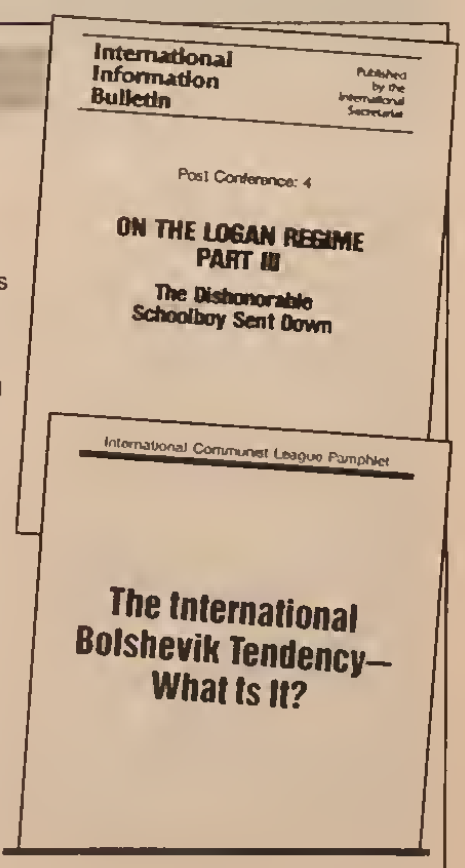


Kazan...

(continued from page 12)

hearings, speaking of the even viler fink Whittaker Chambers: "American capitalism, turning rotten before it got fully ripe, acclaims the stool pigeons and informers, who squeal and enrich themselves, as the embodiments of the highest good they know. By their heroes ye shall know them" (*Militant*, 2 June 1952).

Republicans, Democrats Pushed Anti-Soviet War Drive

A piece in the *Washington Post* (26 February) by Richard Cohen noted: "Kazan is finally being honored not because his anti-communism no longer matters but because it does—and it is triumphant." There is more than a whiff of "death of communism" triumphalism in Hollywood's salute to Kazan. But it reflects something else, too. Amid growing discontents domestically and heightened rivalry among the imperialist powers, the bourgeoisie is once again intent on regimenting the population for new wars. By issuing a whole spate of books and articles "re-examining" the Cold War and honoring the witchhunters while vilifying the victims, the imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologues seek to ram home the message to a new generation of workers and youth that any interest in communism is *verboten*.

From the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, capitalist imperialism was at war—sometimes hot, sometimes cold—with the world's first workers state. The Bolshevik Revolution gave flesh and blood to the Marxist program of the dictatorship of the proletariat, placing power in the hands of the working class, replacing the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned, collectivized economy which laid the basis for an end to inequality and oppression. The gains of the planned economy remained despite the subsequent Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union.

Emerging victorious from World War II as the preeminent imperialist power, the U.S. trained its guns (and nuclear weapons) on its erstwhile ally against Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union. The anti-Communist witchhunt was launched to regiment the "home front," driving reds and other militants out of the labor movement and breaking the back of the militancy of the industrial unions which had been organized in the 1930s.

As American imperialism's drive for world domination confronted the countervailing power of the Soviet Union, supposed American "weakness" was attributed to a Communist "fifth column" of subversive conspirators. In 1948, "Red Spy Queen" Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, both former Communist Party members, testified before HUAC and accused various officials of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" administration, most notably Alger Hiss, of giving information to the Soviet Union. The witchhunt intensified as the USSR successfully tested an atomic bomb in 1949 and the Mao-led Chinese Revolution that year ripped another huge chunk of the world out of the grip of capitalist exploitation. The ensuing hysteria set the stage for the legal murder of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as "Soviet spies" in 1953.

Local chambers of commerce and the American Legion became vigilantes to root leftists out of government, the unions and the media, and blacklist them from jobs. Among the targets were fighters for black rights, homosexuals and anyone deemed to be politically or sexually deviant from the prevailing norms of right-wing reaction. Politicians like Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy and Richard Nixon, then a junior Congressman from California serving on HUAC, built their careers through the witchhunt, denouncing even the Democrats as "soft on Communism." Nixon's direct competitor in redbaiting was a young Democratic Party Congressman from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy, who as president in the early '60s started the "war on Communism" in Southeast Asia. In fact, it was the Democrats who launched the anti-Communist witchhunt, and liberals and social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats were among the most zealous Cold Warriors. The Truman Doctrine, promulgated by FDR's Democratic successor in 1947, articulated an already established, aggressive anti-Communist foreign policy.

Communist Party militants had played a major role in the great labor battles of the 1930s. But the Stalinized and thoroughly reformist Communist Party, which had gained extensive influence in the middle and upper layers of the CIO officialdom, was something far removed from the revolutionary organization it had been at its inception in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky had been destroyed by Stalin's political counterrevolution in 1923-24. Preaching the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Stalinist bureaucracy transformed the Communist International (CI) from the party of world socialist revolution into an instrument for the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers with the imperialist bourgeoisies. By the mid-1930s, the CI had passed over to outright reformism under the banner of the class-collaborationist "people's front," and the American CP was instrumental in channeling the labor upsurge into the arms of Roosevelt's Democratic Party.

UPI

Senator Joseph McCarthy spins tales of "Communist conspiracy" at 1954 hearing.

Pioneer

Trotskyist leaders imprisoned under the Smith Act during World War II for revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism.

During World War II, the CP was among the foremost advocates of the imperialist war, hailing it as a war of "democracy against fascism." The Stalinists joined the social-democratic labor tops in pushing Roosevelt's no-strike pledge. CP leader Earl Browder proclaimed that "Communism is 20th century Americanism." After the December 1941 air attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor, the CP drove out all its Japanese American members. The CP even grotesquely enthused over the American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Years of supporting Roosevelt, of outright strikebreaking and betrayal of the struggle for black rights during WWII, took the CP into the McCarthy period politically disarmed and discredited among class-conscious workers. The Stalinists' policy of tailing the "democratic" bourgeoisie left them without allies when the bourgeoisie decided to go after them. To demonstrate their continuing "patriotism," CPers even voted for the anti-Communist "red clause" in the CIO.

The internationalist program of Bolshevism was upheld by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of James P. Cannon. The Trotskyists took a revolutionary-defeatist position toward the U.S. and all imperialist powers in World War II, seeking to mobilize labor struggle during the war in defiance of the no-strike pledge. At the same time, the SWP called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Because of their revolutionary-internationalist opposition to U.S. imperialism, Cannon and 17 other leaders of the SWP and the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters union were sentenced to prison in 1940 as the first victims of the anti-Communist Smith Act. This state persecution, abetted by the pro-capitalist Teamsters bureaucracy, was also aimed at purging the union of the class-struggle militants who had helped build the Teamsters into the powerful industrial union it had become, beginning with a citywide general strike in Minneapolis in 1934.

The Stalinists cheered on the government's use of the Smith Act against the Trotskyists, even after they themselves fell victim to it. James Kutcher, a paraplegic veteran who had been discharged as a government clerical worker because he belonged to the SWP, was one of the first victims of the Cold War witchhunt. The Stalinists not only refused to support his cause but publicly campaigned against it.

In this way, the CP helped embolden the forces of right-wing reaction which were gunning for it. The Stalinists' suicidal idiocy flowed from their rotten politics. Former Soviet intelligence officer Leopold Trepper addressed this question in *The Great Game* (1977), his autobiographical account of the "Red Orchestra" spy network he had organized in Nazi Germany. Writing of those who defended the Stalinist purges which wiped out an enormous number of Soviet Communists and thousands of Red Army officers, Trepper noted:

> "Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed."

Driving Reds Out of the Unions

The end of World War II saw an explosion of labor struggle in this country as workers demanded the gains they had been promised during the war. In 1946, more workers went on strike than in any previous year. This colossal strike wave demonstrated that the home base of U.S. imperialism was not too secure. The capitalist government responded with the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. This draconian legislation outlawed the most effective labor tactics, particularly the secondary boycott or sympathy strike, which had built the CIO unions and brought large numbers of blacks into the labor movement for the first time. It extended the government's ability to interfere directly in the unions and purge militants and leftists via a "loyalty" oath. Elected union officials were required to sign an affidavit that they were not Communists, or else lose their "certification" from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Most of the unions which refused to sign were driven out of existence, and many of their militants were not only fired but continued to be hounded for years by the FBI as they moved from job to job and city to city.

By the mid-1950s, some 25,000 union members, many of them key leaders in the CIO organizing drives, had been purged. The red purges were spearheaded by social democrats like Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers (UAW). When HUAC descended on Detroit in 1952, *Business Week* reported that "Reuther and the committee were working together on the UAW like a well-rehearsed vaudeville team." The CIO leaders orchestrated raids to split members from Stalinist-influenced unions like the United Electrical Workers. The labor bureaucrats did not hesitate to utilize the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act: since some of the Stalinist-led unions had refused to take the "loyalty" oath, the raiding unions could win unopposed in NLRB elections. When McCarthy entered the scene, the CIO bureaucracy was already expelling eleven international unions from the union federation. The red purges laid the basis for the consolidation of the pro-imperialist Cold War union bureaucracy which was slavishly loyal to the Democratic Party, the employers and their government.

During World War II, the CP campaigned for the government to use the Smith Act to ban fascists and other reactionaries. The government used the Smith Act for the purpose *it* had intended. In 1948, CP national secretary Eugene Dennis and the rest of the party's National Board were charged with violating the Smith Act. Thirteen ex-Communists and FBI informants accounted for 100 percent of the government's "evidence," and 90 percent of it had nothing to do with Dennis or his co-defendants; rather, center stage was occupied by Marxist texts. In the 1950s, militants were jailed on no more "evidence" than their libraries. Half the defense lawyers in the Dennis case were themselves imprisoned immediately following the trial, and few lawyers wanted to put themselves in their place.

The Dennis case convictions opened the floodgates. The government tried 15 Communist defendants in Los Angeles, then 21 in New York and many more in Honolulu, Pittsburgh, Seattle, Detroit, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Cleveland and elsewhere. The trials were staggered so that the same professional "witnesses" could be moved from city to city. By 1952 an immense witchhunting bureaucracy was in place in Washington, including the Subversive Activities Control Board, which registered "Communist action"

and "Communist front" organizations for future roundups as agents of a foreign government. This established the central rationale of the McCarthyite thought police: to be a Communist was to be a "spy." The CP's (sometimes queasy) political support to the Kremlin bureaucracy was considered proof of espionage.

This sinister amalgam was rammed home in a series of "spy" trials, beginning with the Alger Hiss case. Hiss was accused of having given "secrets" to the Russians as a World War II government functionary (at a time when the USSR was supposedly an "ally"). Nixon appeared on the front pages waving microfilm rolls purportedly given him by ex-Communist Whittaker Chambers and shouting about a vast Soviet spy network. The spy hysteria reached fever pitch with the show trial and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were accused of passing the "secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviets.

The vendetta against the Rosenbergs brought to a peak the anti-Semitic agitation, recalling the Hitlerite war cry against "Jew-Bolshevism," which accompanied rampant McCarthyite hysteria. HUAC spokesman John Rankin, a Mississippi Dixiecrat, was a virulent anti-Semite. Notably, the Hollywood film industry was heavily Jewish. In the book *Tender Comrades*, a collection of interviews with witchhunt victims (overwhelmingly Jewish) by Patrick McGilligan and Paul Buhle, screenwriter Walter Bernstein recalled: "These racists and anti-Semites running the congressional committees were the closest thing to Nazis holding positions of influence within the United States at the time."

The Rosenbergs were sent to the electric chair for political purposes. The question of whether they were innocent or "guilty" of spying for the Soviet Union mattered not at all to their tormentors. As we wrote in "They're Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again" (*WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983):

> "For revolutionaries, on the contrary, those who helped the Russians achieve nuclear capacity did a great service for humanity. Had U.S. imperialism maintained a nuclear monopoly, it would have meant historic defeats for the international proletariat. It would have meant nuclear destruction from Southeast Asia to Latin America. Who can doubt that U.S. imperialism would have destroyed Vietnam totally with nuclear weapons if they did not fear a retaliatory Soviet strike? Would Cuba exist today if the U.S. had a nuclear monopoly? It is clear that the USSR's advance to nuclear capacity and then to nuclear parity has thus far been instrumental in staying the nuclear hand of U.S. imperialism."

We honor the heroic Rosenbergs, who never capitulated to the pressures to "name names" to save their lives, who would not forsake their class and let themselves be used as tools of the witchhunters, even under penalty of death.

HUAC Comes to Hollywood

HUAC was in the thought control business, so of course it couldn't stay away from the Hollywood "dream factory" which, once purged of the "subversives," would provide a larger-than-life medium for bolstering the anti-Soviet Cold War. And dragging Hollywood celebrities before HUAC could generate enough publicity to capture the attention of vast sectors of the public.

Acme

1946 Philadelphia General Electric strike. Postwar strike wave was largest in U.S. history.

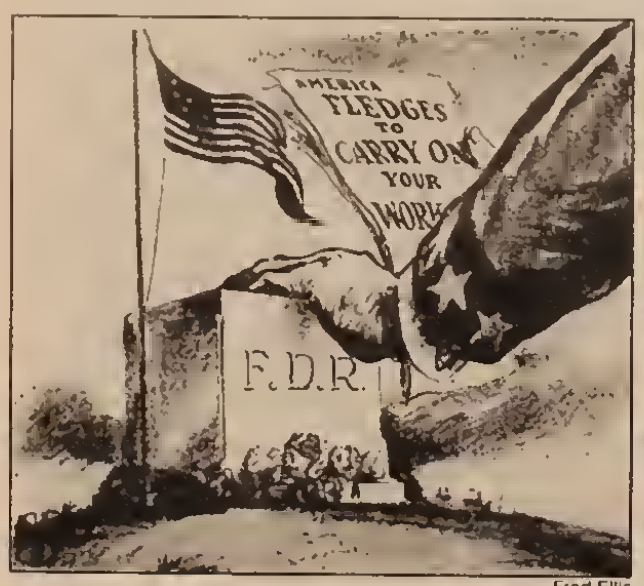
Furthermore, during the period of the "New Deal coalition" with Roosevelt, when sympathy for the Soviet Union and "progressive causes" was trendy, the CP recruited heavily in the film industry, including several hundred directors, actors, writers and designers. During World War II, Stalinist filmmakers churned out scores of patriotic movies to promote the war effort and the "popular front against fascism," including a few which were openly pro-Stalinist, like *Mission to Moscow* (1943). CPers and labor militants also took part in union organizing in Hollywood that challenged the studio bosses.

The HUAC hearings followed close on the heels of the hottest labor unrest in Hollywood in years, a 1945 strike by thousands of film workers. The strike by the CP-influenced Council of Studio Unions (CSU), which terrified the studio heads, was provoked by a raid on the CSU by the anti-Communist, gangster-dominated International Association of Theater and Stage Employees, which enlisted the support of the vigilante Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals founded by arch-reactionary Ayn Rand and including right-wing actors like John Wayne and Adolphe Menjou.

HUAC started its Hollywood investigations in 1947, interviewing movie moguls like Walt Disney and Jack Warner to determine if there were "subliminal" Communist messages in Hollywood films. Disney, a longtime fink for J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, was a notorious strikebreaker. Disney retaliated against the bitterly fought 1941 Cartoonists Guild strike against his studio by turning over photos of strikers to government witchhunters and firing virtually every worker who went on strike. Six years later, Disney denounced the guild leaders to HUAC as "Communists" who were trying to subvert Mickey Mouse!

The Hollywood red purge began when HUAC threw the book at ten "unfriendlies" who refused to testify. The Hollywood Ten, all members or former members of the CP, included some of the most politically active—mostly hack—writers in Hollywood. Dalton Trumbo was one of Hollywood's highest-paid screenwriters. Lester Cole had written 36 films, Sam Ornitz 25. All refused to answer questions about party membership, standing on the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech. All ten were eventually jailed and blacklisted from future employment in the industry.

Thereafter, no one in Hollywood who had ever been accused of being a Communist or ex-Communist or who had been called to testify or refused to sign a studio "loyalty" statement would get work in the film industry, unless he became an informer. HUAC sessions were political show trials. The informer was the central character in these dramas. HUAC's inquisitors usually knew the identities of those informed on. The demand for names was not a quest for evidence; it was a means of breaking people, a litmus test of "patriotism." To be sure, the Stalinists tried mightily to prove just how patriotic they were, denouncing the witchhunters not for anti-Communism or anti-Sovietism but for being "anti-American." Typically, John Howard Lawson, one of the Hollywood Ten, yelled as he was being dragged out of a hearing: "It is unfortunate and tragic that I have to teach this committee the basic principles of Americanism." But once the bourgeoisie had decided to come down on the CP as "foreign agents" in order to suppress class struggle, it didn't matter how many times CPers proclaimed their patriotism.



Fred Ellis

Asahi Shimbun

Communist Party cartoon eulogized Democratic president Roosevelt in 1945. CP grotesquely enthused over U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Some blacklisted writers found jobs using pseudonyms, others found people to "front" for them. In 1956, one Robert Rich won an Oscar for best screenplay for *The Brave One*. He didn't show up to collect it. Rich was the messenger for King Brothers studios. Dalton Trumbo had written the screenplay and used Rich's name. It was only two years ago that the Writers Guild of America (which collaborated with the witchhunters at the time) finally announced that it would restore the rightful credits on almost 50 films written by blacklisted screenwriters.

Woody Allen's film, *The Front*, provided a powerful depiction of the political, professional and human destruction that was to occur. Some noteworthy directors, including Joseph Losey, Jules Dassin and John Berry, chose exile in Europe; others moved to Mexico. Actor John Garfield died of a heart attack three days after refusing to name names. Charlie Chaplin, who had protested on behalf of the Dennis defendants, was driven from the country as an "un-American." Actor Philip Loeb, unemployed and homeless, committed suicide. Freelance blacklisters continued where HUAC left off; to be listed in *American Legion Magazine* was to be "graylisted" in the industry.

In his book *Naming Names*, liberal Victor Navasky describes a small example of how labor could have defied the thought police. When actor John Randolph arrived in Chicago for a summer theater performance, the manager told him that the local American Legion post had sent a dossier on Randolph and threatened to picket the show if the actor wasn't fired. After Randolph appeared as scheduled, the manager explained to him: "Now I can tell you what happened. The head of our Legion post is a florist. I called a Teamster friend and told him about the threat. He called the florist and said, 'Don't give me any of that shit. You picket that show and your trucks don't roll'."

Meanwhile, the FBI haunted everybody even remotely suspected of harboring left-wing views or participating in left associations. Dashiell Hammett, the author of classic hard-boiled detective novels, was imprisoned for refusing to name contributors to the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress. While Hammett was in prison, the IRS sent him a back-tax bill for more than $100,000. Whatever their Stalinist and liberal political delusions, it took real guts for those called before HUAC to refuse to answer questions or name names. They knew that refusal to cooperate meant blacklisting and possibly prison.

The leaden weight of witchhunt culture was seen in the movies of the 1950s, as the red scare intersected America's Puritan legacy of dour suspicion of sex and the arts as agencies of sin and the devil. The Cold War genre included good guy/bad guy Westerns, mindless patriotic war movies, spectacular Bible epics and suffocatingly asexual romantic comedies. This atmosphere of fear and mediocrity was the heyday of the thoroughly unremarkable John Wayne. A CBS executive complained, "The trouble with people who've never joined anything and therefore are 'safe' for us to use is that they usually aren't very good writers or actors or producers or, hell, human beings." Former liberal and B-grade movie actor Ronald Reagan was catapulted into right-wing bourgeois politics through his collaboration with HUAC as president of the Screen Actors Guild and his role as FBI informer (code name "Agent T-10").

The Liberal Witchhunters

The liberal view of the McCarthy period has always been that it went too far, that it convicted the "innocent" along with the "guilty." Who was "innocent"? The liberals, of course. Innocent of what? Of opposing capitalism, of "foreign ideology," of being "un-American." The liberals want their civil liberties and their witchhunt too. As rabid McCarthyites lumped liberals with Communists, liberals sought to exonerate themselves by showing they were the best anti-Communists and most determined informers. In so doing, they became an important aid in legitimizing the witchhunters' right to pry, blacklist and prosecute. None were more energetic than ex-Communist liberals like Elia Kazan.

It was the New Deal liberals who were the chief authors of the laws to criminalize political beliefs (the Smith Act, 1940), to establish concentration camps to imprison political dissenters without trial during a "national emergency" (McCarran-Kilgore Act, 1950) and to outlaw a political party (Communist Control Act, 1954). Longtime Democratic Party standard bearer Hubert Humphrey epitomized Cold War liberalism.

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Kazan...

(continued from page 9)

This vicious redbaiter was one of the founders, along with anti-Communist union bureaucrats like Reuther, of Americans for Democratic Action, which was set up to support Truman's "get tough on Russia" policy. The liberal American Civil Liberties Union purged its Communist members and regularly exchanged information with the FBI.

The fact that so many Stalinists left the CP and its orbit to inform or to enlist as advocates of the Cold War is not explained merely by the desire to protect cushy careers in changed times. Many of the CP's Hollywood recruits were never more than petty-bourgeois liberals, though the party did have a significant proletarian layer at its base. More fundamentally, liberal bourgeois ideology and Stalinist reformism shared a common underpinning: bourgeois democracy was seen not as a variant of the dictatorship of capital, to be dispensed with when capitalist needs require, but as the mechanism for achieving social justice. Marxists, on the other hand, understand that, as Lenin put it in "The State" (1919), "The state is a machine for the oppression of one class by another, a machine for holding in obedience to one class other, subordinated classes." Only a proletarian revolution which smashes the capitalist state and places power in the hands of the working class can end all forms of exploitation and secure a future of socialist equality. This requires the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party.

Today, in line with the prevailing "death of communism" climate, the liberals join in "rehabilitating" the Cold War witchhunters of the 1950s. With the opening of Soviet archives and the release of supposed Soviet intelligence materials by America's spymasters, the liberals now sanctimoniously exclaim that the Rosenbergs and other victims of the red purges were Soviet spies after all and the Communists were indeed agents of a "foreign power." Such proclamations have little to do with new documentary evidence, but rather fulfill current imperialist ideological needs. This trend was seen already in the Cold War II era of the 1980s, as "rad-lib" New Leftovers like Ronald Radosh made a career out of retrying and re-executing the Rosenbergs.

In a letter to the *New York Times* (24 October 1998), Radosh complains that McCarthy "gave a bad name to the very legitimate cause of anti-Communism." After all, McCarthy lied, concocted evidence, framed up people and, more importantly, used the mechanisms of the witchhunt against his Democratic Party rivals. They would like a refined witchhunt, erudite, leaving college professors untouched. Well, when you unleash a nativist witchhunt you tend to bring to the fore a pretty gruesome bunch of primitives. It's in the nature of the beast. McCarthy became the mouthpiece for anti-Communist repression because he was best suited for the job. By the time he was discarded for using too broad a brush, the anti-Communist campaign had largely succeeded in its goals.

UPI

Washington Post

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed in June 1953 following anti-Semitic, anti-Communist frame-up trial. Right: Paris rally to "save the Rosenbergs" was part of international protest campaign.

What finally broke the witchhunt was hardly McCarthy's removal from power (the hunt went on for years after that), but the social struggles of the 1950s and '60s. The mass struggles for black equality shattered the conservative Cold War consensus and profoundly shook the American bourgeois order. When HUAC tried to stage what were to be its last hearings in San Francisco in 1960, thousands of radicalized students turned out to protest, leading to clashes with cops who turned high-power water hoses on them. Young black and campus radicals came to see an identity between the anti-Communist crusaders and racist segregation and the imperialist war against social revolution in Vietnam. And the battlefield defeats inflicted on U.S. imperialism by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants provoked popular hostility to direct military intervention abroad. Ever since then, the bourgeoisie has strived to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and regiment the population in preparation for new imperialist wars. That is the goal of the new McCarthyites.

Standing apart from the torrent of recent works justifying McCarthyism is a new book by Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, which attacks the red purges as an atrocity. But at bottom she shares many of the same assumptions as those justifying the witchhunt, denouncing the CP's subordination to the Kremlin as "the fatal flaw of American Communism." She writes:

> "It was, to begin with, a secretive organization that operated in a highly authoritarian manner. And, of course, it was totally committed to defending the Soviet Union. When the Cold War turned the CP into a political pariah, these structural and ideological flaws compromised its moral authority and made it hard for the liberals and others who claimed to oppose McCarthyism to defend the political and civil rights of Communists."

In fact the CP was committed to defense of the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose counterrevolutionary policies were the chief obstacle to the only sure defense of the gains of the October Revolution, the fight for world socialist revolution, particularly in the imperialist countries. But what is under attack here is not the utter slavishness of the Stalinized CP, which certainly swallowed and regurgitated every twist in Moscow foreign policy to further its own opportunist appetites, but the very idea of proletarian internationalism. The implications are sinister, justifying the anti-Communist diatribes against leftist antiwar protesters who identified with the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. imperialism. And if U.S. workers, defending their own interests and those of their class internationally, strike in solidarity with striking Japanese workers, are they not placing "foreign interests" above "American" ones?

The interests of the proletariat start from the standpoint proclaimed by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*: Workers of the world, unite! The Trotskyists broke with the Stalinist Comintern because it had ***betrayed*** the internationalist program of Bolshevism. From the inception of the Spartacist League, we have asserted the need for international democratic-centralist discipline and denounced the 1940 Voorhis Act, which was aimed at massively inhibiting international political affiliation. As the U.S. section of the International Communist League, the SL fights to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International.

For New October Revolutions!

The call issued by the anti-Kazan Committee Against Silence is very much within the framework of liberal criticism of the witchhunt, denouncing the assault on civil liberties and attacking Kazan for his "low moral character" with not a mention of the Soviet Union or the Cold War. Among the signatories of this liberal appeal are a number of self-styled "Marxist" groups, including the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Progressive Labor Party (PL). In fact, throughout Cold War II, these outfits shared the liberals' hostility to defense of the Soviet Union.

Originating from a split in the American Communist Party in the early 1960s, PL soon abandoned even lip service to defense of the Soviet Union, embracing the Chinese Maoists' line that the USSR had become capitalist. PL then went on to likewise denounce China as capitalist, using this to justify its refusal to defend this bureaucratically deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

Over the years, PL has gyrated between sectarian adventurism and crass class collaborationism, its current phase. In an undated leaflet for the anti-Kazan protest titled "A Rat Is a Rat Is a Rat!", PL at least acknowledges that the witchhunt served the bourgeoisie's war drive against the Soviet Union. The leaflet goes on to glorify Stalin and the Stalinists' role during the heyday of popular-front support to imperialist war. It is from this class-collaborationist tradition that PL derives its "left-center coalitionism." Thus, while acknowledging that Democratic Party liberals were a "leading force" in the red purges ("Elia Kazan: Bosses Reward Anti-Communist Rat-Fink," *Challenge*, 10 February), PL panders to bourgeois liberalism in embracing the Committee Against Silence.

An article in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (12 March) rehashes the liberal line of the protest call it endorsed. The ISO, which is affiliated to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain, has been defined by anti-Sovietism from its inception. Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for publicly refusing to defend the USSR, China and the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialism in the midst of the Korean War. In the U.S., the ISO's forebears are the Shachtmanites who split from Cannon's SWP at the outbreak of World War II, repudiating the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

With the onset of the Cold War, Shachtman took his "third camp" line to its logical conclusion of pro-imperialist social democracy. Shachtman's International Socialist League refused to come out even for commutation of the Rosenbergs' death sentence until 1953, two years after the trial, whining in a protest to President Eisenhower that the execution would give "worldwide Stalinism an effective weapon." Less than a decade later, Shachtman was an open supporter of the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Castro's Cuba. The ISO Cliffites stand firmly in this tradition of "State Department socialism," supporting one imperialist-sponsored vendetta against the Soviet Union after another during Cold War II, from the feudalist Afghan *mujahedin* and counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność to Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup in August 1991 (see "What Kind of 'Socialists' Support Counterrevolution?" *WV* No. 679, 28 November 1997).

Sharing the Cliffites' anti-Communist track record during Cold War II, despite occasional lip service to Trotskyism, is the dubious Socialist Equality Party (SEP, formerly Workers League) of David North. Following Yeltsin's counterrevolution, the Northites generalized their earlier refusal to defend the gains of the October Revolution to put forward a scabherding line which wrote off the AFL-CIO trade unions as any sort of workers organizations. Recently, the Northites have taken to perversely painting Trotskyism as the "left wing" of McCarthyism, embracing anti-Communist finks like George Orwell and even saluting the likes of World War II U.S. General George Patton (see "David North's 'Left' McCarthyism" and "Northites Salute Generals and Finks," *WV* Nos. 702 and 706, 4 December 1998 and 5 February). Typically, a piece on Kazan on the SEP's Web site whines that Kazan's "belated opposition to Stalinism, about whose crimes he remained entirely silent during the 1930s, was of a right-wing and opportunist character" (20 February). Not once in this lengthy three-part series do the Northites even hint at the Trotskyist position of defense of the Soviet Union.

As we commemorate those who were victimized by Cold War repression, we especially honor the 18 Trotskyist leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters union who were the first victims of the Smith Act. We recall what Cannon wrote in a 1947 article titled "Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism" at the onset of the Cold War witchhunt:

> "We Trotskyists, as everybody knows, are also against Stalinism and have fought it unceasingly and consistently for a very long time. But we have no place in the present 'all-inclusive' united front against American Stalinism. The reason for this is that we are anticapitalist. Consequently, we can find no point of agreement with the campaign conducted by the political representatives of American capitalism in Washington."

The Trotskyists knew that for those who fight for the interests of the working class any illusions in the reformability of the capitalist state are suicidal. They did not declare that they were "all-American" socialists, but instead proudly flew the flag of internationalist Marxism. And they knew that ultimately the only way to stop the hand of government repression would be the seizure of power by the revolutionary working class in its own name. Today, it is uniquely the Spartacist League which upholds this revolutionary program as we fight for new October Revolutions in the U.S. and internationally. ■

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

after the U.S. trumpeted its role in abducting PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, who is now imprisoned in a Turkish dungeon under threat of execution. In protests throughout Europe and around the world, the International Communist League has demanded: Freedom for Öcalan! Hands off the PKK and all Kurdish organizations! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! The emancipation of the Kurdish people, carved up among Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria, requires the revolutionary overthrow of these four capitalist states.

As American spy Scott Ritter confirms what has been clear all along—that the UN "arms inspectors" are tools of the CIA—the Clinton administration cynically proclaims its aim of overthrowing the regime of Saddam Hussein. While nearly $100 million has been allocated to foment a coup by disparate CIA-sponsored Iraqi "oppositionists," American ruling circles are hardly unanimous in supporting this scheme. Earlier this year, U.S. Marine commander General Anthony Zinni warned that the ouster of Saddam Hussein, whose anti-Communist regime Washington helped prop up for decades, would leave in its wake a "weak, chaotic and fragmented" government. Similar fears of "destabilizing" this strategic region drive U.S. opposition to self-determination for the Kurdish nation.

Among the underground Iraqi opposition groups is the Iraqi Communist Party (CP). In a 17 December 1998 statement uncritically reprinted in the American CP's *Political Affairs* (January 1999), the Iraqi party "condemn[s] the American aggression" while simultaneously acting as a mouthpiece for imperialist war propaganda, demanding that the Iraqi regime "carry out the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council." In 1958, the Iraqi Stalinists helped pave the way for Saddam Hussein's rise to power by betraying a revolutionary opportunity in the name of class-collaborationist "unity" with his bourgeois-nationalist predecessors (see "Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power," *WV* No. 511, 5 October 1990). Saddam Hussein is a butcher of Iraqi workers and Kurds and other minorities. But it is the task of the Iraqi proletariat, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party committed to the program of permanent revolution, to sweep away his despotic regime.

In the U.S., groups like the International Socialist Organization and the Workers World Party plead with Democrat Clinton to "lift the sanctions" and "end the bombing." These reformists promote the illusion that American imperialism can be pressured to pursue a more peaceful and humane policy. But the death and destruction being wreaked upon the people of Iraq show what imperialism is all about, a rapacious system based on the exploitation, subjugation and murder of the workers and semicolonial masses in order to expand the profits of a handful of filthy rich capitalists. The only way to put an end to imperialist mass murder, exploitation and oppression is through the forging of a revolutionary workers party to lead the multiracial U.S. proletariat to the conquest of state power. ■

Gay Murder...

(continued from page 1)

reinforce the divisions fostered by the capitalist rulers through the poison of racism and homophobia. Counterposed to this sectoralism is the Marxist understanding that it is the working class which has the social power and the interest to mobilize against attacks on all the oppressed.

When the Nazis tried to stage a provocation on Gay Pride Day in Chicago in 1982, the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization to stop them. The 3,000 people—trade unionists, blacks, Jews, leftists—who turned out recognized that the Nazis were their common enemy. Such proletarian-centered mobilizations exemplify our fight to forge a Leninist vanguard party as a tribune of the people. The fight to mobilize labor in defense of the oppressed is counterposed to the narrow economic outlook of the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, which seeks to keep the trade unions politically chained to the capitalist Democratic Party.

In contrast to the relative silence over the killing of Gaither, the murder of Matthew Shepard in Wyoming last October sparked an explosion of outrage nationally. Coming on the eve of the Congressional elections, this anger was used to channel votes to the Democratic Party against the Republican right wing. The demonstrations protesting Shepard's murder also raised appeals to the Democrats to enact "hate crimes" laws as the answer to anti-gay violence. As we explained in our article "Anti-Gay Crusade: Incitement to Murder" (*WV* No. 699, 23 October 1998):

> "To call on the capitalist state to protect the interests of the oppressed is not only futile but fosters deadly illusions. The bourgeois state is an apparatus of repression whose purpose is to defend capitalist class rule, from which every manner of racial and sexual prejudice springs."

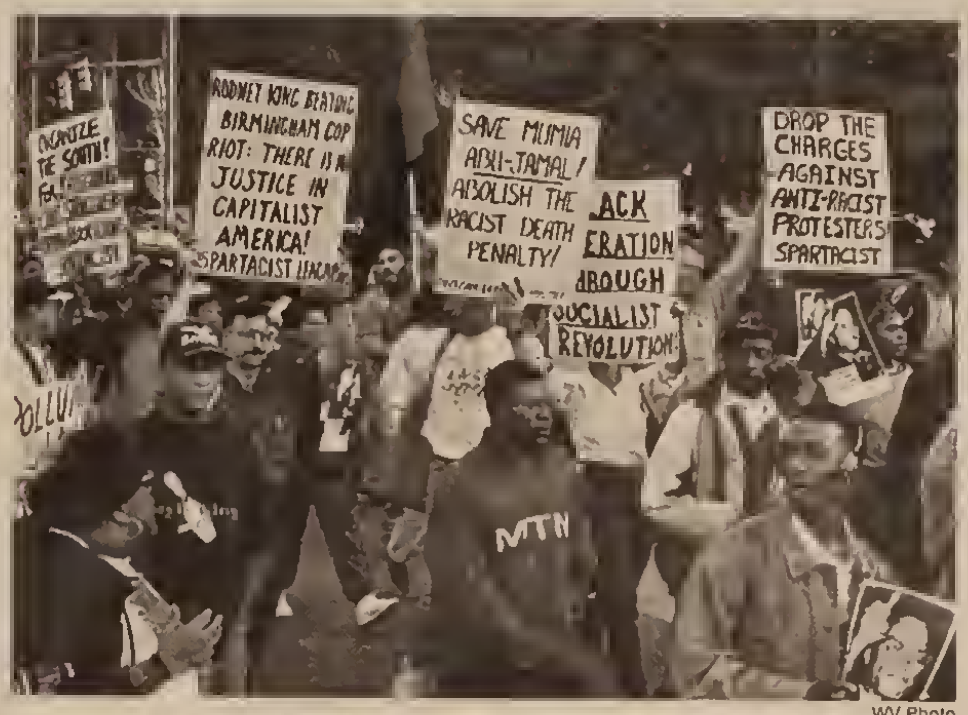
The Spartacist League fights for full democratic rights for gays. Anti-gay bigotry flows from the stereotyping decreed by the sexual division of labor in the family, the main institution for the oppression of women and a key prop of capitalist class rule.

In the South, the all-sided social backwardness of American society is magnified, with racist oppression as the defining feature. A devout Baptist, 39-year-old Gaither was a gay man buried so deep in the closet that even his parents, whom he lived with and took care of, had no inkling of his sexuality. In "Bible Belt" country, gays are forced underground, able to meet and socialize discreetly only in the few metropolitan areas like Birmingham. As the Birmingham coordinator for the Gay and Lesbian Alliance of Alabama said, gays holding hands in a public place "would literally be a death wish in the state of Alabama."

Outside of Birmingham, Atlanta and other commercial or industrial cities, there are whole regions of the South where even the modest gains of the civil rights movement have scarcely penetrated. Alabama lawmakers are even now debating whether to lift the ban on interracial marriage. Entrenched racist oppression helps maintain the area as a low-wage, non-union haven for capitalist exploitation. The KKK fascists who maim and murder blacks, gays and abortion providers also target the integrated trade-union movement. This was shown dramatically in June 1995 when a KKK-style cross-burning took place outside an Alabama poultry plant on the eve of a union recognition vote.

In the course of this century, the mines and mills around Birmingham drew in blacks from the rural areas, and the area burgeoned into a regional concentration of industrial power with a rich tradition of integrated class struggle. What is needed today is a massive drive to unionize the South, which would necessarily entail an intransigent fight against racist terror and oppression. KKK terror and the "open shop" go hand in hand. Such an organizing drive would go a long way to breaking the stranglehold of bigotry and reaction in the South and would have an impact throughout the country. But any such effort immediately poses a political struggle against the class collaborationism of the current trade-union misleaders who operate as the labor enforcers for the preservation of American capitalism, a system predicated on the brutal oppression and segregation of the black population.

When the KKK staged a race-hate provocation in Atlanta in January 1989 under the protection of thousands of cops and National Guardsmen, the Partisan Defense Committee brought out 3,000 anti-Klan demonstrators under the call, "Mobilize the Power of Organized Labor and Minorities Against KKK/Nazi Killers!" This was a taste of the social power needed to sweep away the racist terrorists and anti-gay bigots as part of the fight for proletarian revolution. ■



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at March 1994 Birmingham protest against racist cop terror.

Diallo Killing...

(continued from page 12)

widespread anger, implying that racist police terror can be controlled through measures like stronger "civilian review boards," more minority cops and residency requirements for urban police forces. The cops are the armed thugs of the racist capitalist rulers; they cannot be reformed but must be swept away through socialist revolution.

What is immediately needed is an outpouring of ***labor protest*** linking the masses of the ghettos and barrios to the integrated trade unions—like transit, hospital, hotel, building maintenance and city workers—which have the power to shut this city down. But the labor bureaucracy, which chains the unions to the class enemy, principally through support to the capitalist Democratic Party and even to Republican mayor Giuliani, has refused to lift a finger to protest the reign of NYPD racist terror.

We print below in slightly edited form the speech at the Harlem hearing by Ed Jarvis of the Spartacist League and New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, who was applauded as he raised the call for labor protest against cop terror. Comrade Jarvis raised the case of James Grimes, a black transit token clerk who was arrested in 1986 for exercising his right to self-defense against a robbery attempt. Despite roadblocks set up by the Transport Workers Union tops, Grimes' fellow unionists actively mobilized in his defense, and all charges against him were dropped. It was out of this campaign that the LBLSD was founded.

* * *

I want to say right up front that I think the proposals that are being made here tonight by the Council are a sham. I think the war is on the black community. I think in this "war on drugs," which the Democrats and the Republicans have backed, Wall Street is the only one that profits. And it's the working people of this city who have to make a stand.

Tens of thousands of construction workers last year pushed around Giuliani's cops in midtown Manhattan, and it's going to take a fight in order to get the unions to take a stand against racist terror in this city. It's going to take a fight in order to mobilize labor, which is the key. I was in the Transport Workers Union, and I can tell you from my experience black workers are in the cross hairs of this racist system. There was a black token booth clerk—who used a weapon in his own defense against a mugger—a union member, who subsequently himself was arrested, handcuffed for nine hours, thrown in jail for 24 hours. It took a fight in that union to mobilize to defend this man. Subsequently, as a result of that fight, the union came out in support and that man was freed.

It is that kind of effort that is necessary: a mass mobilization of working-class people in this city to protest the vile crimes that are going on by the police against black and Latino people and organized labor. It's going to be a fight waged in order to build a workers party that will bring down this whole racist capitalist system. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Celebrating McCarthyism

Elia Kazan: Hollywood Salutes a Rat

UPI

Portrait of a fink.

On 10 April 1952, as the postwar anti-Communist witchhunt was reaching full frenzy in the U.S. and American troops were obliterating peasant villages in Korea, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) met in executive session to accept testimony from a prize informer: Elia Kazan. A world-famous Broadway and Hollywood director, Kazan fed the predators exactly what they wanted. Kazan handed over the names of eight of his former comrades of the Communist Party (CP) with whom he had worked in the Group Theater in the 1930s. He also gave the witchhunters his considerable prestige as a liberal celebrity as he enlisted as a propagandist in their filthy cause.

After the hearing, Kazan took out an ad in the *New York Times* exhorting fellow liberals to follow in his footsteps, ranting that Communism was "a dangerous and alien conspiracy." Making explicit the threat hanging over those who refused to name names, he wrote: "The employment of a lot of good liberals is threatened because they have allowed themselves to become associated with or silenced by the Communists. Liberals must speak out."

Of the scores of Hollywood informers who sang before HUAC, none aroused greater contempt than Kazan. Now, on March 21, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences will award Kazan an honorary Oscar for "lifetime achievement." The Committee Against Silence, a group formed to speak out against Kazan's Oscar, has announced it will protest at the award ceremonies. The "shame of the blacklist," the thoroughgoing capitulation to the HUAC thought police, remains an embarrassment to this day in Hollywood. In fact, the entertainment industry has made its billions mass-marketing bourgeois "morality" and purveying the imperialist ideological requirements of the day. Artistic integrity in this capital-intensive industry must pass the requisites of box office profits.

Tony Kraber, one of the eight Kazan fingered, replied when asked by HUAC if he had known Kazan in the CP: "Is this the Kazan that signed the contract for five hundred thousand dollars the day after he gave names to this Committee?" In the years since, Kazan's films and books revealed an obsession with justifying informing, and he insisted in his 1988 memoirs that he would do so again. Two years after his appearance before HUAC, he teamed up with another ex-Communist informer, screenwriter Budd Schulberg (and yet another fink, actor Lee J. Cobb), to create his most famous movie, *On the Waterfront*. This apologia for government union-busting glorifies a fink (played by Marlon Brando, who later expressed regret at having done the movie) who squeals on his union brothers and a corrupt union bureaucrat. A transparent anti-Communist morality play, with the Waterfront Crime Commission an analog for HUAC, *On the Waterfront* exemplified and reinforced the perverse "morality" of the witchhunt: the notion that turning in one's former comrades was the honorable thing to do.

Every social class reveals its morality and standards through those whom it glorifies. Hollywood's salute to Kazan brings to mind what Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said at the time of the HUAC

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Corinth Films

The Hollywood Ten, victims of anti-Communist witchhunt, at 1950 demonstration with families and supporters before they left for prison.

Spartacists at Harlem Hearing After Diallo Killing:

For Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

NEW YORK CITY—As outrage continues to boil over the NYPD's killing of Guinean immigrant Amadou Diallo last month, some 300 people packed the auditorium of Harlem's North General Hospital on March 10 in the first of a series of "investigative public hearings" called by New York City Council members. One after the other, men and women stepped up to the mike to describe how they or their family had been harassed, insulted and beaten simply because, in the eyes of the racist cops, they "fit the description."

The Street Crimes Unit which gunned down Diallo is part of the army of cops which occupies the inner cities, terrorizing ghetto residents and randomly breaking into apartments with weapons drawn. As one participant at the Harlem hearing exclaimed, "They say that we're in drug locations so we're criminals,... And when you use the word criminal you're saying slave. These police that they put out here today are slave catchers. If you don't believe me, just look in your prisons and see who's in the prisons." From the start, the "drug war" has been a cover for nothing other than a massive escalation of police repression, imprisoning a whole layer of ghetto youth for whom there are no jobs.

Pointing to the mounting anger over racist cop atrocities, one man said: "People are tired. What is going to get done about these instances with these police? How many forums, how many people that have to die? How many kids have to get locked up for just hanging out in the Ave., chilling with the brothers?"

As reported in the *New York Times* (16 March), a new survey in the wake of the killing of Amadou Diallo shows that two-thirds of all New Yorkers—and nine out of ten blacks—agree that the cops are particularly brutal in their treatment of black people. Recognizing the increasing perception in the population that the cops are racist killers, liberal Democrats have convened the City Council hearings precisely with the aim of defusing such

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WV Photo

NYC protest against cop killing of Amadou Diallo, March 8.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 710

2 April 1999

Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

The following is a Spartacist League/U.S. statement issued on March 25.

The barrage of cruise missiles and bombs launched against Serbia yesterday by the U.S. and its NATO allies brings us all a step closer to a new world war. This is a bloody statement by America's imperialist rulers that they will stop at nothing in their ruthless drive for profits and world domination. Democrat Clinton and the capitalist class he represents also suck the lifeblood out of workers in the U.S. through ever more grinding exploitation and brutal oppression enforced through rampant racist cop terror. Any military blows against U.S. imperialism are in the direct and immediate interest of working people and minorities in this country and around the world. As proletarian revolutionaries fighting to build a party to lead the working class to power against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, declares forthrightly: *Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Dawn with the United Natians ecanamic sanctians! All U.S./UN/NATO traaps aut af the Balkans! Defeat U.S. imperialism thraugh workers revalution!*

The "humanitarian" face of American imperialism in the Balkans is U.S. ambassador William Walker, who helped orchestrate the CIA-sponsored death squad regimes in Central America which slaughtered hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants and indigenous peoples in the 1980s. Clinton's cynical lies to the contrary, NATO's war against Serbia has nothing to do with "human rights" or defense of the Albanian population of Kosovo against

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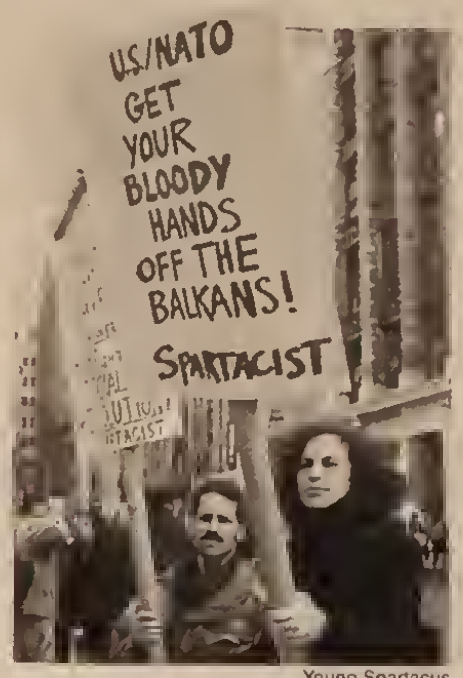

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club speakout at New York University, March 23.

Balkans Trip Wire

AP photos

Flames engulf section of Pristina, capital of Kosovo, after NATO missile strike. War against Serbia is ominous escalation in U.S. imperialist aggression, bringing closer the threat of a new world war.

MARCH 29—Into the sixth day of the terror war against the Serbian people, the U.S. and its NATO partners continue to crash bombs and cruise missiles into Serbia and the predominantly Albanian province of Kosovo. While Washington has kept a tight lid on news reports from the war front, it is clear that the targeting of "military installations" in urban areas—including the headquarters of Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serb-dominated rump Yugoslav republic—is aimed not least at sowing terror among the besieged population. Sections of the capital of Belgrade have gone up in flames, the first time this city has come under bombardment since Hitler's Luftwaffe attacked it in 1941.

As the International Communist League has proclaimed in statements issued by its national sections around the world (see article, page 3), the working class and oppressed peoples everywhere have a vital interest in *defending the Serbs against the American-led NATO attack!* Opponents of the U.S./NATO imperialists can only welcome the downing of one of the U.S. Air Force's small number of F-117 "stealth" fighters as a blow against the racist capitalist U.S. rulers. Rapacious U.S. imperialism must be brought down through the mobilization of the multiracial proletariat in socialist revolution. The Spartacist League fights to forge the Leninist vanguard party needed to bring this understanding to the working class and to lead it in seizing state power.

Under the cynical pretext of defending the Kosovo Albanians, the U.S. ruling class is seeking to reassert its authority as the policeman of the world. Amid the collapse of the Soviet Union, destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, America's rulers declared themselves to be unchallenged masters of a "New World Order." When Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Slobodan Milosevic's Serbia refused to bow to Washington's dictates, they were branded as "rogue states" to be punished and whipped into line.

In 1991, the Pentagon war machine launched a devastating attack against Iraq, formerly a Moscow client state. The ongoing starvation blockade imposed in 1990 by the U.S. under United Nations cover—resulting in the death of well over a million Iraqis—has been punctuated by periodic terror bombing, which continues to this day. In 1995, NATO warplanes and missiles were launched against the Bosnian Serbs as a prelude to the U.S.-led occupation of Bosnia. Throughout this period, Serbia has been subjected to Western economic sanctions which have doubtless contributed to the deaths of many Serbs, especially children, the poor and the elderly.

U.S. military actions and economic warfare in the Near East and Balkans are in a broader sense also directed against its main imperialist rivals: Germany and Japan. It is not only the rulers in Baghdad and Belgrade who are to be taught that the U.S. is now "the world's only superpower," but also the rulers in Tokyo, Berlin, Paris et al. In savaging Iraq, American imperialism is demonstrating its determination to maintain control over the Persian Gulf oil fields and to gain control over the oil and gas fields of the former Soviet Caucasus. U.S. intervention in the nationalist/communalist wars precipitated by the German-initiated breakup of Yugoslavia is aimed above all at maintaining American military dominance in Europe through NATO.

In the current war against Serbia can be seen the spectre of a wider Balkan war or series of wars such as took place early this century. These wars, resulting from the intersection of regional national conflicts with rivalries among the major

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Defeat U.S. Imperialism...

(continued from page 1)

"ethnic cleansing." In fact, the all-sided nationalist bloodbath in the Balkans was directly instigated by the imperialists in their drive to destroy the former Yugoslavia through capitalist counterrevolution. Social counterrevolution has once again made the Balkans the flash point of ancient nationalist hatreds and interimperialist rivalries. Marxists oppose the poison of nationalism and fight for the class unity of the workers of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Kosovo in overthrowing all the bloody nationalist regimes of the region, from Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic to the U.S.-backed fascistic Tudjman in Croatia. *For a socialist federation of the Balkans!*

If America's capitalist rulers get away with imposing their diktat in Kosovo, it will give them a freer hand to sow terror and destruction around the world. It will also strengthen their hand in breaking strikes, busting unions and flooding the ghettos and barrios of America with even more cops. On the other hand, every blow against U.S. imperialism in the Balkans will help to weaken the class enemy, providing an opening for the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Democratic and Republican parties. We fight to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, forged in the crucible of class struggle, which is the necessary instrument to lead the working class to the overthrow of this entire system based on racism, exploitation and war through a socialist revolution which rips industry and power away from a small handful of filthy rich and creates an egalitarian socialist economy.

NATO was set up by the U.S. 50 years ago as a military alliance aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union, which was created as a result of the only successful workers revolution in history, the October Revolution of 1917. Undermined by decades of Stalinist misrule, the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Now the U.S. imperialists—who butchered over two million people in their losing counterrevolutionary war against the Indochinese workers and peasants in the 1960s and '70s—act as if nothing stands in the way of imposing their power everywhere. In recent years, the U.S. has invaded, bombed or tried to starve into submission one country after another, from Somalia to Haiti and Iraq. *U.S. hands off Iraq! Down with the UN starvation blockade!*

Beneath the current unity of the NATO "allies" over the bombing of Serbia lie fundamental and escalating interimperialist rivalries expressed in the growing trade war between the U.S. and Europe, as well as Japan. It was imperialist machinations stoking nationalist hatreds in the Balkans which led directly to World War I in 1914. Today, NATO bombing is a trip wire for a broader and even bloodier international conflagration, potentially drawing in Greece, Turkey and Russia. While acting as soft cop for NATO, capitalist Russia's denunciation of the U.S./NATO military attack on Serbia is in line with its ambition to assert itself as a regional imperialist power. Both Russia and the U.S. have huge nuclear arsenals, and the U.S. has already demonstrated its readiness to use these weapons with the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Capitalism is an irrational system, and the mad drive for profit and power inherent in this system will inevitably lead to a nuclear third world war if it is not stopped through international proletarian revolution.

While simultaneously promoting illusions that American capitalism can be reformed, protests against the U.S. bombing of Serbia organized by Workers World Party through its International Action Center front group have been grotesque orgies of Serb chauvinism featuring chants of "Kosovo is Serbia." Until the ethnic Albanian-Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) became nothing but a pawn of NATO imperialism's war aims, we called for the right of the Albanian population of Kosovo to form an independent state. But groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Socialist Action which champion the nationalist UCK provide an ideological cover for the predatory aims of U.S. imperialism in the region.

What unites all of these reformist "socialists," from the slavishly pro-Milosevic Workers World to the ISO, is their belief that the imperialist rulers can be pressured into more "peaceful" and "humane" policies. Thus, an International Action Center leaflet pleads, "Stop the Bombing of Yugoslavia! Money For Jobs & Education, Not War!" The lie that America's capitalist rulers can be made to change their priorities to benefit working people and minorities serves to shackle workers to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. It is an obstacle to mobilizing the working class and the oppressed in *class struggle* against U.S. imperialism. Imperialism is not a policy which can be "reformed" but a *system* of exploitation and war. Imperialist war is the concentrated expression of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist profit system, which daily condemns countless numbers of working people around the world to death.

The widespread outrage over the death squad style killing of black African Amadou Diallo by four cops of the NYPD Street Crime Unit points to the seething anger building at the base of American society. This was also seen in the enormous popularity of the strikes by UPS Teamsters and GM auto workers in the past couple of years. The power to destroy this system of racism, war and exploitation lies in the hands of the multiracial working class. But that power is shackled by the AFL-CIO labor tops who themselves fuel the flames of imperialist war through their protectionist tirades against workers of other countries while tying working people in the U.S. to their exploiters, particularly to the Democratic Party. From World Wars I and II to Korea, Vietnam and today the Balkans, the Democratic Party is the party of imperialist war.

The Spartacist League is dedicated to building a revolutionary workers party like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the October Revolution—a party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, a party rooted in proletarian internationalism. Join us in building the party which will lead new October Revolutions and put an end once and for all to imperialist mass murder. Defend Serbia! Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Lenin and Trotsky's Comintern: Party of World Revolution

This month marks the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Third (Communist) International in Moscow. Under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and L.D. Trotsky, which led the October Revolution of 1917, the Comintern counterposed to the pro-imperialist Social Democracy of the Second International the program of world socialist revolution. As the Third International was transformed into an anti-revolutionary tool of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24, passing over to outright reformism in the mid-1930s, Trotsky and the Left Opposition carried forward the program of Leninist internationalism. Today, the International Communist League seeks to reforge the Trotskyist Fourth International, founded in 1938, as the necessary instrument in the fight for new October Revolutions around the world.

Seventy-two years have passed since the Communist Party announced its programme to the world in the form of a Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Even at that time communism, which had barely entered the arena of struggle, was beset by the baiting, lies, hatred, and persecution of the possessing classes, who rightly sensed in it their mortal enemy. In the course of those seven decades communism developed along complex paths, periods of stormy advance alternating with periods of decline; it has known successes, but also severe defeats. But essentially the movement proceeded along the path indicated in advance by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of final, decisive struggle came later than the apostles of social revolution had expected and hoped. But it has come. We communists, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of various countries of Europe, America, and Asia, who have gathered in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves to be the heirs and executors of the cause whose programme was announced 72 years ago. Our task is to generalize the revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of the disintegrating admixtures of opportunism and social-patriotism, to mobilize the forces of all genuinely revolutionary parties of the world proletariat and thereby facilitate and hasten the victory of the communist revolution throughout the world....

The bourgeois world order has been sufficiently lashed by socialist criticism. The task of the international communist party consists in overthrowing that order and erecting in its place the edifice of the socialist order.

We summon the working men and women of all countries to unite under the communist banner under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all countries! In the struggle against imperialist savagery, against monarchy, against the privileged estates, against the bourgeois State and bourgeois property, against all kinds and forms of social and national oppression—*Unite*!

Under the banner of workers' Soviets, under the banner of revolutionary struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of the Third International—proletarians of all countries, unite!

—"Manifesto of the Communist International to the Proletariat of the Entire World" (March 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is March 30.

No. 710 **2 April 1999**

Spartacist Forum

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

The Communist Fight for Women's Liberation in the Muslim East

Speaker: Amy Rath

Saturday April 17, 4 p.m.

Mount Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Ave., (One block east of Vermont)

LOS ANGELES For more information: (213) 380-8239

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725 Commonwealth Ave., Rm. B18A

Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or bostonsyc@compuserve.com

NEW YORK

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Alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m.

April 6, Rm. 909, ***For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***
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New York University
Loeb Student Center (La Guardia Place & Washington Square South)

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
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As Fake Lefts Wallow in "Human Rights" Imperialism

ICL Protests Demand: "Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Terror Bombing!"

As the U.S./NATO launched military attacks against Serbia, the International Communist League immediately swung into action against the imperialist war as a unified Leninist internationalist organization. Around the world, our comrades issued leaflets, initiated speakouts and intervened in other protests to raise our unique revolutionary perspective for *defense of Serbia agoinst imperiolist attack* and for *defeat of imperialism through workers revolution*.

The U.S./NATO air strikes and the buildup of imperialist ground troops threatening a wider war provides further tinder for social explosions within the imperialist centers. While the fake lefts try to derail opposition to the war into parliamentary maneuvers for a more "humane" imperialist policy, the ICL fights to give an organized anticapitalist expression to the antiwar mood among workers and youth, evident already even in these early days of the bombing. We fight to advance the consciousness of the working class to understand that what is required is a proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist struggle against the capitalist system which breeds war. At a Paris demonstration in defense of "illegal" immigrants (*sans-papiers*) on March 27, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) carried a placard reading, "Deportations from Roissy, Bombing of Kosovo, Police Terror in the Ghettos: This Government Is Capitalist, Racist and Imperialist!" This slogan earned approval from immigrant workers—and opposition from the fake left which supports the Socialist-led popular-front government.

The ex-Stalinists, Social Democrats and "New Labour" today ruling capitalist France, Italy, Germany and Britain are *more* bellicose than their right-wing predecessors, in part because the leaders of these treacherous parties arrogantly think they can fool the population into believing that imperialist war and racist deportations are in the best interests of the workers they purport to represent. It's not going over. In Germany, mothers of soldiers sent to the Bundeswehr staging area in Macedonia confronted Social Democratic (SPD) defense minister Scharping on a TV talk show and threatened to send a delegation to meet with Serbian mothers to call for an end to the war.

Across West Europe, hundreds of thousands of workers from the former Yugoslavia are integrated into the industrial proletariat. United with the rest of the proletariat in class struggle against capitalist austerity and imperialist war, they can play a powerful role in defeating the poisonous chauvinism which the social democratic rulers use to divide the workers. The German press is whipping up fear and loathing against "the enemy within," the alleged "danger" represented by 800,000 Serbs resident in Germany. This new racist threat against immigrants spurred interest among protesters in the active defense by the ICL and its German section, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), of the Kurdish workers facing mass deportations following the arrest by Turkey of Kurdistan Workers Party leader Abdullah Öcalan. After buying our paper, one Serbian worker at a Hamburg protest exclaimed: "You know, for 20 years my co-workers in the plant have been talking SPD to me. But tomorrow I'm going to turn in my SPD party card."

The ex-Stalinists of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), who sold out the East German deformed workers state to the West German bankers, now jockey for position as the "left" opposition in parliament and act as brokers of "peace" rallies with an explicitly pro-capitalist agenda for a "better" imperialist foreign policy, a "European security solution" based on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and more independent of the American military colossus. When PDS leader Gregor Gysi took the podium at a March 27 rally in Berlin, our comrades of the SpAD held up placards reading, "PDS Call for UN and OSCE Intervention Is a Social-Chauvinist Fig Leaf for Imperialist Attack!" and "PDS Sold Out the DDR to the Bourgeoisie of Auschwitz!" While some PDS members went apoplectic, demonstrators snapped up copies of *Spartakist* with its front-page headline, "No Vote for SPD, PDS!" Our placard, "The Red Army and Tito's Partisans Smashed the Nazi Wehrmacht!" quickly sorted out anti-fascist Slav workers from the right-wing Serbian monarchists in the crowd.

The French Communist Party (PCF), which is part of the capitalist popular-front government, also revels in anti-American chauvinism *to alibi its support to its own ruling class*. While condemning the NATO bombing, PCF leader Robert Hue holds up the imperialist-dictated "negotiations," that French farce in the Rambouillet chateau, as a lost opportunity for a "political solution to this unbearable conflict." As our comrades in the LTF wrote in their leaflet, "War is the continuation of politics and diplomacy by other means: the Rambouillet talks were the fig leaf for the imperialist occupation of Kosovo with or without bombings."

Just across the narrow Adriatic Sea from the slaughter and studded with NATO military bases, Italy has been plunged into another political crisis by the Balkans war. The popular-front government there has been carrying out vicious repression against Albanian refugees streaming into the country. Uniquely, our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and call for defense of Serbia and defeat of the Italian ruling class and all the imperialists. Having stepped down from the capitalist austerity government last year to appease its restive working-class base, Rifondazione Comunista (RC) now postures as an "antiwar" party.

At a campus speakout in Naples, our comrades exposed this posture, pointing to the unity of RC with the Italian bourgeoisie: "When they were in government, RC buried the crimes of Italian imperialism in Somalia and restored the Italian protectorate over Albania which existed under Mussolini. They voted for the legislation which imposed detention camp lagers and visa quotas on immigrants." Noting Italy's role in the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, the LTd'I speaker said: "Italy and Germany were the first to recognize Croatia. The Pope of counterrevolution made a saint of the Cardinal of the Ustasha, which massacred thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma. Rifondazione seeks to lay all the blame on American imperialism. But Italy and Europe are just as much enemies of all oppressed peoples. It was Italy which invented concentration camps in Libya, which first used poison gas against the Ethiopian population and which exterminated the Balkan peoples during World War II."

Our revolutionary opposition to imperialist war is in sharp contrast to the fake Trotskyists who peddle illusions that the imperialist warmongers can be pressured to rein in their terror. Demonstrations called by self-proclaimed socialists in the U.S. and Europe have centered on bleating pleas to "stop the bombing." But bloody terror against weaker nations, against colonial and semicolonial countries is *inherent* in the imperialist system of oppression and exploitation. The reformist British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its international satellites (in the U.S., the International Socialist Organization) *hailed* the capitalist counterrevolutions in the Soviet Union and East Europe—beginning with Polish Solidarność in the 1980s—which set the stage for this Balkans war. At a protest in Warsaw on March 26, these cheerleaders for Solidarność reaction and anticommunist Polish nationalism screamed, "We already had Moscow, we don't want Washington" in an attempt to drown out our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski as they chanted, "Defend Serbia! Defeat American imperialism and its Polish lackeys!" Never wanting for chutzpah, the fake left's main banner at the Warsaw demonstration was "Make Love, Not War"—in a country where women's right to abortion and birth control were virtually abolished by the Solidarność counterrevolution they supported!

In London, the British SWP joined with a Serb-nationalist contingent outside 10 Downing Street on March 25, chanting, "Blair and Clinton, wanted for

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Spartakist

Workers Hammer

Spartacist Canada

Young Spartacus

In protests against NATO terror war, ICL fights for perspective of workers revolution to overthrow imperialist warmongers. Clockwise from bottom left: ICL contingents at protests in Toronto, Berlin and London; SYC speakout at Boston University.

France, Spain—Down With Anti-Basque Repression!

For the Right of Self-Determination for the Basque People!

—— PART ONE ——

On March 9, as right-wing Spanish prime minister José María Aznar was being hosted by French Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, police in Paris staged a roundup of supporters of the separatist Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA). The arrest of Javier Arizcuren-Ruiz (also known as Kantauri), a key leader of ETA, along with six supporters, provoked massive demonstrations demanding "Independence!" and "General amnesty for ETA prisoners!" in the Basque country of northeastern Spain.

LE BOLCHEVIK

The latest arrests came only six months after ETA declared a unilateral truce in its decades-long fight for an independent Basque homeland. In announcing the cease-fire, ETA proclaimed that it was "willing to learn" from the April 1998 Northern Ireland "peace" accords, a reactionary imperialist-imposed deal which maintains the subjugation of the oppressed Catholic minority there and mandates the continued presence of the British military.

Aznar hailed "Franco-Spanish cooperation in the fight against terrorism." Indeed, for years France has collaborated with Spain in waging a brutal campaign of repression against Basque militants. Many Basque militants have been deported to Spain, where torture of "terrorist" suspects is routine, and dozens continue to languish in French prisons. We say: Free Javier Arizcuren-Ruiz and all victims of anti-Basque repression in France and Spain!

We publish below an article written before the recent events, translated from *Le Bolchévik* No. 146 (Summer 1998), newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.

* * *

Last July [1997], the long simmering unrest in the Basque region of northern Spain exploded into international prominence as vast reactionary demonstrations thronged major Spanish cities following the kidnapping and shooting of a minor bourgeois politician by the Basque separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA—Basque Homeland and Freedom). In the space of a few days, around six million people joined protests against the killing of Miguel Angel Blanco Garrido, a town councilman from the ruling Popular Party (PP) of José María Aznar. In Madrid, Bilbao and elsewhere, representatives of the right-wing government marched hand in hand with leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties and the trade unions.

The Aznar government has used the climate of anti-ETA hysteria to reinforce its draconian "anti-terrorist" legislation, aimed at crushing the Basque independence movement's decades-long resistance to Castilian-centered bureaucratic domination and repression. Shortly after the shooting of Blanco Garrido, 23 leaders of Herri Batasuna (HB), a petty-bourgeois nationalist coalition which is seen as the political wing of ETA, were each sentenced to seven years in prison for the "crime" of distributing a propaganda video by ETA.

Reuters

Tens of thousands march for Basque independence in San Sebastián in Spain, July 1997, carrying pictures of imprisoned ETA supporters.

As Marxist-Leninists, we defend the Basque people's elementary democratic right of self-determination, including the right to full independence from the French and Spanish states. Hands off the leaders of HB!

While Marxists oppose the petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terror in the struggle against capitalist oppression, we do so from the standpoint of the class-conscious proletariat, which uniquely has the social power to overthrow the capitalist system on account of its relationship to the means of production under capitalism. Nonetheless, when the oppressed direct their actions against the bourgeoisie and its state, we defend them against the retribution of the capitalists. The PP is the direct descendant of Alianza Popular, the party led by Francoists like Manuel Fraga Iribame, who served as minister of the interior under the Franco dictatorship. The kidnapping and execution of bourgeois politicians and industrialists are ultimately futile acts but *they are not crimes against the working people*.

A telling indictment of the opportunism of the Spanish left is its capitulation to the hysterical witchhunt against ETA, and that it limits itself to empty discourses on the Basque people's right to self-determination. Their obfuscation and contradictions are dictated by the fundamental support to the repressive Spanish state, expressed in their tailing of the popular front.

Today, the treacherous leaders of the Spanish proletariat such as Julio Anguita of the Communist Party (CP) make common cause with Franco's heirs against the Basque nationalists. This is hardly surprising. The reformist social democrats and Stalinists derailed the massive working-class upsurge that followed the death of Franco in 1975 and channeled it into support for the Juan Carlos "reform" monarchy and the centralist Constitution, which explicitly denies the right of self-determination for the Basques, Catalans and others. The Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) and the CP-dominated United Left (IU) popular front are signatories to the Pacto de Ajuria Enea, an all-party device designed to isolate the more militant nationalists of HB and to combat ETA. And the PSOE, when it was in government, set up the Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación (GAL) death squads to assassinate ETA members in collusion with the French security forces, controlled at that time by Mitterrand's Socialist Party.

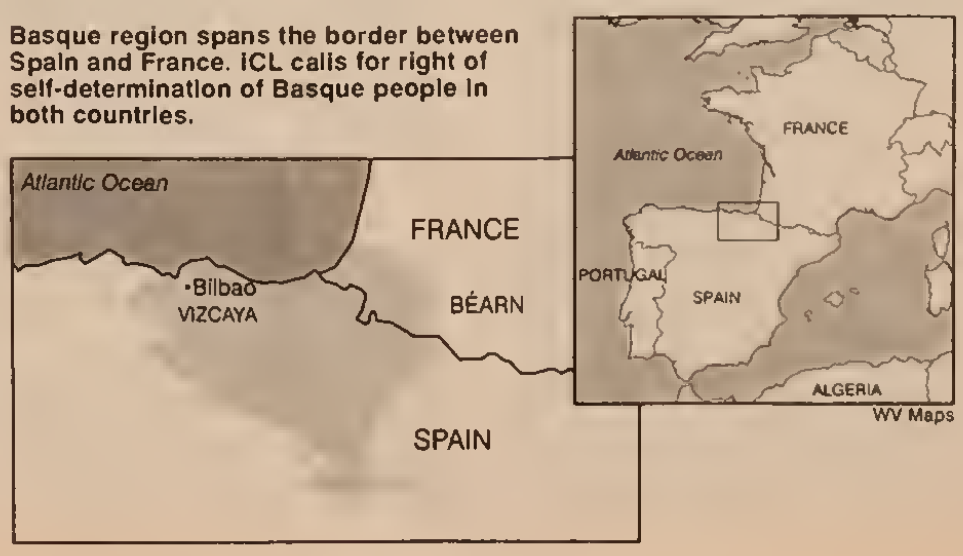
Defense of the Basque nationalists in no way implies the slightest accommodation to nationalism as an ideology. In Spain, the polarization along national lines—HB is capable of mobilizing a demonstration of 40,000 people in the Basque country in response to the anti-ETA demonstrations—can only be overcome by a proletarian vanguard actively struggling against national oppression. Without this crucial element, the historical strength of nationalist ideology, the enormous weight of brutal national oppression and the social-chauvinism of the Spanish left combine to drive Basque workers into the arms of the Basque nationalists, who are today the main force in the region's trade unions. An authentic proletarian leadership fighting against the entire capitalist system would unite behind it not only those struggling against national oppression but also other specially oppressed sectors—from youth demonstrating against "temporary employment agencies" which organize wage slavery to women activists, who demonstrated in large numbers on International Women's Day [1998] against anti-women violence.

Marxists fight to have the national question taken "off the agenda" in order to lay bare the fundamental class reality that Basque workers and capitalists have counterposed interests. The Basque bourgeoisie, which increasingly looks beyond Spain, seeks to maximize its freedom to exploit its "own" working class (for example, in the demand for "autonomy in management-worker relations"). The Basque bourgeoisie also has independent economic interests outside Spain, particularly in Latin America.

Terrorism is a natural policy for petty-bourgeois nationalists, who have no strategy to mobilize the oppressed masses. While Marxists defend those who target the capitalist state against the much bloodier terrorism of the state itself, we recognize that the nationalists are capable of appalling acts of indiscriminate terrorism such as the Hipercor bombing of June 1987. On that occasion ETA detonated a huge bomb in the Hipercor supermarket in San Andreu, a working-class suburb of Barcelona, killing more than 20 people. Such crimes, like the bombings of pubs in Ireland, can have no other purpose than provoking violence between different peoples and feeding the fears and hatreds inherent in all nationalism.

Two decades ago the Basque region, and especially its proletariat, was in the vanguard of militant struggle against the decrepit Franco dictatorship. In 1970, international protests against the Burgos trials of ETA militants forced the blood-soaked regime to commute the death sentences passed on six of the defendants. At the time, ETA was popular among Spanish workers, many of whom supported the cause of Basque and Catalan self-determination. Likewise, the Spanish left protested the anti-ETA repression and formally supported the right of Basque independence.

Basque region spans the border between Spain and France. ICL calls for right of self-determination of Basque people in both countries.



WV Maps

The National Question and Bourgeois Revolutions

Today, there is a veritable propaganda industry in France whose role is to spread the idea that, even in the imperialist epoch, the French state stands on the values of the 1789 Revolution. Within

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Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

European powers, were in a sense the first battles of World War I. Now, a front-page editorial in the leading Italian newspaper *La Repubblica*, quoted in the *New York Times* (26 March), declares darkly: "The war between Serbia and NATO for Kosovo is forcing us into a kind of 'great leap backward' toward places, tensions, fears that history had seemed to have left behind forever: war in the Balkans, Russia's return to the language of the cold war."

The NATO attack on Serbia has sharply increased tensions between the U.S. and Russia, which seeks to reassert its prerevolutionary, tsarist role as the great-power protector of the Serbs. When Washington peremptorily told Russian prime minister Yevgeny Primakov that it was about to proceed with the assault on Serbia despite Russian protestations, Primakov canceled a state visit with Clinton in mid-flight and ordered his plane to turn around. And while most NATO allies have for now fallen in line behind the U.S., both Greece and Italy—site of 14 NATO air bases which are the main platform for the air war against Serbia—have already called for a halt to the bombing campaign. Meanwhile, in marked contrast to the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq, the U.S. ostentatiously shunted aside the UN even as a fig leaf in launching the war against Serbia.

The destruction of the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state, ushered in a sharp rise in regional wars and particularly in American imperialist military adventures. The post-Soviet world at the end of the 20th century increasingly resembles the pre-1914 world. That world was destroyed—along with millions of European workers, in and out of uniform—during the four-year-long slaughter which raged across the continent from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. World War I marked the first global interimperialist conflict, a bloody confirmation that capitalism had outlived any progressive role.

Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin called on the workers to turn that imperialist war into a civil war in all the belligerent countries. The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks) in Russia followed this course of struggle, which resulted in the October Revolution of 1917 that smashed the capitalist state and took revolutionary Russia out of the imperialist carnage.

We are not now in another interimperialist war, but the bombing of tiny Serbia—whose population is barely more than that of New York City—by the biggest and most arrogant military power on earth is an ominous escalation in U.S. imperialist aggression which will increase the deepening divisions between the major competing capitalist powers, bringing the threat of a new war closer. As Marxists, we oppose the predatory aggression of the U.S. ruling class against Serbia. Without revolutionary opposition to these war moves, U.S. imperialism's appetite for broader conquest will only be whetted, leading inexorably toward world war, i.e., a struggle for redivision of the world for economic exploitation and spheres of influence. Thus it is in the urgent interest of the working class in all countries—especially workers in the U.S., who have been used as expendable cannon fodder in two world wars and in the counterrevolutionary wars in Korea and Vietnam—to oppose by words and deeds the war aims of all the members of the NATO alliance in this undeclared war on Serbia. *Down with U.S. imperialism! Hands off Serbia! For workers revolution!*

Reuters

AFP

Kosovo Albanian nationalists have become pawns of U.S./NATO imperialists. British and French foreign ministers greet U.S. Secretary of State Albright at Rambouillet "peace" talks which paved way for NATO terror war against Serbia.

Michael Kienitz

"Human rights" imperialism in El Salvador. U.S.-sponsored death squad regime waged war of extermination against leftist/peasant insurgency in 1980s.

As we wrote at the time of the U.S./NATO air attacks against the Bosnian Serbs in 1995 (*WV* No. 629, 22 September 1995):

> "The new Balkan wars are both the product of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet bloc and an arena for the intensified interimperialist rivalries of the post-Soviet world....
>
> "As on the eve of World War I, the Balkans have once again become the powder keg of Europe. This bloody conflict points to the need for Trotskyist parties, built in the struggle of the International Communist League to reforge the Fourth International, to fight against the imperialist war criminals who have the power to destroy civilization if not humanity itself."

"Human Rights" Hypocrisy

To gain public support at home for the military attacks and economic warfare against the Serbs and Iraqis, the bourgeois political establishment and mass media have demonized Milosevic and Saddam Hussein. Washington's main justification for U.S./NATO military intervention in the Balkans is the charge that the Serbs were engaging in "genocide" against the Bosnian Muslims and now the Albanian Kosovars. Like all bourgeois-nationalist despots, Saddam Hussein and Milosevic keep themselves in power through the murderous repression of minority peoples as well as of their "own" workers and peasants. But they are no different or worse in this respect than *American client states* like Zionist Israel, Turkey and Croatia.

The Israeli state was formed through the mass expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs from their ancestral homeland, and the Zionists have since trampled underfoot the Palestinians crammed into the West Bank and Gaza. The government of Turkey—the southeast bastion of NATO—has carried out a 14-year war against the oppressed Kurdish population that has left some 30,000 dead, totally destroyed 3,500 villages and forced more than three million Kurds to flee their homes.

With massive U.S. and German military and financial aid, the Croatian regime of Franjo Tudjman—which openly proclaims its continuity with the fascist Ustasha puppet state set up by the Nazi occupation forces in World War II—drove out *300,000 Serbs* in 1995 from lands where their forebears had lived for centuries, by far the biggest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the wars precipitated by the breakup of Yugoslavia. "We have resolved the Serbian question," Tudjman declared, invoking the language of Nazi Germany.

However, the crimes of Tudjman, Milosevic and the other contending Balkan nationalist chieftains pale in comparison with the crimes of American imperialism, which is truly the main enemy of the world's people. It is in a sense fitting that Washington's main man in Kosovo, William Walker, is a certified war criminal responsible for the killing of hundreds of thousands of Central American workers, peasants and leftists. In the 1980s, Walker was a key operative in the U.S.-organized contra war against the left-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. He was then appointed ambassador to El Salvador, where the army and paramilitary death squads (along with some 6,000 clandestine U.S. troops) exterminated entire villages in seeking to suppress the popular leftist insurgency.

At the time, many liberals and almost all leftists in the U.S. opposed and protested the military intervention in Central America, including the economic blockade of Sandinista Nicaragua, carried out by the Republican Reagan/Bush administrations. But over the Balkans today, it is the liberals and many leftists who are the most vocal anti-Serb hawks, while elements of the Republican Party have voiced opposition to the Kosovo adventure.

Rabidly right-wing Republican Congressional leader Tom Delay called Clinton's "peace" plan for Kosovo a "big dangerous quagmire." Such Republicans have not suddenly developed pacifistic scruples about shedding blood, including the blood of American youth, for the sake of imperialist interests abroad. But they question whether Washington's deepening role in the Balkans really does serve the interests of American imperialism.

As well, there is concern among capitalist spokesmen that any significant reversals in the Balkans could ignite public disaffection with the bourgeois order in the U.S. Among the aims of the broad crackdown on civil liberties, the augmentation of the repressive apparatus of the state exemplified by the "war on drugs" and the all-sided bourgeois reaction of recent years has been the ideological regimentation of the population in preparation for increased imperialist aggression around the world. But the continuing impact of the "Vietnam syndrome"—engendered by U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat at the hands of the Indochinese workers and peasants in the 1970s—is evident in the failure of the American population to rally behind the war against Serbia even at the outset.

Capitalist Counterrevolution Ignites New Balkan Wars

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was born out of World War II, when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. Emerging from the war with immense popular and moral authority, the Yugoslav Stalinists socialized the economy—albeit in a bureaucratically controlled and deformed manner—creating the multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state in the name of the "brotherhood and unity" of the working people.

Yet the socialist and democratic ideals to which the Tito regime publicly appealed were undermined and ultimately discredited by the bureaucratic deformations and the inherent limitations of Stalinism, with its program of building "socialism in one country." Only the extension of proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans. Instead, Tito introduced "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to imperialist economic penetration and reinforced disparities among the various regions, fueling resurgent nationalism.

Especially after Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy increasingly fractured along national lines.

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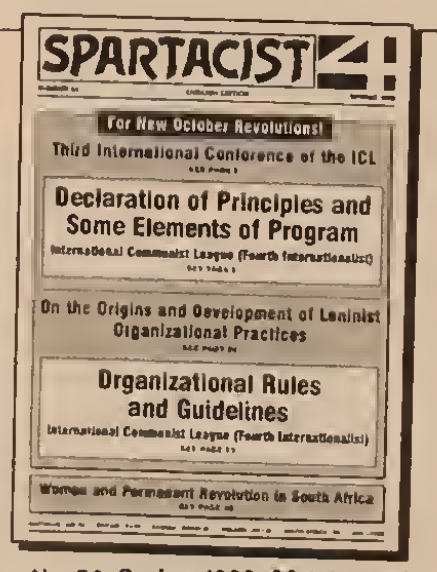

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Balkans...

(continued from page 5)

In the late 1980s, the strident nationalist Slobodan Milosevic, who took over the Serbian League of Communists, trampled on Tito's carefully balanced national arrangements, beginning with a violent attack on the Albanians of Kosovo. Milosevic's drive for a "Greater Serbia," in turn, reinforced anti-Communist nationalism in Croatia and Slovenia, the wealthier, traditionally Roman Catholic republics of northern Yugoslavia, which had formerly been part of the German sphere of influence.

The terminal crisis of Titoist Yugoslavia came in early 1991, as capitalist counterrevolution swept across East Europe, when newly elected right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession from the federated state. While the U.S., Britain and France initially made a halfhearted diplomatic effort to preserve a unified Yugoslavia as a capitalist state, the newly unified German Fourth Reich moved in to steamroller its European allies into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. The U.S. then joined Germany in throwing its weight behind an independent Bosnia under the leadership of Muslim nationalist forces. The drive of German imperialism to restore its sphere of influence in the northern Balkans is not simply motivated by historical sentiment or a desire for revenge. This region contains a wealth of minerals of strategic importance to German industry.

The Serbs were not only the largest nationality in pre-1991 Yugoslavia but also the most geographically dispersed. A quarter of the Serb population lived outside its own national republic, mainly in Croatia and Bosnia. With the breakup of Yugoslavia, the large Serbian communities confronted a hostile Croatian national regime in Zagreb and a hostile Bosnian Muslim regime in Sarajevo. Fear of becoming an oppressed minority, combined with chauvinist sentiment for a Greater Serbia, ignited a new series of Balkan wars.

These wars have followed the same basic pattern, first in eastern Croatia, then Bosnia and now Kosovo: after the Serb forces initially gained the upper hand, U.S. imperialism intervened directly or indirectly on the side of the anti-Serb forces. The U.S. and Germany provided the Tudjman regime with not only large quantities of modern weaponry but also high-level training and advisers. This enabled the Croatian army in mid-1995, in league with NATO's air assault, to rout the Serb forces and then undertake wholesale "ethnic cleansing." At the same time, the U.S. covertly funded and armed Islamic fundamentalist killers in Bosnia, including *mujahedin* cutthroats who had fought in Afghanistan.

Washington used the three-sided communalist bloodletting in Bosnia to reposition itself vis-à-vis the main West European states. The U.S. sabotaged a number of "peace" plans put forward by the European Union which would have involved the introduction of European, but not American, forces into the former Yugoslav republic. After Washington succeeded in getting its European "allies" to agree to the massive bombing of the Bosnian Serbs in 1995, Clinton cut a deal with Milosevic (the Dayton Accords) for the NATO occupation and de facto partition of Bosnia.

WV Map

We warned at the time: "The U.S.-imposed pact and NATO occupation will produce yet more bloodshed, while further hardening nationalist hatreds among the South Slav peoples" (*WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995). The imperialist occupation of Bosnia set into motion developments leading to the current crisis over Kosovo, a crisis of much greater magnitude and potentially far graver historical consequences.

Washington's Kosovo Adventure

We called for the right of national self-determination for the Albanians of Kosovo—who make up 90 percent of its population—long before their cause became fashionable among Western liberals and leftists. In the mid-1970s, when national conflicts and tensions were increasingly manifest in Tito's Yugoslavia, we wrote:

> "Marxists should, of course, recognize the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to fuse with Albania. The border in this region was established by military conquests of the Serb bourgeoisie in 1913 and in no way reflects the national borders of Albania. Such a fusion would disrupt neither the geographical nor economic unity of Yugoslavia."
>
> —"The National Question in Yugoslavia: Part 2," *WV* No. 110, 21 May 1976

A democratic and progressive solution to these national questions would have required proletarian political revolutions to overthrow the then-ruling Stalinist bureaucracies in Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, leading to a socialist federation of the Balkans. Today, we fight for socialist revolution to overthrow all the bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the region, from Tudjman's Croatia to Milosevic's Serbia.

But in the present conditions of capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist intervention, national conflicts in the Balkans have had a reactionary character on all sides. Thus the Albanian separatists of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), adhering to the murderous logic of bourgeois nationalism, have carried out indiscriminate attacks on Serbian villages. Moreover, with direct U.S./NATO intervention on the side of the Kosovo Albanians in recent months, the question of national self-determination has become subordinated to the defense of Serbia against imperialist attack. Indeed, the UCK's basic strategy has been to bring about a level of armed conflict sufficient to induce the Americans to intervene on its behalf.

While the interests of U.S. imperialism and the Kosovo Albanian nationalists now coincide, they are not the same. The basic aim of the American ruling class is to weaken and humiliate Milosevic—possibly to topple him—but not to establish an independent Albanian Kosovo or strengthen the forces of Albanian nationalism elsewhere in the Balkans. Hence Clinton called for NATO forces to occupy Kosovo and run it as an "autonomous" province. However, the legal fiction would be maintained that Kosovo is still part of the Serbian state. Thus Washington would have the option of returning Kosovo to actual Serbian rule if Milosevic or, more likely, a successor chose to become an American client regime a few years down the road.

AP

Milosevic rose to power by pushing virulent Serb chauvinism. Serbian tank in Kosovo flies flag of World War II Chetnik reactionaries.

However, this military adventure could blow up big time in the face of U.S. imperialism. That's why there's significant opposition, or at least reservations, within American ruling circles, especially among more right-wing elements. Republican Senator and presidential aspirant John McCain, who was a navy pilot in the Vietnam War, argues: "These bombs are not going to do the job.... You're just going to solidify the determination of the Serbs to resist a peace agreement" (*New York Times*, 25 March).

Clinton is gambling that the bombing will induce Milosevic to allow the NATO occupation of Kosovo. But what if the Serbs hang tough? Macedonia, where upwards of 10,000 NATO troops—including a fresh contingent of U.S. forces—are in place along the border with Kosovo, has already been rocked by violent protests against the U.S. attack. For now, all but a handful of the most rabid anti-Serb hawks in the U.S. and West Europe have ruled out a NATO ground invasion of Kosovo. The longer the bombing continues, the more likely it will produce sharp divisions between the U.S. and European governments and within the ruling classes of the NATO member states. And if Milosevic buckles under and lets the Americans take over Kosovo, the consequences could be even more disastrous. In initially arguing against U.S. military intervention, Vietnam War criminal Henry Kissinger (who now calls for ground troops) laid out a worst-case, but quite plausible, scenario: "An independent Albanian Kosovo surely would seek to incorporate the neighboring Albanian minorities—mostly in Macedonia—and perhaps even Albania itself. And a Macedonian conflict would land us precisely back in the Balkan wars of earlier in this century" (*Washington Post*, 22 February).

American "Superpower" Arrogance and the New World Disorder

Like the monarchical rulers of Serbia in the pre-World War I era, Milosevic looks to Russia to be Serbia's great-power protector. For their part, Russian nationalist politicians of all stripes ritually voice sympathy for "our little Serb brothers" and denounce American "aggression" in the Balkans. However, Russia's new capitalist rulers are not only deeply in debt to the bankers of Wall Street and Frankfurt, but most of their money is invested in Western financial markets. Consequently, Moscow's actual role in the wars of ex-Yugoslavia has been playing "soft cop" toward the Serbs on behalf of the Americans and Germans. As a former member of Milosevic's inner circle put it: "Russia is a poor cousin who calculates her own interests" (London *Financial Times*, 22 March).

But the relatively pro-Western Yeltsin/Primakov regime could well be displaced by more extreme nationalists waiting in the wings. In any case, the Western imperialists understand that the current social, economic and political disintegration of post-Soviet Russia—which still has 7,000 nuclear weapons inherited from the USSR—is not likely to be a permanent or even long-term condition. The London *Economist* (13 March)—house organ of Anglo-American financiers—recently wrote: "Sooner or later some strong and honest man will pull post-Yeltsin Russia together, and another contender for global influence will have reappeared on the scene."

Thus the stated differences between Washington and Moscow over the Balkans are not just diplomatic play-acting. The U.S. drive to weaken and humiliate Serbia is in part intended to forestall Russia's re-emergence as a major European power with its own client states in the Balkans. Likewise, the recent extension of NATO to three states which were formerly part of the Soviet bloc—Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic—is intended to intimidate and contain Russia. There is now speculation that in response the Russian military might move nuclear missiles into Belarus, a small state directly bordering Poland. And no one should doubt that Pentagon strategists have maintained and updated their plans for nuclear war with Russia.

While Clinton triumphantly proclaims that the bombing of Serbia demonstrates the unprecedented "unity" between the U.S. and its European NATO allies, the Kosovo adventure takes place against a background of increasing tensions between the U.S. and the West European states, as well as Japan and China. A Congressional vote to impose stiff quotas on steel imports—particularly aimed at Japan, Russia and Brazil—came only days before the U.S. launched its war on Serbia. A recent cover of the *Economist* depicted a cartoon of two dogs snarling at one another above the caption, "America and Europe discuss their differences."

In the past few weeks, the U.S. has imposed punitive tariffs against the European Union in a longstanding dispute over Caribbean banana exports and threatened further sanctions in retaliation against a European ban on hormone-treated beef from the U.S. The growing tensions between the U.S. and West Europe were also evident in the uproar in Germany over the execution of two German nationals in Arizona

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last month and, even more sharply, in the public outrage in Italy provoked by a U.S. military court's acquittal of an Air Force pilot who sent 20 people plunging to their deaths in a cable car in the Italian Alps during a training flight last year. The U.S. bureau chief for *La Repubblica* expressed "the feeling that the United States—'the only surviving superpower,' as we are so often told—acts more and more unilaterally and capriciously, whether it is attacking Saddam Hussein or judging a low-flying pilot" (*New York Times*, 6 March).

The NATO bombing of Serbia also takes place at a time of growing American belligerence toward China, the last major bureaucratically deformed workers state remaining in the world. Washington is making a big brouhaha about China supposedly "stealing" U.S. military secrets. While the Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing, as part of their headlong drive toward capitalist restoration, remain desirous of doing lucrative business deals with American and other capitalists, they are resentful and to a degree fearful of America's self-appointed role as cops of the world. The *People's Daily* (25 March), organ of the ruling Chinese Communist Party, accused NATO of "flagrantly using barbaric military force to interfere in Yugoslavia," and China joined Russia in voting against the NATO bombing in the UN Security Council. Such actions are, to be sure, an impotent form of diplomatic protest. But they signal the potential for major and bloody conflicts in the Far East in the not-so-distant future.

Meanwhile, Germany and Japan are rearming apace and have thrown off their post-WWII bans against engaging in military actions abroad. German imperialism, under a Social Democratic/Green coalition government, is gloating that its fighter jets are taking part in the air war against Serbia, its first combat role since World War II. Coincidentally, Japanese warships last week fired on two boats, described as North Korean, in international waters. While the incident itself was relatively minor, it was likewise the first time since World War II that Japanese imperialism had deployed naval destroyers on a military mission.

Liberals, Fake Lefts Spearhead "Human Rights" Imperialism

"Send in the marines!" "Bomb 'em back to the stone age!" For decades these slogans were associated with the most right-wing, flag-waving, foam-flecked supporters of American imperialism. As against such yahoos, liberals usually argued that the interests of American foreign policy were better served by diplomacy and economic aid. However, since the end of the Cold War, liberals along with many self-described leftists have become the most strident advocates of U.S. military action to bring "democracy and human rights" to the rest of the world.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of the Balkans. The very same day that Kissinger published his piece, "No U.S. Ground Forces for Kosovo," the

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Leadership of World War II Communist Partisans was drawn from the many nationalities making up Yugoslavia. Tito (second from left), who was from Croatia, pictured with Slovenian, Serbian and Montenegrin Communists.

left-liberal *Nation* (22 February) ran an editorial demanding:

> "If Milosevic fails to agree to autonomy pending a binding referendum [on independence], he should be told that Kosovo's independence will be recognized forthwith and that the Kosovars will get military aid to secure and defend it. In either case, any ultimatum should order the complete withdrawal of Serbian forces from the province and the insertion of an international military and police force."

While the *Nation*'s bellicose line on Kosovo represents a shift from its more pacifistic posture in the past, it is nonetheless entirely consistent with its liberal outlook. A central premise of liberalism is that the existing American state represents the democratic will of its citizens. Consequently, the American state—the U.S. armed forces being at its core—should extend the benefits of democracy to the rest of the world, if necessary by force. Marxists understand that in reality the American state is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, an instrument of bloody repression through which American capitalists maintain their exploitation of working people in this country and around the globe.

Nonetheless, a number of groups which claim to be Marxist are in fact advocates of "human rights" imperialism. Prominent among these is the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Basically, the ISO seeks to attract young liberals by presenting itself as more consistent and militant supporters of liberal principles than the Clinton White House and Democratic Party in general. Its criticism of Clinton's policy in the Balkans is substantially identical to that of the *Nation*, that the U.S. should wrest Kosovo from the Serbs and give it to the Albanians. The ISO's *Socialist Worker* (12 March) states: "The U.S.-backed 'peace' plan won't bring peace in Kosovo because it doesn't deal with the roots of the conflict—the demand of the Albanian majority for independence."

To be sure, the ISO stops short of outright support for U.S./NATO military action against Serbia. But the reason these left social democrats give for opposing the bombing is merely tactical, claiming that it "will only make a tense situation worse—and undermine opponents of Milosevic's war machine in Serbia." Thus the ISO depicts Milosevic and his "war machine" as the main enemy in the Balkans conflict, *not* U.S. imperialism and its infinitely more powerful, nuclear-armed war machine. At protests in the U.S., the ISO has carried signs pleading with Clinton to "Stop the Bombing." But logically, if the NATO forces invaded Serbia, overthrew Milosevic and replaced him with a puppet regime which granted "independence" to Kosovo, the ISO should support such an action. The core point is that by demonizing Milosevic as the main enemy of "peace and democracy" in the Balkans, the ISO serves as a left apologist for the U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia.

The same holds for other left groups, some of which claim to be Trotskyist. A prime example in the U.S. is Socialist Action. Since Socialist Action professes to oppose American imperialism in principle, it absurdly claims that U.S./NATO intervention is aimed at strengthening the Serbs against the Kosovo Albanians! "Imperialists Step Up Pressure on Kosovo Rebels," *Socialist Action* (February 1999) informs us, while an article in the March issue asserts that "the Western powers will continue to bring the maximum pressure to bear on the Kosovar delegation to get them to accept terms that will meet Milosevic's political conditions."

Reading this, someone who knew nothing about what was happening in the Balkans would assume that the U.S. was now bombing the Albanian Kosovars with the support of the Serbs. In fact, Clinton convinced the Kosovo Albanian nationalists to sign the Rambouillet agreement in order to provide a diplomatic pretext for attacking Milosevic's Serbia, which is what the UCK wanted, as it railed even against Clinton's pretense of seeking a last-minute deal with Belgrade to avert the bombing.

The leaders of Socialist Action are not naive or ignorant, just cynical and dishonest. They know full well that the Kosovo Albanian separatists are the strongest supporters of U.S./NATO air strikes against Serbia and of NATO occupation of Kosovo. If Socialist Action is serious about squaring its "anti-imperialist" pretensions with its line on Kosovo, try carrying signs reading "Down With U.S. Imperialism!" in the pro-bombing demonstrations currently being staged by supporters of the Albanians in the U.S.!

At bottom, the fake-socialist reformists embrace the liberal view that the "democratic" capitalist state can serve the interests of working people and the oppressed and that imperialism is a policy which can be changed under pressure. World War I, the first global interimperialist conflagration, laid bare such illusions promoted by the likes of German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky. Writing at the height of that imperialist slaughter, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin noted in "Socialism and War" (1915) that with the concentration of capital in vast, powerful monopolies,

> "Almost the entire globe has been divided up among the 'lords of capital' either in the form of colonies, or by entangling other countries in thousands of threads of financial exploitation.... Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary; it has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of adopting socialism or of experiencing years and even decades of armed struggle between the 'Great' Powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind."

Today, capitalism's ineluctable drive toward ever more and wider wars threatens the nuclear annihilation of all humanity. We of the International Communist League fight for new October Revolutions, the only way to end once and for all the war-driven world capitalist system.■

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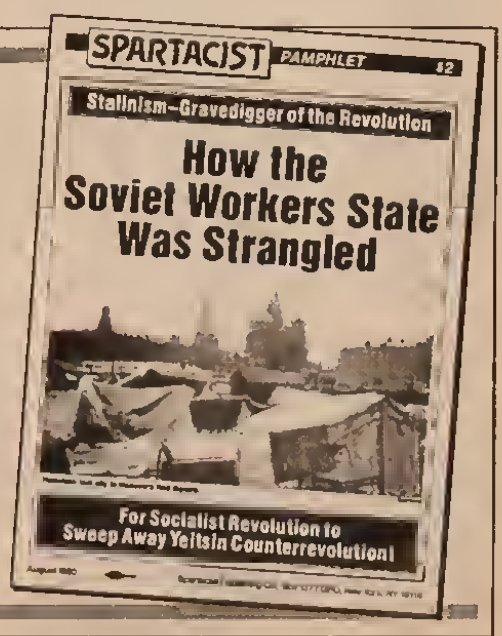

Oakland...

(continued from page 12)

mayor Jerry Brown, a former Democratic Party governor, and the Alameda mayor were quick to welcome this militarized exercise in state terror.

The military brass claims that these exercises are not for domestic use but to train for foreign "humanitarian" missions, among which they included the invasions of Somalia and Haiti. In 1993, U.S. imperialist troops invaded Somalia under the guise of providing "humanitarian" famine aid. They massacred hundreds of men, women and children until the poorly armed Somalis fought back, shooting down three Black Hawk helicopters and killing 20 U.S. soldiers. While most of the left bought into the humanitarian scam, from the beginning the Spartacist League called for "U.S./UN troops out of Somalia now!" Now in the Balkans, the U.S. and its NATO allies cynically claim humanitarian concerns as they rain bombs and missiles on Serbia in pursuit of their imperialist aims.

The real impetus for Urban Warrior is the 1992 Los Angeles upheaval sparked by the acquittal of the sadistic racist cops caught on videotape beating Rodney King. Outrage at that hideous injustice and the broad national sympathy for the L.A. protesters cast a spotlight on the deep fissures and widespread discontents at the base of American society. This explosion of anger—and particularly the fact that it encompassed not only blacks and Latinos but also a significant number of poor white youth, cutting across the racial divisions fomented by the capitalists to maintain their class rule—deeply frightened the bourgeoisie. National Guard, Army and Marine units were called out to occupy South Central L.A.; thousands were arrested and hundreds of immigrants deported.

WV Photo

New York City, May 1992. Capitalist rulers were shaken as South Central L.A. erupted in outrage over acquittal of sadistic racist cops who beat Rodney King and protests spread across the country.

Hours after the police-state occupation had begun, the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization allied with the Spartacist League—issued a call on the powerful L.A. unions, from the centrally important longshoremen at the L.A. and Long Beach ports to Teamster truckers and transit workers, to organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations in defense of the besieged ghetto and barrio masses, demanding the withdrawal of cops and troops. As we wrote at the time:

> "The impoverished residents of the ghettos and barrios lack the class consciousness and social power to move from protest to the struggle for state power. To bring down this racist system requires the leadership of a fighting, multiracial workers movement that truly champions the cause of the oppressed, rather than acting as job-trusting bureaucrats and labor cops for the capitalists, holding down and dividing up the ranks as the sellout labor officialdom does today."
>
> —"L.A. Upheaval Shakes America," *WV* No. 551, 13 May 1992

Capitalists Strengthen Repressive Machinery

The L.A. upheaval confirmed the bourgeoisie's fears that the everyday racist brutality of its increasingly bonapartist police may be insufficient to contain future social explosions as the gap grows between the tiny handful of the very rich and the ever expanding ranks of the desperately poor. Over the past two decades, and particularly as interimperialist competition has escalated following the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie has moved to squeeze ever more profits from workers by driving down living standards, while writing off whole layers of the ghetto poor as a "surplus population." Recent years have seen the wholesale destruction of social welfare programs benefiting the poor. This has been accompanied by a massive expansion of the capitalist machinery of state repression.

Marine Corps Commandant General Charles C. Krulak declaims that future battles will be fought in the "urban canyons" formed by high-rise buildings. And in a recent article in *Armed Forces Journal International* (quoted in the *San Francisco Guardian*, 10 March),

ICL Protests...

(continued from page 3)

murder." As our comrades in the Spartacist League/Britain wrote in their leaflet, "These were the 'socialists' who were 'over the moon' when Blair was elected." SWP members horrified at the brutality of war in the Balkans might cast their eyes across the Irish Sea and ask why their party refuses to oppose the presence of bloody British troops in Northern Ireland!

The ICL stands in the tradition of V.I. Lenin, who sharply broke with the Second International of social-chauvinism and reactionary patriotism at the onset of World War I. Lenin's "Socialism and War," a powerful handbook of revolutionary internationalism written in 1915 and circulated clandestinely to workers and soldiers throughout Europe in the crucible of war, teaches:

> "The standpoint of social-chauvinism is shared equally by both advocates of victory for their governments in the present war and by advocates of the slogan of 'neither victory nor defeat.' A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, and cannot fail to see that the latter's military reverses must facilitate its overthrow."

Lenin stressed that in the case of an imperialist war against a small or semicolonial people, it is the duty of the working class not only to fight for the defeat of one's "own" government but to defend the victims of imperialist aggression. That is why the ICL forthrightly calls for the defeat of the U.S./NATO imperialists and for defense of Serbia! We called for the right of self-determination for the Albanian population of Kosovo against the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade until the Albanian separatists became simply a pawn of NATO's predatory designs. For Marxists, the democratic right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians is necessarily subordinated *now* to the struggle against the imperialist bombing and threatened invasion.

The fake Trotskyists try to camouflage their support to the capitalist rulers waging this war by limiting their calls to "stop the bombing" while ***pounding the warkers with social-chanvinist garbage abaut the need ta crush Serbia***! These ostensible leftists have made the Kosovo Albanians their *cause célèbre* just as Kosovo has become the war cry for an imperialist invasion of the Balkans. The French Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which has a well-deserved notoriety for refusing to address special oppression under capitalism—whether it is racial, national or women's oppression—has suddenly discovered Serbian oppression of the Kosovo Albanians in order to pass off French military intervention as "humanitarian." LO writes: "The population of Albanian origin would perhaps be temporarily relieved from the crimes committed by the Serbian troops; however their aspirations would not be satisfied" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 26 March). Not to be outdone, Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) carried a banner at a March 26 demonstration reading: "Neither Milosevic nor NATO: Self-Determination for Kosovo!" The previous day, Krivine thundered, "The Belgrade regime must be isolated and the Kosovo people must be given all the means, including military means, to defend their lives and impose their freedom." The unity between these hypocrites posturing as an "antiwar" movement and the imperialist warmongers themselves couldn't be clearer.

War tests the backbone of revolutionary parties and their willingness to withstand the pressure of social-chauvinism. Imperialist bombardment of the Balkans has revealed the British centrist Workers Power (WP) group to have crushed vertebrae. Grotesquely equating the Serbian victims of murderous NATO air strikes with the imperialist powers raining down death and destruction, *Workers Power* (March 1999) declares: "For us, in this conflict, NATO imperialism and the Serb forces are equally reactionary." Adding to the bourgeoisie's propaganda blitz for war in the Balkans, WP writes: "Victory to the Kosovar national liberation struggle!" and calls for "Arms, medical supplies, food with no strings to the Kosovars!" Their afterthought—"No to NATO bombing of Serbia!"—is a threadbare curtain to cover their capitulation to their own imperialism.

Centrism, like all manner of opportunism, is inherently nationalistic. The outbreak of war has fractured Workers Power's "international"—the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI)—into opposing pieces like rubble blown to bits across the war zone. In France, where demonstrations against the war have brought out as many as 10,000 people, including thousands of Serbs who came to France a generation ago to work in industry, Pouvoir Ouvrier (PO) reprinted its British comrades' propaganda *minus* the most egregious statement equating the NATO imperialists with the Serbs. Showing a left face to these large protests, PO's youth group added the slogan, "Defeat the NATO attack against Serbia and Montenegro."

But in Austria—a historic foe of Serbia—the WP affiliate displayed a war lust that would put Bill Clinton to shame, unabashedly siding with the imperialists *against* Serbia. Complaining about the delayed onset of bombing due to the peace talks in Rambouillet, they scorned the "humiliating retreat of the U.S. and Britain on air attacks against the Serbs" and complained, "Despite the warlike uproar of U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright, in all probability not one house will be bombed to bits—at least on the Serbian side" (*ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt*, March 1999)! Capitulating to the large PDS-run rallies, German Workers Power states, "We defend Serbia and Montenegro unconditionally against NATO attacks"—while then urging support to the Kosovo Albanian nationalists...who explicitly call for the introduction of NATO ground troops against Serbia!

An LRCI statement distributed at a public meeting in London on March 30 ludicrously claims to be simultaneously for and against the Serbs in reaction to the NATO attack: "In Serbia and Montenegro—***thaugh not in Kosova which they have no right to occupy***—we support the Serbian forces' self-defence against NATO attack despite the fact that the Serbs would not face this attack if they withdrew from Kosova." Their paper opposition to the NATO bombing is further belied by their statement that the workers movement "should recognise the right of the Kosovars to acquire arms and supplies from whoever is willing to give them and also their right to take full military advantage of the imperialist bombing to drive out the 'Yugoslav' forces." This is a blatantly self-contradictory position designed to paper over the differences between the LRCI's national sections.

What we are seeing with Workers Power is the national decomposition of this pseudo-Trotskyist "international." When Cold War II burned white hot over the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and under the impact of the Spartacist tendency's unique support to the Red Army intervention and our call to extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples, Workers Power formally abandoned its anti-Soviet "third campism" and teetered between the pulls of revolution and counterrevolution...only to collapse into the camp of pro-imperialist counterrevolution. It's been a hard lurch to the right since, particularly with the Yeltsinite counterrevolution in the Soviet Union which WP supported. In the early 1990s, WP campaigned for "Workers Aid to Bosnia," which we nailed at the time as "a stalking horse for NATO intervention" against the Serbs on behalf of the Bosnian Muslim regime (*WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994). This sordid episode prepared WP's overt support to imperialist war moves in the Balkans today. "Human rights" imperialism? Tell it to the Serbian women and children bombed out of their homes, or the Albanian refugees fleeing the war zone to NATO countries which won't let them in!

ICL sections far and wide, including in countries removed from the immediate conflict, have agitated against this war as revolutionary internationalists. Speakouts at the UNAM campus in Mexico City have exposed U.S. "human rights" hypocrisy in the Balkans by pointing to the reality of Yankee imperialist oppression throughout Latin America. Our comrades in South Africa organized a speakout at Witwatersrand University and brought the lessons home. Against illusions fostered by the South African Communist Party (SACP), whose only objection to the bombing is that it is not carried out under the blue flag of the United Nations, the leaflet issued by our comrades notes:

> "The SACP pushes illusions in the very imperialist body whose 'peacekeeping' operations—from Korea to Congo and Iraq—is a figleaf for imperialist slaughter.... When this [South African] strikebreaking capitalist government sent troops to Lesotho last year, the reformist SACP stood four-square behind it. From Angola to the Congo to Libya, bourgeois nationalists in South Africa and the rest of Africa propose OAU [Organization of African Unity] or UN 'peacekeepers' while in practice perpetuating imperialist enslavement."

The Spartacist League/U.S. has a particular internationalist duty to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working people of this country, the most powerful imperialist predator on the face of the planet. As the Spartacist speaker declared at a speakout at the Chicago campus of the University of Illinois: "We in the belly of the imperialist beast have an obligation to organize the class with the power and the interest to bring down this rapacious bloody system through proletarian revolution. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!"■

Col. James A. Lasswell, head of the Marine Corps Warfare Laboratory, writes:

> "The future urban center will contain a mixed population, ranging from the rich elite to the poor and disenfranchised. Day to day existence for most of the urban poor will be balanced tenuously on the edge of collapse. With social conditions ripe for exploitation, the smallest tilt of unfavorable circumstances might be enough to instigate starvation, disease, social ferment, cultural unrest, and other forms of urban violence."

Though the Marines insist they have no plans to invade U.S. cities, the photographs of cities depicted in Urban Warrior training documents include Miami, Seattle, Chicago, San Diego, New York and San Francisco (*Express*, 12 March). The same article goes on to say:

> "Special weapons have been developed allowing the U.S. forces to fire mortars over the tops of skyscrapers.... Other weapons would blast through steel-reinforced concrete to incinerate the inhabitants of a specific room hidden deep inside a high rise. Work is underway to perfect a machine gun that can fire around corners.... Special troops equipped with nonrichocheting weapons and air-quality sensors can slither through city sewers and utility tunnels on special sleds and trolleys designed to take over subway systems."

Already under the Reagan administration, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), originally charged with overseeing disaster relief, was transformed into an apparatus to put down urban insurrection, with the power to set up concentration camps for the mass detention of those the rulers deem undesirable. The authority for military exercises like Urban Warrior came directly out of the "anti-terrorist" crackdown in the wake of the 1995 bombing of the Federal building in Oklahoma City. Seizing on this atrocity, Clinton pushed through a sinister "counterterrorism" bill chock-full of provisions to increase the repressive powers of the capitalist state: secret trials for non-citizen "suspected terrorists," using the military for domestic police enforcement, unlimited harassment and surveillance of dissident organizations, blanket authorization for wiretaps, and an escalation of the ongoing campaign against the constitutional right to bear arms. This came on top of Clinton's 1994 "crime" bill, which vastly extended the death penalty for federal offenses and introduced more stringent gun control measures.

The ruling class cynically uses the threat of terrorism as a cover for everything from terror-bombing foreign countries to cracking down on civil liberties in the U.S. The May 1985 bombing of the Philly MOVE home under Reagan, which burned to death 11 black people—including five children—and destroyed an entire black neighborhood, brought home in blood and fire what the capitalist state has in store for any who step "out of line." This was followed under Clinton by the fiery holocaust of 86 men, women and children in the integrated Branch Davidian religious commune near Waco, Texas in April 1993.

In a plan to further augment the powers of the state, Clinton recently revealed in an interview with the *New York Times* (22 January) a Pentagon proposal to appoint a military commander for the continental U.S. According to another article in the *Times* (28 January), the pretext is "a growing threat of major terrorist strikes on U.S. soil." This would be a significant step since the U.S. bourgeoisie has long upheld the formal (and mythical) separation of the military from domestic repressive duties as a benefit of bourgeois democracy. In fact, the Marines are already being used to patrol the border with Mexico and two years ago shot dead a Mexican American youth in Texas.

The Bourgeois Military and State Terror

The machinery of organized violence which is at the core of the capitalist state—prisons, cops, courts and the military—exists to protect the continued rule of the wealthy elite that controls the means of production against the working masses and the oppressed at home and abroad. A quick review of U.S. history demonstrates this elementary Marxist truth. Military troops have been used repeatedly to repress workers strikes, plebeian upheavals and protests by the poor and oppressed.

In 1877, a nationwide rail strike against cuts in already miserable wages was drowned in blood by National Guard and federal troops, including some who had just been withdrawn from the South as part of the final betrayal of Radical Reconstruction (see "Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877: The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism," *WV* No. 701, 20 November 1998). In the bloody Ludlow, Colorado massacre of 1914, 21 men, women and children, mainly families of striking miners, were killed by the machine-gun fire of the state militia. But at Ludlow the workers were armed by the United Mine Workers, and to the horror of the bosses, for ten days some 1,000 strikers fought back bullet for bullet. In 1970, National Guard units fresh from strikebreaking duty against a Teamsters strike in Ohio were sent to Kent State University, where they gunned down four students protesting the bombing of Cambodia and the presence of ROTC on campus.

A wave of ghetto upheavals rocked urban centers in the late 1960s in response to racist police terror and the killing of black political leaders. The sight of hordes of riot-clad cops, trigger-happy National Guardsmen and combat-trained army troops storming through the ghettos, invading black homes in search of arms and dispersing crowds of blacks with tear gas and hot lead became a familiar one across the U.S.

The Chicago ghetto revolt in the summer of 1966 was sparked by cop terror in the Puerto Rican barrio and spread rapidly through an area of 800 blocks housing 300,000 black people. When 900 riot-clad cops were unable to restore the "peace," notorious racist mayor Daley called in *45,000* National Guardsmen, who clubbed blacks into unconsciousness and fatally shot two people, including a 14-year-old expectant mother. After Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination two years later, President Johnson ordered 5,000 troops into Chicago to quell unrest and federalized the Illinois National Guard.

In 1967, the 82nd Airborne was brought in to repress the Detroit ghetto explosion. Former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a Vietnam vet, described in an interview with *Workers Vanguard* (No. 382, 28 June 1985) how his unit was mobilized to put down the unrest: "I was a sergeant and had done the year over there [Vietnam] that was required. And they called in the paratroopers to quell it because the National Guard couldn't do it. It just so happened that the paratroopers that they sent out, our unit, was something like 60-70 percent black." Geronimo's unit was immediately pulled-out and penalized for not doing its "duty" to suppress the black ghetto—shipped back to Vietnam during the height of the Tet Offensive.

UPI

Military occupation of Detroit, 1967: 43 were killed and over 7,000 arrested during bloody suppression of ghetto upheaval.

The bourgeoisie is understandably worried that an army disproportionately composed of blacks and other minorities, i.e., the very same people targeted for domestic repression, cannot be relied on in times of "national emergencies" or imperialist war. Yet that is the result of "economic conscription," which compels working-class and minority youth—increasingly denied any access to higher education and faced with a future of low-paid jobs, if any—to "volunteer" for the armed forces. Recently the bourgeois media has been mooting the possible reinstitution of the draft, both to meet the projected demand for more cannon fodder and to dilute the minority composition. We oppose the draft as part of our all-sided opposition to capitalist imperialism: Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military!

Democratic Party Pushes War on the Ghettos

Former Democratic governor Jerry Brown's recent election as mayor of Oakland had wide support among both blacks and whites, many of whom believed his pledge to use his "connections" to revitalize the city. How Brown intends to do this was laid out in his campaign call to move 10,000 yuppies into the downtown area, driving out poor and minority residents, to step up the "war on crime" and to institute "charter schools" for the upscale while gutting the already massively underfunded public schools which are the reserve of working-class and minority youth. In his first three months in office, Brown has moved fast to implement this anti-working-class, racist program, making bonapartist moves against the city's established, largely black administrative bureaucracy and moving to take over the public schools.

Despite his trademark offbeat, Buddhist/New Age/populist rhetoric, Brown is a mainstream bourgeois politician with hands-on experience in administering the capitalist state. Following a recent killing of an Oakland cop, Brown made clear his commitment to terrorizing the oppressed black and Latino population of Oakland when he ranted: "If they don't work, carry guns and are damned dangerous, they have no place in Oakland. We will not tolerate outlaws" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 January). Yet Brown's election was greeted with adulation by swarms of reformist fake socialists, as well as the likes of former Black Panther leader David Hilliard, who is himself a candidate for Oakland City Council. Some of Brown's liberal backers professed to be shocked by his embrace of the Marines. But it should come as no surprise that he wants a Marine Corps prepared to assist his racist cops if they can't keep a lid on any protest his capitalist administration may face.

Demonstrations against the Marine invasion of Oakland were relatively small gatherings of pacifists, liberals and the reformist left. When protesters occupied Brown's office on March 17, they were met with a violent cop assault which resulted in 22 arrests, including two for felony robbery charges. We demand: Drop the charges against all protesters!

The dominant theme of these protests was the liberal notion that the government could be pressured to "change its priorities." This was voiced by one participant who said, "If the government is going to spend $4.5 million [on Urban Warrior], they should spend it on Oakland schools" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 March). But this capitalist government pours *hundreds of billions* every year into augmenting its forces of repression precisely because *its* purpose is to protect the property and power of the American bourgeoisie from the many whose blood and sweat make the profits for the few. The capitalist state's answer to the desperate plight of the impoverished ghetto and barrio masses is ever more intense racist repression, pushed no less by the Democrats than the Republicans. The bourgeois state cannot be reformed but must be smashed through proletarian revolution.

The Spartacist League fights to break workers and minorities from the Democratic Party of racism and war. We seek to build a revolutionary workers party that will act as the tribune of the people, exposing and fighting against every manifestation of oppression and injustice. Such a party is needed to lead the working class in the seizure of state power, to rip industry from the hands of the bourgeoisie and replace this profit-driven system with an egalitarian socialist society.■

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New York...

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include thousands of black workers who know that it could just as easily have been them as Amadou Diallo. Our call for labor protests has found deep resonance among the transit union membership. They have the power to stop the world center of finance capital dead in its tracks. The black, Hispanic, Asian and white workers in the city workers unions—from Local 1199 hospital workers to Teamsters—could bring the wheels of New York City government to a grinding halt.

There will be no end to police brutality short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops serve as armed guard dogs. But a massive mobilization of labor would give the cops some pause. For a taste of that, recall the 40,000-strong protest by overwhelmingly white New York City construction workers last summer. Facing down mounted police, they took to the streets chanting, "New York City—our city!" Bringing that kind of social power to bear in a mass protest against cop terror would be a big step toward imbuing the working class with the understanding that its interests are inseparably linked to the defense of the ghettos and barrios and the fight for black freedom.

The obstacle to this is the trade-union bureaucracy, which is bound hand and foot to serving the interests of the class enemy, mainly in its Democratic Party face. They're working overtime to prevent any real protest against the cops. 1199 president Dennis Rivera put it baldly: "The terror that some of us have is that if we don't channel this into a solution, this will fizzle, and there will be a sense of frustration and an increased polarization." Polarization between the working masses and the racist rulers is the last thing the labor tops want. Their job is to preserve the racist status quo, and thus their "solution" is to try to channel the outrage against the cops into support for the Democrats and the preservation of police-enforced "law and order."

Street Crimes Unit—An Elite Death Squad

The cops who gunned down Amadou Diallo are part of the Street Crimes Unit. Comprising *1 percent* of the total police force in New York City—380 out of 39,000 cops—this special squad accounts for almost half of all weapons seizures. By police department records alone, the SCU has searched more than 45,000 people over the past two years. But even this is a vast understatement of the sweeping terror carried out by this elite police gang. No less an authority than New York State attorney general Eliot Spitzer estimates that it is more likely that hundreds of thousands have been stopped, since the cops generally report only one-tenth or one-fifth of their searches. And that doesn't account for the harassment, brutality and terror carried out by the rest of the 39,000 cops on the streets.

Brutal racist oppression is at the heart of American capitalist rule and the cops are the enforcers. At a March 10 hearing on police brutality in Harlem, a black father spoke powerfully to the everyday reality of treatment at the hands of the cops:

> "I live in the projects up in Soundview, and the way the police approach you up there is not so polite. First of all, they curse at you, they throw you around, they totally disrespect and humiliate you.... I do not allow my children out after dark, after ten o'clock in the street.... My 15-year-old, he's six feet. He says, 'Dad, but everybody out here knows me.' I say, 'Yeah, but the police don't know you.' And that's the reality."

At the same meeting, cards were handed out instructing people how to behave when approached by the police: don't run, be respectful, avoid confrontation, do not fight back even if hit. Black cops go into grade schools and give six-year-old kids the same message. There's no instruction on their legal and constitutional rights against unwarranted search and seizure because there is no "Bill of Rights" on the streets of the inner cities. You're told "you fit the description," you're spread-eagled, slammed into a car hood and consider yourself lucky if you escape alive. Of black and Hispanic men between the ages of 24 and 35 interviewed by the New York *Daily News* (26 March), ***81 out of 100*** reported that they had been stopped and harassed by the cops. One who had been stopped *50 times* said simply, "I know if I go home, I've won."

This reign of racist cop terror isn't new, nor has it gotten worse uniquely under Republican mayor Giuliani. He's a tinpot police-state dictator, all right. But the Democrats are no alternative. Besides Giuliani, there has been only one other Republican mayor of New York City in the past 50 years. The rest have been Democrats who were instrumental in arming and unleashing the cops.

It is a measure of the cynicism of the Police Plaza sit-ins organized by Sharpton that one of his supporters is former Democratic Party mayor Ed Koch. Koch is a certified racist pig. Riding into the mayor's office on the wave of a racist backlash, Koch reveled in contempt for black people. Mocking black activists who were protesting his closure of Sydenham Hospital in Harlem, Koch put on an Afro wig and did a minstrel jig at a fund-raising party in 1980. From day one, his record as mayor was an unmitigated trail of racist horrors punctuated by the names of those many black people killed by his cops. Michael Stewart: a young black artist choked to death by the transit police. Eleanor Bumpurs: an ailing black grandmother who was murdered by an NYPD eviction squad for failure to pay $396 in back rent. Edmund Perry: a 17-year-old black honor student killed by cops.

While the racist cops killed with impunity, Koch had a whole machinery for cover-up. His chief medical examiner, Dr. Elliot Gross, gouged the eyes out of the corpse of Michael Stewart to remove evidence of hemorrhaging from the cop choke hold. He ordered the autopsy report on Eleanor Bumpurs to say that she had only been shot once, not twice, in order to help the cops beat a murder rap. In 1983, Koch was run out of Harlem when he dared show his face at hearings on police brutality. But a couple of weeks ago, there was Koch announcing that he was going to protest and get arrested at One Police Plaza with his fellow Democrats. He didn't make it due to heart problems. Too bad. Doubtless, thousands would have gotten much pleasure if Koch's ticker had given out while being handcuffed by the same cops whose brutality he so avidly encouraged.

But it wasn't just Koch. Black liberal David Dinkins hired an additional 6,000 cops and let them loose on the ghetto streets. And Al Sharpton organized anti-drug vigilantes to serve as auxiliaries to the police. When he ran for NYC mayor in the last election, Sharpton didn't say a word about reducing the power or size of the cops. While Giuliani plays on racism to bolster the police force, portraying them as the "thin blue line" protecting whites from the ghetto poor, the black Democrats do the same job by playing on the fears of black parents for the safety of their kids in order to push for more cops, more police powers and stiffer sentences. The upshot of this "war on crime" is that nearly one million black people are now in prison.

Jesse Jackson, who took time out from stumping for Clinton's imperialist terror war against Serbia to get himself arrested at the One Police Plaza protests, has been a leading force in pushing the "war on drugs" which has been central to the vast escalation of police repression. The armies of cops who occupy the inner cities, the paramilitary SWAT teams which maraud through the streets randomly breaking into apartments with guns drawn, the hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth behind bars are the direct result of the "drug war" pushed by Jackson as front man for the Democrats.

DeLucia/NY Times

Hughes/NY Daily News

Sipa

Democrats have been in forefront of unleashing cop terror in the ghettos, from racist pig Ed Koch to liberal David Dinkins (at left in center photo) to "law and order" president Clinton.

Harlem 1964: Democrats Crush Black Struggle

In the summer of 1964, the killing of 15-year-old James Powell by an off-duty cop in Harlem sparked an outpouring of rage. It was an opportunity for the racist city rulers under Democratic Party mayor Robert F. Wagner to move in to crush the black masses who were becoming politicized and organized, engaging in school boycotts protesting segregation, demonstrations against cop terror and rent strikes in which thousands formed tenants councils, withheld rents and won services and repairs from reluctant slumlords. Wave after wave of the specially trained, elite Tactical Patrol Force swept through Harlem indiscriminately beating and terrorizing all who crossed their path.

A protest demonstration called by the Harlem Defense Council (HDC) organized by the Progressive Labor Party (PL) was banned by the Wagner administration. When black PL leader Bill Epton and civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn courageously stepped out to lead the march, they were faced with a force of *27,000 cops* lining the streets and were immediately arrested. The newly formed Spartacist group sought to give organized expression to the anger of the Harlem masses and rally working-class support to the side of the besieged inner city of New York. The Spartacist-initiated Harlem Solidarity Committee organized a rally of close to one thousand largely black and Hispanic workers in the center of New York's garment district around the slogans "Remove the Rioting Cops from Harlem" and "Support the Right of the Citizens of the Ghetto to Defend Themselves."

Working against the efforts of the Harlem Defense Council was the so-called "Unity Council" encompassing organizations from the NAACP to the Nation of Islam as well as black Democrats and businessmen. This "unity" council pledged to "restore peace in the community" and leafletted and canvassed Harlem urging residents to stay away from the march called by the HDC. Working the same side of the street as Wagner and his cops in trying to prevent any organized, political response to the police terror, the Unity Council put forward a series of demands for "reforming the police."

Today, that role is being played by the black Democrats and union bureaucrats, with a gaggle of phony leftists in their tow. They're trying to get out in front of the outrage against the cops and defuse it with empty demands to "reform" the police. The ten-point program devised by the black Dems calls for more black and minority cops, to require cops to live within the city limits, for a stronger civilian review board and for federal oversight of the cops.

But it makes little difference if the cops are black or white or live in your neighborhood. Their job is to operate as the armed enforcers for the rule of racist American capitalism. The Feds aren't going to help you—they are the central executive committee of this whole *system* of cop terror. Nor are the cops going to be "controlled by the community," for the simple reason that they are servants of a ruling class whose profits are derived from the exploitation of labor and the racist oppression of blacks, immigrants and all minorities.

The whole purpose of this ten-point program is not to oppose the cops but to preserve the authority of strikebreaking, racist "law and order" by making it appear as if it is simply a question of a few bad apples in an otherwise fine police force. That is made perfectly clear in point seven: "The salary and benefits for police officers must be improved. Law enforcement officers are entrusted with an extraordinary responsibility and they should be compensated accordingly." It is a real statement of the loyalties of the labor bureaucrats, who have done nothing to fight for their own membership, that they are pulling out the stops for a pay raise for the cops!

Bolstering the efforts of this committee for the whitewash of the racist cops is the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which is pushing a "Citywide Network Against Police Violence" with a virtually identical ten-point program minus the demand for higher pay for the cops. No surprises here. In Canada, this

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Basques...

(continued from page 4)

the workers movement, this myth is particularly propagated by the chauvinist French Communist Party (PCF), which also pretends that practically the entire "people" was engaged in the Resistance against the Nazis, etc. It is revealing to note how minor the differences historically are between authoritarian Spain and so-called "Republican" France in their repression of the Basque people.

In France, the Basques have no legal status at all—there is no Basque *département* [administrative district], nor even a university. In recent times, the withdrawal of the right of asylum, summary expulsions of Basque militants and the activities of the fascistic GAL terrorists have served to nourish national resentment also in the Basque region of France, where there has been a large degree of solidarity with the Basques across the border. While the development of the Basque question in France and Spain has been very different, it is clear that today there exists a single Basque nation divided and oppressed by these two capitalist powers.

The Basques are an ancient people, who certainly predate the Indo-Europeans in Europe. Their language, Euskara, has no distinguishable relationship to any other language, certainly not to French or Spanish. It has been in decline throughout the 20th century, repressed by the French and Spanish authorities, although a recent campaign to revive it, aided by the *ikastolak* (Basque-language schools), has met with some success. The Basque language is one of the major factors contributing to Basque national sentiment, indeed the only way to describe a Basque in Euskara is *euskaldun*, "Basque speaker."

To understand the persistence of national questions in France and in the Iberian peninsula today, it is necessary to understand how the questions have evolved historically. Lenin wrote that for the complete victory of commodity production, the bourgeoisie had first to capture the domestic market and that it needed politically united territories whose population spoke a single language, with all obstacles to their development eliminated. That was the economic foundation of the national movements. It was in that sense that Trotsky wrote, comparing Spain and France:

> "Spain's retarded economic development inevitably weakened the centralist tendencies inherent in capitalism. The decline of the commercial and industrial life in the cities and of the economic ties between them inevitably led to the lessening of the dependence of individual provinces upon each other. This is the chief reason why bourgeois Spain has not succeeded to this day in eliminating the centrifugal tendencies of its historic provinces. The meagerness of the national resources and the feeling of restlessness all over the country could not help but foster separatist tendencies. Particularism appears in Spain with unusual force, especially compared with neighboring France, where the Great Revolution finally established the bourgeois nation, united and indivisible, over the old feudal provinces."
>
> —"The Revolution in Spain" (January 1931)

The fact that even in France the national question was not completely resolved by the Revolution of 1789 was due to its nature as a *bourgeois* revolution. From the time of Henry III until the revolution, all kings of France were also termed "king of Navarre," ruling over that part of the Basque country north of the Pyrenees. After the revolution, the French National Assembly voted for the abolition of the constitutions of the three Basque provinces, Basse Navarre, Soule and Labourd, which were put down by force. The *département* of Basses-Pyrénées was then created, including the [non-Basque] Béarn region.

During the French Revolution, from 1792 to 1798, each French *département* and each commune [town] had complete administrative autonomy. This autonomy was destroyed by Napoleon's 1799 coup d'etat, which installed prefects and reactionary centralization. The French bourgeoisie presents this reactionary centralization as a gain of the revolution.

The myth that the French Revolution supposedly solved the national questions in France was invented by the bourgeoisie after the debacle of 1870 and the Paris Commune that followed, that is, *one century after* the revolution. At that time, the French bourgeoisie turned education into a key vehicle for achieving several objectives. The main one was to prepare revenge against the Germans. This required having the greatest amount of cannon fodder possible and preparing it to go to the massacre by making it as patriotic and chauvinist as possible. (The general staff got a law passed in 1890 allowing all Italian, Spanish, German and other immigrants—and their children—who had come to build the railroads or work in the mines to be naturalized.) This patriotic campaign was also a way for the bourgeoisie to avoid having the working class launch a new Commune. This was also an opportunity to give the working class the education required by the industrial revolution.

The public education system that was set up was thus a school for chauvinism and patriotism. In order to better ideologically prepare the working class and peasantry, the myth of "the French nation going back to the Gauls" was *invented*. This new history of France was inculcated at school, where the children of minorities as well as children in the colonies in Africa, Asia and elsewhere were told that their ancestors were Gauls! This history, created in the context of imperialist and colonialist pillage, was peddled by the bourgeoisie and its Stalinist and social-democratic lackeys. We're a long way here from Valmy [a battle in the French Revolution] and the struggle against the reactionaries in Europe who tried to crush the democratic gains resulting from the overthrow of feudalism by the French bourgeoisie.

In its preparation for a revanchist drive and for the slaughter of the First World War, the bourgeoisie also needed to unite the country linguistically. The languages and dialects spoken in the countryside needed to be eradicated. Patriotism and chauvinism needed to be expressed in a single language, French. In 1835, more than half of the mayors in the regions of Bayonne and Mauléon did not speak a word of French (as was also the case with many school teachers). Teachers, the foundation of the public education system, were the battering ram of patriotism and chauvinism, and French became a requirement. It was imposed on children, who were subjected to every possible punishment and harassment when they spoke their mother tongue. Despite the French bourgeoisie's language policy, the forced assimilation of the Basques was never fully realized. Today, the highest percentage of Basque speakers in the entire Basque country is to be found in the Basque provinces in France.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

AFP

Reuters

Right-wing Spanish prime minister José Maria Aznar (left) and French Socialist leader Lionel Jospin join in anti-Basque repression. Right: Cops in Pamplona, Spain drag off Herri Batesuna supporter in 1997 crackdown on Basque militants.

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outfit supported a strike by prison guards. In Britain, they argued that all "coppers" weren't really "bastards" but could in fact be a force on the side of the working class and oppressed if they only "rebel collectively." Black, Hispanic and other residents of New York City got a flavor of such a collective rebellion by the cops a few years back when these thugs in blue rampaged through the streets and subways after being incited at a City Hall rally by Giuliani as part of his bid to take over the mayor's office from David Dinkins.

More recently, the ISO-initiated Campaign to End the Death Penalty issued a leaflet calling for a March 17 NYC protest in defense of former Black Panther Lawrence Hayes with the demand: "Hands off the parole system"! This is a call to preserve a system of virtual slavery for those released from prison before their full term. The Communist Party and Workers World scramble to outdo Sharpton et al. in sowing deadly illusions that the cops can be tamed through "community control" or toothless "civilian review boards." Thus, they too take their place among those who are trying to put a "democratic" face on racist capitalist "law and order."

Socialist Action (March 1999) chimes in saying: "The protests also provide the opportunity to begin organizing to get the cops out of the Black community and to establish Black control of the Black community and the police." An example of what Socialist Action is talking about are the police auxiliary squads organized by the Nation of Islam to police housing projects. These fake leftists simultaneously act as cheerleaders for anti-Asian, anti-Arab, anti-Semitic black nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan and Khallid Muhammad in their efforts to be exploiters of their "own" communities in the inner cities while playing the role of waterboys for the racist, job-trusting labor bureaucrats.

Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

At a February 25 press conference appealing for Clinton to "step up to the plate and provide leadership" against police brutality, Hugh Price, president of the National Urban League, lectured that the Democratic Party president should remember that "the very people who have stuck with you through thick and thin are the primary victims of brutality and abuse" (*People's Weekly World*, 6 March). It is the reality that those blacks who do continue to vote overwhelmingly cast their ballots for the Democrats, who are seen as the "lesser evil." But the Democrats are no less a party of racist capitalist "law and order" than the Republicans. This has been increasingly clear since the election of Clinton, who rode into the White House through open appeals to the white racist vote and proceeded to flood the ghettos with tens of thousands more cops and vastly expand the racist death penalty.

That black people vote for a party that has done more to increase the misery of the ghetto masses and augment the powers of racist state repression than even its Republican predecessors reflects the absence of a political party that fights for them. Black people are in their overwhelming majority working people. They need a party that fights for their interests, against strikebreaking and racist terror, against ever more grinding exploitation and poverty and all-sided oppression—not a party that makes empty promises once every four years come election time, but a party that mobilizes labor/black power in the factories and on the streets. They need a party that understands that the fight against racist oppression means a fight to get rid of the capitalist ruling class which foments racism to divide the working class and maintain its profits and class rule. They need a party based on the understanding that the fundamental division in this racist society is not by skin color but between two counterposed classes—the small handful who own all the means of production and the vast majority who must sell their labor power in order to survive. That kind of party is a multiracial revolutionary workers party.

Speaking to the thousand-strong rally of black and Hispanic workers who had come out in solidarity with the besieged Harlem masses in 1964, *Spartacist* editor James Robertson described the role of the cops in provoking the riots as an excuse to crush the black masses. Noting the attempts by the Democratic Party city administration to blame communists for stirring up Harlem, he declared, "Unfortunately there aren't many Reds in Harlem now—*but there will be!*" The vicious redbaiting attacks by the rulers were testimony to their fear of the potent combination of labor, blacks and reds. For it is the social power of organized labor—with its heavy concentration of black workers—linked to the anger of the ghettos and under revolutionary leadership that can and will spell the end of the rule of capital and its marauding cops in America through victorious proletarian socialist revolution.

As we wrote in our supplement "Unchain Labor's Power!" (*WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997), written in the wake of the widely popular strike by Teamsters at United Parcel Service:

> "When those who labor rule, the tremendous wealth of this society will be used to provide a decent life for the working people, the poor, blacks, immigrants, the young, the aged. The fight for black freedom will be realized in the overthrow of the rule of American capital. When the workers have the industrial wealth that is now being squeezed out of the working class for the profits of the bosses, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts, like some tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and others whose countries have been maimed under the passing treads of American tanks and the bombs of American planes. As for 'compensation' to the people who lined their pockets with fat profits while driving everyone else to ruin, the victorious proletariat can offer to those who don't get in its way that they too will have the right to honest labor and will live to see their grandchildren prosper in a truly humane society."■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Operation "Urban Warrior"
Marines Invade Oakland

OAKLAND—For four days in March, some 700 U.S. Marines invaded this heavily black, working-class city and its environs. Using attack helicopters, hovercraft and amphibious ships, the Marines made repeated landings at the former Alameda Naval Air Station. At the now-closed Oak Knolls Naval Hospital in nearby Oakland, they fired off 10,000 rounds of blank ammunition and dozens of "flashbang" grenades in "mock" battles not far from residential neighborhoods and a school. Residents were awakened by the sound of automatic gunfire and Cobra helicopters buzzing overhead at tree-top level. "We were under aerial attack," complained one resident. "That was not supposed to be part of the deal" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 March).

This military exercise, called "Urban Warrior Advanced Warfighting Experiment," was an ominous display of the state forces to be mobilized against the working class, blacks and all of the oppressed in the event of any perceived challenge to the rule of racist American capitalism. Oakland is the latest of eight cities to be invaded by the Marines in such exercises. In Texas on February 8, with no advance warning "a squadron of eight black helicopters flying at tree top level dropped a team of elite special operations soldiers into the center of Kingsville" (*San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 10 March). For two hours, they conducted "war games" using *live* ammunition and real explosives, setting fire to one building. Residents of a retirement home watched in disbelief as explosions blew out windows of a nearby office building.

San Francisco's Presidio, a former army base and now a national park, was originally scheduled to be the center of "Urban Warrior" in the Bay Area. But it was vetoed by the park service, which was concerned that the grass would be trampled! And in Monterey, where Marines staged an "occupation" of a military intelligence school, a planned amphibious landing was forbidden for fear of disrupting the whale migration. But no such compunctions applied when it came to terrorizing Oakland's black population. Indeed, "New Age" Oakland

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Frohman/SF Chronicle

U.S. Marines descend on Alameda near Oakland in "Urban Warrior" exercise aimed at preparing for suppression of ghetto revolts, labor struggles.

As New York Seethes Over Diallo Killing
Beware Democratic Party Hustlers—Enemies of Labor, Blacks

Mobilize Mass Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

Seven weeks after the murder of black immigrant Amadou Diallo, gunned down in a hail of 41 bullets by four members of the NYPD's elite death-squad-style Street Crimes Unit (SCU), New York City continues to boil with outrage against the racist killer cops. Worried that the raw fear and hatred of the cops could ignite a social explosion, black Democratic Party officials have scrambled to get out in front of the protests in a desperate bid to confine them to electoral pressure politics and above all to preserve the "integrity" of the police. New York Democratic Party Senator Charles Schumer made it plain as day what these efforts were all about when he worried aloud on the Senate floor that growing anger against the cops could undermine the racist "war on crime."

For weeks now, there have been sit-ins at One Police Plaza organized by former FBI fink and black Democrat Al Sharpton. An array of Democratic Party politicians and black CEOs—from former mayor David Dinkins and New York State comptroller Carl McCall to the chairman of the Philadelphia Coca-Cola bottling company—as well as various celebrities like actress Susan Sarandon have volunteered themselves to be handcuffed and led away by the cops. These carefully choreographed arrests have all the elements of theater of the absurd. No ghetto resident or black or white working person would voluntarily put themselves in the hands of the racist cops. There'd be no release for them a few hours later, but rather the everyday nightmare of being brutalized, trapped and held in "the system."

Yet despite the consummate cynicism of the Democratic Party orchestrators, these protests began to mushroom as hundreds came out to demonstrate their fury against the indignity, humiliation and raw terror that they are subjected to daily by the cops. So Sharpton has now called off the Police Plaza sit-ins, while the black Dems and "responsible" labor leaders like Dennis Rivera huddled in meetings to come up with a ten-point program aimed at refurbishing the image of the cops—and strengthening them—including demanding that they get better pay!

Now these types are building for a protest on April 3 in Washington, D.C., centrally to appeal for Clinton and Janet Reno's Justice Department to "investigate the epidemic of police brutality." ***This is obscene!*** While they're at it, why don't they demand that Bill Gates investigate and remedy the disparity in income between rich and poor in America?! Thousands more cops who are today terrorizing the inner cities were put there by Clinton. And if you want to see an "investigation" by Janet Reno's Justice Department, look no further than the incinerated corpses of 86 men, women and children of the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious sect near Waco, Texas, who were sent to a fiery death on Reno's orders in 1993.

WV Photo

While Democrats push pro-cop whitewash schemes, Spartacist/Labor Black League protesters at March 29 demonstration outside NYPD headquarters call for mobilization of labor power.

Enough! The mass outrage against the cops *does* need an organized political expression. Not one aimed at strengthening the hand of the Democrats, the political tool of the very capitalist rulers whose interests the cops "serve and protect," but one which provides a proletarian class axis that can weld the social power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the inner city through mass labor-centered protest against cop terror.

The ranks of powerful unions like the Transport Workers Union in New York

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 711

16 April 1999

Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Socialist Revolution!

Down With U.S./NATO Terror Bombing!

APRIL 12—After nearly three weeks of bombing, the imperialist war against Serbia is the biggest military conflagration in Europe since World War II. Amid a rapid buildup of NATO ground forces on the borders of Kosovo, there is a growing crescendo among Western ruling circles for a full-scale invasion of the rump Serb-dominated Yugoslav republic, which would threaten to draw the whole region into war. Notably, the *New York Times* (10 April) devoted a prominent front-page article to a gruff warning by Washington that Russia had better not intervene in the Balkans on Serbia's side. The deepening conflict in the Balkans underscores the urgency of forging Leninist vanguard parties to lead the proletariat in socialist revolution to sweep away rapacious U.S. imperialism and all the capitalist ruling classes. *Defend Serbia! Defeat U.S./NATO imperialism! For workers revolution!*

According to Belgrade, some 300 civilians have been killed and several thousand more wounded by the bombing. On April 5, bombs slammed into the small Serbian town of Aleksinac, devastating two residential areas and killing at least seven people. In Kosovo, Serbian villages

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AP photos

Imperialist air war is aimed at sowing terror in Serbian population. Residential neighborhood in town of Aleksinac reduced to rubble by NATO bombs.

Victory to Newport News Shipyard Workers!

WV Photo

USWA Local 8888 strike at Newport News shipyard can be springboard to organize racist, open-shop South.

APRIL 12—For the past week, some 9,200 strikers at Newport News Shipbuilding in the Virginia Tidewater area have shut down production at the country's only builder of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers. The day the strike began last Monday, thousands of members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8888 took over the street outside the plant in a mass picket that stretched 14 city blocks. As hundreds of cops stood glaring, strikers chanted: "88: Close the Gate!"

This is the tenth-largest strike in the U.S. since 1995, hitting a major military contractor as the U.S. government is waging a war of imperialist domination against the Serbian people. The Newport News strike is a critical battle for the entire labor movement and particularly for unions in the "open shop" South.

Local 8888 was forged as an integrated industrial union through a bitter three-month strike in 1979 after a union recognition vote the year before which defeated the former company "union." One veteran of that battle says, "We were fighting for recognition then. We're fighting to survive now." With the huge General Dynamics conglomerate looking to take over the shipyard, management is intent on inflicting a crippling defeat on the union in order to keep wages down and get a better selling price.

Wages for this highly skilled workforce average only $12-14 an hour. Shipyard workers haven't seen a pay raise in *six years*. Some haven't had one in as much as *16 years*. Some workers take home so little that they qualify for welfare benefits to help feed their children. Strikers are

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Local 100 Tops Bilk Members, Bust Union Shop for Bosses

TWU: No to Racist, Union-Busting "Workfare" Scheme!

NEW YORK CITY—The Transit Authority (TA) recently announced that by the end of this month it will bring in the first of 1,000 welfare recipients who will be forced to clean the subways to keep their meager benefits. The responsibility for introducing "workfare" slavery into the largest urban transit system in the country lies squarely at the doorstep of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 bureaucracy which has continually eroded the union's power through class collaboration with capitalist politicians from both the Democratic and Republican parties. In late 1996, local president Willie James reopened the then-existing contract at the behest of TA management to push through a sellout that provided for slashing the jobs of nearly 600 unionized cleaners and replacing them with desperately poor people forced to work for their sub-poverty-level welfare benefits. As we wrote at the time in "NYC 'Workfare' Deal: Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions" (*WV* No. 652, 27 September 1996): "This betrayal by the Local 100 tops is not only a vicious attack on overwhelmingly minority welfare recipients but is a dagger pointed straight at the heart of the TWU—and all NYC municipal unions."

"Workfare" is a centerpiece in the American rulers' all-sided assault on the living standards of the working class and poor initiated by Democratic president Clinton with his pledge to "end welfare as we know it." In cities like New York, AFL-CIO officials are literally the backbone of the Democratic Party machine—which exists to maintain racist capitalism at all costs. Occasionally, they even back openly labor-hating politicians like Mayor Giuliani. Racist, union-busting "workfare" was foisted on this city with the collusion of labor traitors like AFSCME District Council 37's former president Stanley Hill along with the Local 100 tops. The city rulers intend to use the growing ranks of "workfare" laborers as a union-busting force against the municipal unions.

Transit workers, who are themselves heavily black and immigrant, must mobilize their union to defeat this attempt to cripple the TWU and pit the unionized workforce against the minority poor. While the tame New Directions (ND) "opposition" to James claims to oppose "workfare," in practice it bows to the 1996 deal and calls for a provision in the next contract not to organize "workfare" laborers as union brothers and sisters but to *exclude* them from the TA workforce. The last thing the ND fakers, who include almost half of the Local 100 Executive Board and control a number of key divisions, want to see is a real union struggle that turns the tables on management, for example, by defying the state's strikebreaking Taylor Law.

After years of cutbacks and "productivity" speedups, with ridership way up, the TA is sitting on nearly a $400 million budget surplus. If management wants to bring in a thousand workers from the welfare rolls to help clean the filthy subway stations and cars, the 34,000 members of Local 100 should say fine: ***Organize them into the union! Hire them at full union wages and benefits with full union protection! Equal pay for equal work!***

With its power to shut down the financial citadel of U.S. imperialism, Local 100 should be leading a fight by all city unions to *organize the unorganized* and to scrap slave-labor "workfare" once and for all. Such a fight would be immensely popular right now, especially as New York's minority population seethes with anger over the vicious NYPD killing of black African Amadou Diallo. With thousands of black transit workers keenly aware it could just as easily have been them as Diallo, our call for mass labor protests against racist cop terror has found deep resonance among the TWU ranks.

A fight to organize the unorganized also means a struggle for *jobs for all*—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—and full cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. New York needs a *massive program of public works at union wages*—for quality, integrated housing and schools, for free quality health care, for massive reconstruction of roads, bridges and tunnels and everything we need for a decent life. In the course of such struggles there must be forged a new, class-struggle leadership of labor, through political combat against all wings of the trade-union bureaucracy, which seek to chain the unions to the agencies and parties of the class enemy—whether Clinton's Democrats or, in the case of James, Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

New York's "workfare" program is ground zero in the racist rulers' war on unions and the poor. Some ***40,000 people*** have been pressed into the city's "Work Experience Program" (WEP) gangs, forced to labor in city buildings, hospitals and parks with no rights, no benefits, no union and no hope. Hundreds of thousands have been cut from the welfare rolls in the past few years. The Parks Department had nearly 2,800 workers in 1990, but now this workforce is one-third that size and some 6,000 WEP workers are filling the void. Because of "workfare," hundreds of welfare recipients have been ripped out of the city colleges and denied a chance for higher education and a decent job.

With a rate of unionization over twice that in private industry and large numbers of black and minority workers, public employees unions are high on the capitalists' hit list. Municipal union jobs which once provided one of the only avenues to a decent livelihood for blacks, immigrants and other minorities are being slashed to the core around the country. The axing of "welfare as we know it" by both parties and the imposition of "workfare" has given the capitalists another tool to ratchet up the level of exploitation to ensure fat profits for the tiny wealthy minority who own the means of production. The capitalist profit system is premised on sowing and enforcing divisions in the working class, setting sectors of the exploited and oppressed against one another through racism, sexism and anti-immigrant bigotry.

Today the union misleaders act more like low-wage labor contractors than even labor lieutenants of capital. It took bitter struggles to forge Local 100 into an integrated industrial union. Now the union tops are working overtime to turn back the clock and open up this unionized workplace to brutal non-union exploitation again. Like the rest of New York City's AFL-CIO brass—now immersed in

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TROTSKY

LENIN

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Our class-struggle perspective aimed at mobilizing labor's power to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal stands in the tradition of the International Labor Defense (ILD) led by James P. Cannon. In the 1920s, the ILD and its fraternal organizations in other countries led hundreds of thousands of workers in protest against the monstrous frame-up of anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in Massachusetts. In article after article, including one written in August 1927 after they were granted a brief reprieve on the eve of their execution, Cannon warned sharply against illusions in the capitalist "justice" system as an obstacle to proletarian mobilization.

The lives of Sacco and Vanzetti still hang in the balance and they are in greater danger now than ever before. Every mention of the case should begin with this warning to the working masses not to be fooled with false hopes and false security....

The militant protest movement has halted the executioners up till now. As the final hour drew near, the movement assumed such proportions and militancy and expressed itself in mass demonstrations and strikes on such a scale, as to shake the world. It was especially the last phase of mass demonstrations and strikes which threw the real power of the masses into the scale against the murder plans of the Massachusetts hangmen. Those who emphasized this line of action, who understood and pointed out at every turn the fundamental class issues involved in the case, and who appealed to the mass power of the workers, were entirely correct. This line is the decisive line. The greatest hope now lies in a further development and energetic promotion of this class-struggle policy....

All brakes upon this movement must be regarded as the greatest danger. All illusions which paralyze the movement must be overcome. All agents of the bosses who try to sabotage and discredit the protest and strike movement must be given their proper name.

While the judges of the Supreme Court prepare their decision on the case again, we must appeal at the same time to the laboring masses of America and the whole world who are the highest court of all. The workers have a deep conviction for Sacco and Vanzetti, and they have the power to compel their release. We must help the workers to understand this power, to organize it and to use it. The protest strikes already carried out, in spite of and against the misleaders of labor, are opening up a new page in the development of the American working class. The unparalleled heroic example of Sacco and Vanzetti has inspired and called forth new resources of courage, class solidarity and sacrifice.

—James P. Cannon, "No Illusions!" *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is April 13.

No. 711 **16 April 1999**

Spartacist Forums

Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!
Defeat U.S. Imperialism
Through Workers Revolution!

Saturday, April 24, 7 p.m.

Reynolds Club, South Lounge, 2nd fl.
U of Chicago, 5706 S. University

CHICAGO

For more information: (312) 454-4930 or email: spartacist@iname.com

Black and Red: For a Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

Race and Class in Capitalist America

Saturday, April 24, 7:30 p.m.

will include an update on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

International Student Centre
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TORONTO

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

For more information, (416) 593-4138 or email: spartcan@on.aibn.com

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

What Justice Means...

The deadly doorway execution of the Guinean immigrant, Amadou Diallo in early February in New York City has electrified the city, the nation and parts of the world. It has shown, in clearest terms, that there is a malevolent state of war between the so-called "peace officers," and the African-American community. One side of this fatal conflict is paid and armed by the state, to defend the state's interests; the other side is largely unarmed, and gripped by an overarching sense of fear, and also one of betrayal, as the very forces supported by their tax dollars, conspires to instill terror in their everyday lives. It is, of course, no defense to this charge that the victim, Mr. Diallo, was a Guinean, as opposed to an American citizen. In the eyes of his brutal killers, he was perhaps, a Black or Puerto Rican American, who (if they bothered to listen to him) spoke with a funny accent. For them, his aggravating factor was the walnut-colored complexion, which precipitated a death sentence.

His mother and father, like many middle-classed Africans of the Diaspora, had read of the "American way of life," had seen glowing television reports of American cultural life, of life in one of the West's great metropolises, and therefore felt, perhaps with some trepidation over street crimes by the ever present poor. But, never, in their wildest imaginings, could they have suspected that the armed servants of the state, the police, could constitute a deadly threat to their boy, a knowledge felt by every African-American family, that learned, not by reading, but by grim experience.

They therefore must have been stunned beyond belief to hear the news, that young Amadou, who was in the process of building his new life in America's capital of capital, was shot in the vestibule of his own apartment building, with 41 bullets aimed at his extinction.

How could this happen, they may have wondered—in America?

These parents, torn beyond belief, are they not victims?

Those four killer cops who leveled their weapons against an innocent man, are they not murderers?

The legal discourse that flows from capital's mouthpieces concerning the Diallo case, will be illuminating.

Already, the white majoritarian media are trying to sell the story of how these "good officers" were in "fear." Who has the best reason in America to have fear—a cop or a Black man facing him?

Where are the perennial calls for the death penalty that are bellowed from the press when presumably innocent people are called guilty within hours of the conflict?

Where are the animalistic condemnations that follow such acts, about "wolf packs," "gorillas in the midst," or "wild beasts"?

These cold and silent killers, are "good and decent men," or "fine officers" who are "just doing their job." What is their job? Murder? Assassinations? They excel in this practice!

It is unsafe for a columnist to offer any prediction of how this case will turn out, but it is relatively safe to say that they will never face murder charges. They will never join New York State's newly-brandished Death Row. They will probably never see the inside of a jail cell.

At best, the taxpayers of the great city of New York will ultimately foot the bill for a civil suit settlement, and several million dollars in blood money will be paid to the Diallo family.

That, unfortunately, is the only stunted measure of "justice" that this African family will ever see, and even that twisted degree will be more than that ever seen by many African-Americans or Puerto-Ricans, for whom justice in the naked city is just another word.

For them, for their progeny, prisons are constructed and filled when people go awry. For agents of the state, there is another kind of justice, where they massage politicians, where "unions" pay their legal fees, and where, even if a judgment is entered in a civil suit, not a dollar comes from their wallet.

Indeed, if the past is any measure, they may be promoted for "coolness under fire," and for "doing a good job," or for "protecting the citizenry." Watch.

What is their job?

Their job is the same job of the troops in post-colonial Vietnam: to keep the natives in control; to instill terror in the dark, poor, working class population; and, in furtherance thereof, to kill.

Pleas from Black leaders for the intervention of Clinton or Reno will undoubtedly fall on deaf ears. Isn't it ironic that Blacks beat the floorboards of America, and raised their sweet voices to the vaults of heaven to protect Clinton, but now, in their hour of need, he is silent?

For him, for the system, they are just doing their jobs.

1 March 1999

© 1999 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

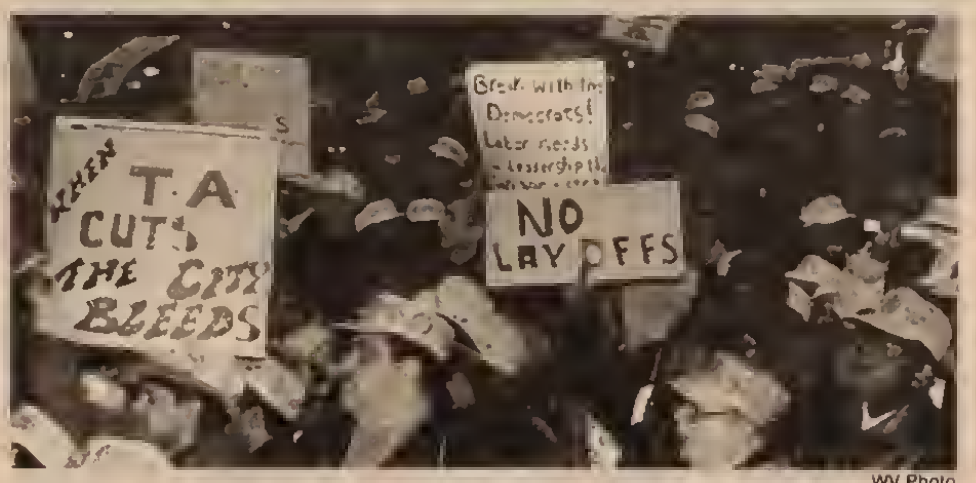
Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New Ynrk: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area, PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundatinn, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee tu Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SC1 Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

cynical pre-election stunts to bolster the Democratic Party challengers for upcoming mayoral and Senate elections—Local 100 bureaucrats are always whining about the need to gain more "influence in Albany," avoiding confrontations with City Hall, Wall Street and TA management like the plague. Labor must break completely with the Democrats and Republicans and forge a workers party which opposes every machination of the capitalist rulers and their politicians.

"Workfare" is most threatening to the union's most exploited members. Since 1995, the number of cleaners—whose ranks include the highest concentration of black and women workers in the TA—has been cut by 22 percent. Management has also sliced up this workforce into four separate job titles: those with some seniority have a "civil service" job title, new-hires are defined as "labor class" cleaners and now, in addition to non-union "workfare" laborers, there will be a category of "lead cleaners," who will be paid $1.70 more per hour to act as straw bosses over the WEP work gangs. Such tiers and divisions are clearly designed to undermine the unity and strength of the union.

With their contract expiring in December 1999, transit workers are fuming over the introduction of "workfare" and other attacks, such as the TA's moves to terminate injured workers on restricted duty, an escalation in "disciplinary" victimizations and drug testing, ceaseless harassment of union safety reps and deteriorating work conditions. So what's Willie James doing about it? He wants to bilk every union member for $60 in order to hire a public relations firm to boost the "public image" of transit workers through radio and TV ads. Transit workers heading into a contract meeting last month told *WV* salesmen that James wants to hire a PR huckster who specializes in boosting racist cop "unions" and produced a nauseating pro-cop, pro-death penalty ad for imperialist terror-bomber Clinton in the 1996 election.



WV Photo

Over 2,500 NYC transit workers protested cutbacks outside TA headquarters in downtown Brooklyn, March 1996. TWU's power to shut down NYC is shackled by pro-capitalist union tops.

The way the union brass intends to fleece the membership for the $60 special assessment is through the company-controlled dues checkoff. This system should be abolished! Collection of union dues by elected shop stewards would help make the union leadership accountable to the membership and prepare the union for taking action against management. As was shown in the 1980 NYC transit strike, when the state government seized union dues to pay off fines imposed under the Taylor Law, allowing management to act as the union's collection agency ensures that the money will get cut off when it's needed most.

Many transit workers look to the in-house New Directions "opposition" as an alternative to the Local 100 "old guard" bureaucracy under James and former local head, now TWU International president, Sonny Hall. But ND shares the same class-collaborationist, pro-capitalist politics. All these junior bureaucrats really want is to ride their lawyers' coattails into power in the local. ND has repeatedly launched suits against the union in the bosses' courts and has heaped praise on "striking" Rikers Island prison guards. We say: Cops and courts out of the unions! Labor must clean its own house!

The capitalist class relies upon its labor lieutenants in the union bureaucracy to police the workers and contain or prevent struggle. For organized labor to reverse decades of givebacks and restore its lost strength requires that the unions be mobilized on behalf of all the oppressed. As is particularly clear in the case of the heavily black transit workforce, union rights and black rights either march forward together or fall back separately. Welfare slashing is aimed at grinding down the already miserable living standards of workers and the poor. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program (1938) during the devastation of the Great Depression:

> "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token, of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

The overthrow of this capitalist system of exploitation, racism and imperialist war requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party.

As Marxists, we oppose the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefiting the working class and poor. But our goal is not simply to reintroduce programs that were designed to sustain the unemployed in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for proletarian revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life.■

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For the Right of Self-Determination for the Basque People!

PART TWO

The following is the conclusion of an article translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 146 (Summer 1998), newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League. Part One appeared in* WV *No. 710 (2 April).*

In the epoch of imperialism, renewed impetus has been given to separatist movements seeking to escape the economic dislocation and political chaos wrought by capitalism in its decline. As Trotsky wrote in "War and the Fourth International" (June 1934), "Having used the nation for its development, capitalism has nowhere, in no single corner of the world, solved fully the national problem." This is particularly true of Spain, where the bourgeois revolution was much more partial than in France.

Despite their strong sense of regional and ethnic identity, the mainly rural Basque provinces did not aspire to nationhood until the late 19th century, when rapid industrialization led to the transformation of Basque society. The massive immigration of workers from Asturias, Castile and elsewhere to the steel mills and mines of Vizcaya meant that formerly Basque-speaking areas were now predominantly Spanish-speaking. Moreover, Spanish workers were organized by the Socialist PSOE and its General Workers Union (UGT), both avowedly Marxist organizations. The founder of Basque nationalism, Sabino Arana Goiri, was alarmed by the threat posed by these socialist-minded workers to traditional Basque bourgeois society, which was characterized by the extreme Catholicism of the Basque Ignacio Loyola and his Jesuit order.

The party founded by Arana, the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV—Basque Nationalist Party), espoused reactionary clericalism and chauvinist bigotry from its inception. Arana considered Spaniards to be racially inferior to Basques, and membership in the PNV was restricted to those who could demonstrate that all four grandparents had Basque names. The party opposed mixed marriages and called for the expulsion of non-Basque workers from Euskadi. Given the strength of Madrid centralism relative to Basque separatism, the PNV came to adopt a position which fell short of demanding full independence. In this way the PNV was able to win support from key elements of the Basque bourgeoisie—the Vizcayan industrialists and financial elites who leaned toward regional autonomy within a unitary Spanish state.

After the fall of Alfonso XIII and the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931, the PNV convened a meeting to proclaim a Basque Republic which was stopped by force. Ever fearful of the proletariat, the nationalists gravitated toward alliance with the right-wing opposition in Madrid, but the likes of Gil Robles, and later Franco, were to prove even more implacable foes of the Basque nationalist cause than the liberal Republicans. Not surprisingly, when the Civil War erupted in July 1936 in response to Franco's military uprising, the PNV found itself in an equivocal position, pressured on one side by the Vatican and on the other by the British imperialists who feared for their investments in Vizcaya and doubted that Franco was strong enough to exorcise the spectre of proletarian revolution. The Basque Statute of Autonomy, which had been held in abeyance, was now proffered by the Madrid government in an attempt to keep the Basques within the Republican camp. The Carlists [supporters of the royal family] in Navarre, who had long been associated with military conspiracy, joined Franco and Mola.

Unlike in Catalonia, the factories were not seized by the proletariat. The Basque government ordered the repression of the anarchist CNT [trade-union federation] and closed its print shops, while President Aguirre proposed sending Basque troops to Barcelona to act as a "moderating force" on the workers movement there. The reformist misleaders of the working class—Stalinists, social-democrats, anarchists—and the centrist POUM strangled the proletarian revolution in Spain by tying the workers to their capitalist rulers through the medium of the people's front, thus paving the way for the victory of Francoist military bonapartism. As soon as they felt able to do so, the Basque bourgeoisie handed the key cities of Bilbao and Donostia (San Sebastián) intact to the Francoists.

In the immediate wake of Franco's victory, a frightful revenge was exacted against all the vanquished forces of the Republic. Hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the peninsula were summarily executed. The Basque and Catalan statutes of autonomy were revoked and the use of Catalan and Euskara were forbidden as part of Franco's program to forcibly Castilianize the entire population. By 1954, the number of speakers of Euskara had fallen from 700,000 to 525,000. Attempts to celebrate the Basque national festival of *Aberri Eguna* were brutally suppressed by the Guardia Civil and the political police. Meanwhile, the Basque exile government was expelled from Paris. While these repressive measures humiliated the entrepreneurial industrialists and financiers of Barcelona and Bilbao, they were centrally aimed at the highly combative proletariat of the northern industrial regions, which had acquired class consciousness.

With the death of Franco in 1975, Spain entered a prerevolutionary crisis, as a massive strike wave throughout the country was accompanied by tremendous outpourings of nationalist and regionalist sentiment in Catalonia and the Basque provinces in particular. With neighboring Portugal also in the throes of workers revolution, this was the moment to galvanize the working class and oppressed of the whole peninsula in a struggle to overthrow the rotting capitalist system and establish a soviet federation of Iberian workers republics, which would have opened the road to a Socialist United States of Europe. Proletarian rule in Spain would guarantee the rights of the Basques, Catalans and others to national self-determination and would champion the liberation of women and the cause of all the oppressed. Unfortunately the key to victory was absent in both Spain and Portugal—a genuinely revolutionary, communist leadership of the proletariat.

Magnum

Intense national oppression in industrialized Basque region of Spain has led to wide support for separatist Herri Batasuna and ETA. Proletarian rule would guarantee right of self-determination for Basques in Spain and France.

The scale of nationalist agitation in the north of Spain compelled the bourgeoisie to accord limited autonomy to the Basque and Catalan regions. Fifteen other regional political authorities were created, including an autonomous government in Navarre. The Comunidad Autónoma Vasca (CAV—Basque Autonomous Community), which unites the three western Basque provinces in Spain—Álava, Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya—has some limited powers over finance. It also has its own police force, the Ertzaintza, which operates almost as a private army of the PNV and is the preferred force for suppressing the more radical nationalist groups. The Basque regional parliament of Ajuria Enea and the Catalan Generalitat are the devices through which the local bourgeoisies extract concessions from the central government in Madrid. But national oppression, especially of the Basques, has continued unabated. In the five years from 1990 to 1995, almost 2,000 political events were repressed, over a thousand people were wounded in clashes with police—including a number of people blinded by rubber bullets—and almost 800 others were arrested under the anti-terrorist laws. Upwards of 500 ETA [separatist Basque Homeland and Freedom] prisoners are dispersed in jails throughout Spain and are not even allowed to communicate with family members in Euskara!

The Popular Front Against the Basque People, in France...

When, in October 1983, Felipe Gonzalez's PSOE became the first "left" government in Spain since the Civil War, it immediately entered into collaboration with the Mitterrand administration in France to crush the Basque separatists. Under the first Mitterrand popular-front governments from 1983 to 1987, the GAL ["anti-terrorist" death squads], with the complicity of various French state security services, killed 27 and wounded 30 ETA members who had sought refuge in the Northern Basque country or who were from that area. Then, there were roundups and deportations to Spain—where torture of Basque nationalists is widespread—not to mention a higher proportion of police per inhabitant than in any other region of France (P. Cassan, *le Pouvoir français et la question basque (1981-1993)* [1996]). These policies have been maintained today by the capitalist government of Socialist prime minister Jospin, [French Communist Party (PCF) transport minister Claude] Gayssot and [bourgeois politician Jean-Pierre] Chevènement. In late 1997, Chevènement, the ultra-chauvinist minister of the interior, negotiated with his Spanish counterpart the continuing deportation of ETA refugees in return for a strengthening of surveillance at Spain's southern borders

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(meaning ever more Moroceans drowning in the Straits of Gibraltar as they try to get into racist Fortress Europe). And he signed a new extradition order against a historic ETA leader, José Luis Ansola-Larranaga.

The PCF participates in the popular-front government as it did when then-General Secretary [Georges] Marchais launched an attack in 1984 against a Soviet historian who spoke of diverse peoples in France: "For us...any man or woman who has French citizenship is French. France is not a multiethnic country. It is one country, one nation, one people, the product of a long history" (quoted in James Jacob, *Hills of Conflict: Basque Nationalism in France* [1994]). Defense of "the Republic, one and indivisible" is simply a cover for chauvinism and repression by the centralizing French state. To embrace the myth that national questions were supposedly resolved by the French Revolution can only lead to support for the centralizing French state, chauvinism and denial of the right of self-determination. The PCF propagates this myth within the French workers movement, and the entire far left follows suit. Even the LTF recognized the right of self-determination for the Basques in Spain while refusing this right for the Northern Basque country, the part of the Basque country in France. This position was examined and rectified during our last conference. We now call for the right of self-determination for the Basque people south *and* north of the Pyrenees (see our bulletin, *la Lutte pour une section française de la LCI dans le monde post-soviétique* [The Struggle for a French Section of the ICL in the Post-Soviet World]).

...And in Spain

The Castilian-chauvinist stance of the main reformist workers parties in Spain echoes the Francoists' call for "Spain, one and indivisible." This is also the position of so-called "far left" groups like Ted Grant's *Militante* group in Spain and the French Morenoite Ligue Socialiste des Travailleurs (LST). A leaflet distributed by *El Militante* shortly after the shooting of Blanco Garrido [town councilman from the right-wing Popular Party (PP)] has the shameful headline "Against the Terrorism of ETA, Against State Terrorism," as if the two were equivalent, and argues:

> "Defense of the right of self-determination must also be a demand of the whole working class—a right which does not imply the right of independence. Marxists are against the independence of Euskadi at this moment because it would not solve the problems of the Basque working class nor the working class of the rest of the state, but we want a voluntary union of the peoples."

This line of capitulating to the dominant Castilian chauvinism is shared by the economist Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and by Voix des Travailleurs [VdT, a split from LO]. Regarding the assassination of Blanco Garrido, VdT puts the Spanish state and ETA on the same level under the headline: "The Spanish State and ETA: Same Methods and Same Contempt for the Population" (*VdT*, 18 December 1997). Meanwhile, LO denounces ETA and speaks of "disgusting and barbaric terrorist acts which justifiably provoke disgust and indignation" (*Lutte Ouvrière* No. 1543). LO denounced ETA and all the other nationalists (Basque, Catalan, Andalusian, Galician, etc.) for "issuing reactionary nationalist propaganda which contributes to dividing the working class" and "lines the workers up behind the bourgeoisie of each region and sets them against each other by invoking ridiculous regional borders either inherited from another age or even completely artificial" (*Lutte de classe*, October 1997).

Such declarations recall Lenin's remark: "Marx questions a socialist belonging to an oppressor nation about his attitude to the oppressed nation and at once reveals a defect *common* to the socialists of the dominant nations (the English and the Russian): failure to understand their socialist duties towards the downtrodden nations, their echoing of the prejudices

no credit

Cambio 16

Basque refugees massacred in September 1985 by Spanish GAL death squad. Capitalist governments of Spain and France, including under former social-democratic leaders Felipe Gonzalez and François Mitterrand, collaborate in brutal anti-Basque repression.

acquired from the bourgeoisie of the 'dominant nation'" ("The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," February-May 1914). LO does not take on the Spanish bourgeoisie, which oppresses the national minorities; LO takes part in the French and Castilian chauvinist campaigns against the ETA, which are carried out jointly by the PP, the PSOE, the PCF, the Basque bourgeoisie in Spain and the Jospin-Gayssot government in France. And, of course, LO does not call for self-determination for the Basque people.

These chauvinist positions are the exact opposite of that of Lenin and

Julio Fuentes

1988 steel strike in Bilbao in Spain's Basque country. A Leninist vanguard party of the proletariat would champion national rights as part of struggle for workers revolution.

authentic Marxism. In his 1916 theses on "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," Lenin wrote:

> "The right of nations to self-determination implies exclusively the right to independence in the political sense, the right to free political separation from the oppressor nation."

LO has never called for the right of self-determination for national minorities in France (except for Corsica). In a polemic against the [French Mandelite] Ligue Communiste (predecessor of the LCR), which spoke of "regionalists," LO put forward its own version of the myth that the French Revolution settled the national questions in France:

> "The efforts by the Capetian kings to enlarge their domain and extend their power, and the development of the bourgeoisie which took place in their shadow, were indeed the starting point for the formation of a French nation, while the Occitan and Breton nations never existed as such except in the heads of some nostalgic intellectuals."
>
> —*Lutte de classe*, June 1973

LO solves the problem by claiming that only the French nation exists. And LO called ETA "maximalist" because "ETA claims the French provinces of Labourd and Soule" (*Lutte de classe*, November 1986).

Militante plumbs the depths of reformist stupidity when it calls on the United Left [Spanish Communist Party-dominated popular-front formation] and the PSOE to "adopt a genuine program of Marxism in relation to the national and other class questions" and demands workers control of the Guardia Civil and Spanish army academies! The idea that the core of the capitalist state—the army and police—can be subjected to "workers control," rather than that it must be smashed through the revolutionary insurrection of the proletariat, has been the refrain of reformists since the time of Karl Marx. *Militante* is here repeating the longstanding position that the Grantites share with the likes of the Cliffite *Socialismo Internacional*, that cops and prison guards are simply "workers in uniform."

The suicidal policy of reliance on a "reformed, democratic" bourgeois police has been amply exposed by Spanish history, for example during the Barcelona May Days of 1937 when the Republican *asaltos* acted as counterrevolutionary stormtroopers against the insurrectionary proletariat. The Spanish military, with Franco's handpicked successor—the Bourbon king Juan Carlos—at its head, is the most implacable enemy of the working class and national minorities. The 1981 *tejerazo*—an attempted coup by elements of the Guardia Civil and army generals—had as one of its principal objectives a halt to concessions to the nationalists, which it by and large achieved with the promulgation shortly afterwards of the LOAPA, a law designed to "harmonize" the autonomy process.

The Cliffites of *Socialismo Internacional* denounce ETA's "disastrous" policy for, in their words, "paying no attention to the massive rejection" of the assassination of Blanco Garrido. Thus, they solidarize with those who participated in the "massive" anti-ETA demonstrations, which included a number of fascists. The Spanish Morenoite Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) also denounces the "terrorists" of ETA and HB [Herri Batasuna]. The PRT demands a classless—that is, bourgeois—Basque republic, and in a special pamphlet on Euskadi (22 February 1997) joined with the hysterical bourgeois press campaign in demanding that ETA free one of its hostages, the prison official Ortega Lara. The PRT's French sister organization, the Ligue Socialiste des Travailleurs, has gone so far as to argue that the Spanish bourgeoisie has "by and large" resolved the national question in the peninsula.

In the Morenoites' fairy-tale world, "the Basque and Catalan languages are not only recognized and their use encouraged, but the autonomous parliaments are elected on the basis of universal suffrage.... So a number of national demands have in fact been satisfied by the bourgeoisie." The LST conspicuously fails to demand the right of self-determination for the Basques in Spain, much less those in France. This organization recently dissolved into the French VdT group, which has no public position on the colonies of its own imperialism. For the Morenoites, the main enemy is ETA, whom they accuse of "barbarity" and "aggravating confusion in the minds of many workers and youth" (*Coordination*, 1 September 1997).

The ex-Vargaite [fake-Trotskyist] Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), in a leaflet dated 14 July 1997, called for a negotiated political solution in the Basque country and expressed its "understanding" for participants in the reactionary anti-ETA demonstrations and its opposition to attacks on members of the PP. A "negotiated political solution" is the "democratic alternative" proposed by the petty-bourgeois nationalists of ETA—otherwise known as the "KAS Alternative"—a call for an independent bourgeois Euskadi. The POR tails HB as the "best representatives of the Basque people" while at the same time refusing to defend it against the witchhunt directed against it. Indeed, the POR is a member of the Catalan Unitat d'Esquerres, part of the IU popular front, which in turn is part of the Ajuria Enea, which initiated the witchhunting.

ETA was founded in the 1950s by a group of PNV youth, disillusioned with their party's timid opposition to the dictatorship. By the mid-1970s, with the renewal of militant working-class struggle, there was a polarization within ETA, which began to pay lip service to the proletariat, even proclaiming itself Marxist at its Fourth Congress. By the Fifth Congress, ETA was expelling groups who were "attempting to build a workers party with a Spanish dimension." A fusion with a section of ETA helped establish the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria as one of the largest sections of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. Today, Zutik, the remnants of the LCR in the Basque country, has also enlisted in the anti-ETA campaign.

The betrayals of the reformists and centrists who derailed the working-class struggles of the 1930s and 1970s have left the ground open to petty-bourgeois nationalists like HB, who recruit militant youth but can only envisage some kind of Basque autonomy—courtesy of the European Union. It is laughable to suggest that

continued on page 8

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

labor flexing its muscle in political struggle on behalf of all the oppressed.

Since taking up Jamal's cause some 12 years ago, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have fought for a perspective centered on the power of the multiracial working class. As we wrote in an SL statement to a PDC-initiated labor/black protest for Jamal in Chicago last November:

> "Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation and to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, the fight to free Mumia, to abolish the racist death penalty, would be a first, giant step in that direction. To that end, labor must break the chains forged by the trade-union misleaders that have shackled the unions to the political parties and the state agencies of the enemy class."

It is elementary that if labor's power is to be brought to bear in a mighty blow on behalf of Jamal, it must be mobilized independent of the very forces of the capitalist state that worked for years to frame up this innocent man. In taking up the cause of Jamal's freedom, the working class must understand not only the nature of the capitalist state as a force for organized violence against the exploited and oppressed but also the unity of the interests of labor and the fight for black freedom in America.

But the perspective of the organizers of the "Millions for Mumia" protests and their "labor committee" hangers-on is precisely the opposite. Behind the call for a new trial is a political program premised on the belief that the capitalist state can be reformed and that the bourgeois courts can be pressured to be "just." By centering the struggle on reliance on the capitalist state to free Mumia, it is directly counterposed to a mobilization of working-class power.

The Policy of the Class Struggle

Working-class militants, fighters for black freedom and leftist youth who have enlisted in Mumia's cause must learn the lessons paid for by the blood and struggles of the past. In particular, they can learn from the writings of James P. Cannon, who led the early Communist Party's International Labor Defense (ILD) as it campaigned to free immigrant workers Sacco and Vanzetti—anarchist militants who had been framed up and were ultimately executed on phony murder charges amid mass arrests and deportations of reds and immigrants under the Palmer Raids. In his 1927 article "Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" Cannon laid out the counterposition between the sort of liberal appeals pursued today by those who focus on a "new trial" for Mumia and the principles of non-sectarian class-struggle defense on which the PDC bases itself:

> "One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale....
>
> "The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle.... It tries to represent the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as an 'unfortunate' error which can be rectified by the 'right' people proceeding in the 'right' way."

It is that second policy which is pursued by a host of left groups—Workers World (WWP), Socialist Action (which is a major force behind the April 24 march in the Bay Area), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Solidarity, to name a few—which champion the call for a new trial as the centerpiece of their efforts around Mumia. Renouncing the fight to win the proletariat to a revolutionary struggle against capitalist injustice and oppression, they preach the reformist notion that the capitalist state can be pressured to act on behalf of workers and the oppressed.

This reformist outlook is a flat repudiation of the Marxism such groups occasionally claim to uphold. The courts, along with the cops, prisons and prosecutors, are at the core of the capitalist state. This is not some "neutral" agency which serves society as a whole but rather, as Friedrich Engels wrote over a century ago in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, "an organization for the protection of the possessing class against the non-possessing class." To achieve social justice and equality, to put an end to exploitation and oppression, requires the smashing of the capitalist state through proletarian revolution and its replacement by a workers state which ushers in an egalitarian socialist society.

The reformists take their cue from bourgeois liberals who paint the frame-up of Jamal as a "miscarriage of justice," in the same way as they try to pass off the heinous police killing of Amadou Diallo as an "aberration" in an otherwise just system of "democracy." Reporting on an "Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting" held in New York City in January, Solidarity's Steve Bloom approvingly wrote in *Against the Current* (March/April 1999): "Everyone who spoke from the podium sounded a similar theme: We must build a broader and more inclusive movement, one which reaches out to the American mainstream." Bloom even favorably cites a petition to Clinton's Justice Department to carry out a federal "civil rights" investigation of Mumia's case! Only the truly naive or completely cynical would conceive of expecting justice for Mumia from a Democratic Party administration which has dramatically increased the number of crimes punishable by death while loosening legal constraints on the state's executioners.

For Bloom et al., the "American mainstream" they seek to reach out to are those squeamish liberals who can't tolerate the call for Jamal's freedom; these types want a new trial simply so that they can rest easy that the state will be executing—or at least imprisoning for life—a man they believe has been "proven" guilty. In this regard, the organizers of the April 24 protest have not only dumped any opposition to the racist death penalty but even give it backhanded support. This was put quite baldly in the "What We Can Do to Build the Struggle" column that accompanied an article by Bloom in the January/February 1999 *Against the Current*, which appeals: "Demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal and that no execution take place until after a new trial is held"!

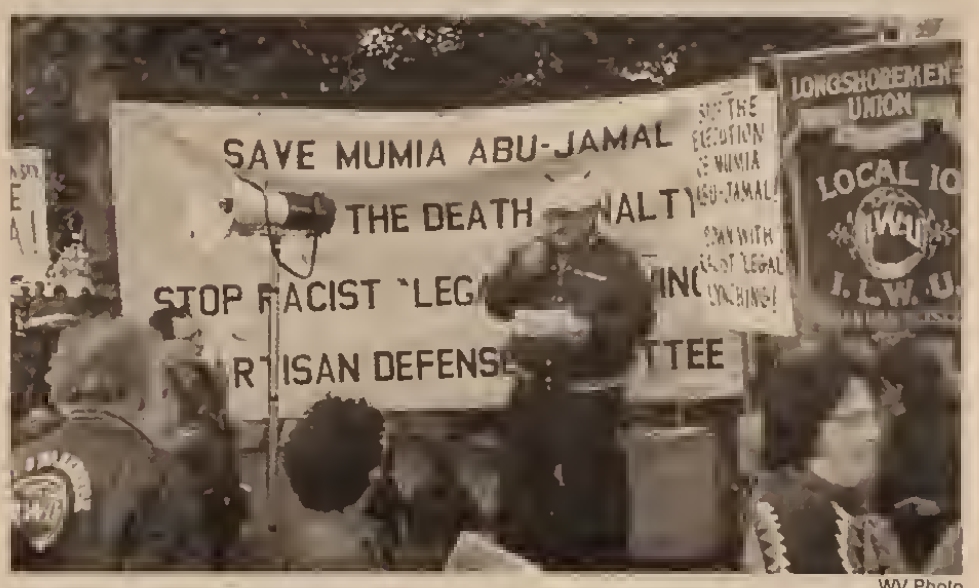
As Mumia himself wrote after he was granted a stay of execution in August 1995: "Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all! *Down with the racist U.S. death penalty!*" The PDC has fought for united-front demonstrations to *free Mumia*—at times including Democratic Party liberals—but on the basis that all participants also agree with the slogan "Abolish the racist death penalty!" As Marxists, we do not accord the state the right to determine who lives or dies.

It was an international outpouring of social protest that stayed the executioner's hand in 1995. As the scheduled date of execution neared, the PDC initiated emergency united-front protests, centered on bringing to bear the power of organized labor, in New York City, Chicago and Oakland, as well as in Canada and Australia. The protests drew hundreds of trade unionists and were endorsed by dozens of unions and labor officials and a range of other organizations. Such united-front actions allow not only for the greatest possible unity in struggle but also for the free debate of contending strategies and programs, which is vital to advancing the

WV Photo

Reformists push illusions in "fair trial," but there is no justice in the capitalist courts. Jamal defense attorney Rachel Wolkenstein was arrested during sham 1995 Philadelphia court hearing.

Susan Schary



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ILWU International president Brian McWilliams addresses emergency protest for Jamal, Oakland, June 1995.

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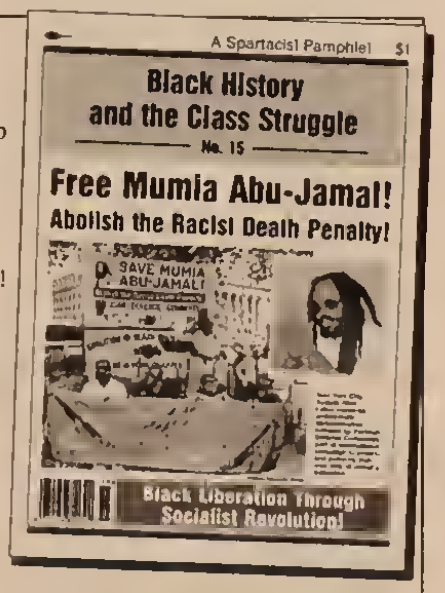

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consciousness of the working class and anti-racist youth.

Motivating its call for a new trial, *Workers World* (18 February) tries to draw a parallel with the Scottsboro case of the 1930s, writing: "What will it take to stop the execution and win a new trial for Abu-Jamal? Mass protests. That's the lesson of the Scottsboro Nine trials." The Scottsboro defendants—nine black youth framed up on rape charges in the Deep South—won *two new trials*, only to be sentenced to death in the Jim Crow courts each time. Although mass protests initiated by the ILD stayed the executioner's hand, the last of the Scottsboro Nine was not released from Alabama's prison hell until 1950. And the liberal NAACP *boycotted* the Scottsboro defense at the outset, finally getting involved only in order to block growing Communist influence among black workers.

Or take the case of boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter. Framed up on false murder charges in the mid-1960s for his advocacy of the right of black armed self-defense, Carter finally won a new trial in 1976 after an international protest campaign. When he was convicted anew, the liberals fled his cause and Carter spent another decade in prison for a crime he did not commit.

Democratic Party—Enemy of Labor, Blacks

In an article titled "How to Fight the Right," *Workers World* (18 February) claims, "Instead of tying themselves to Democratic Party politics, Abu-Jamal's supporters have taken the road of building an independent movement based on the power of the communities, workers' organizations and progressive forces." But just who are Workers World and the other forces behind the "Millions for Mumia" protests desperately trying to appeal to by making their demands palatable to the "mainstream"? Certainly not black youth or working people who have no trouble understanding there is no justice in the capitalist courts, which together with the cops are racist to the core. On the contrary, the politics of this so-called "independent movement" are deliberately designed to make them acceptable to Democratic Party liberals who embrace the bourgeois state and the capitalist "justice" system as their own.

This has been clear at numerous recent gatherings of Jamal supporters, including a March 6 "Millions for Mumia" conference at UC Berkeley heavily built by Socialist Action and the ISO. Among the panelists in a workshop on black liberation was former Oakland Democratic Party city councilman Wilson Riles Jr., who met no opposition when he called for life imprisonment without parole as an "alternative" to the death penalty. This is what the politics of the "lesser evil" come down to, accepting the alternatives offered by the bourgeoisie's machinery of repression—in this case, a living death for Mumia and the 3,500 other prisoners incarcerated on the nation's death rows. In the same vein, a recent leaflet by the ISO's "Campaign to End the Death Penalty" for a March 17 New York City protest in defense of former Black Panther Lawrence Hayes raised the grotesque slogan "Hands off the parole system," a call to maintain a system of virtual slavery for those released from prison before their full term.

Speaking out of the left side of its mouth in an article on "The Democrats and the Death Penalty" (*International Socialist Review*, Spring 1999), the ISO warns that support to the "lesser evil" Democrats "actually undermines the fight against the right." Yet in hailing a resolution for a brief "moratorium" on executions recently passed by a committee of the Illinois legislature, the ISO argues to "keep up the pressure on weak-kneed politicians to stop them from backsliding any further" (*Socialist Worker*, 12 March). These social democrats see in capitalist politicians not the class enemy but rather allies who can "do the right thing" if only they are subjected to a bit of pressure.

How this misleads fighters against

no credit

International Labor Defense led campaign of mass labor protest in 1920s to demand freedom for immigrant anarchist militants Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco.

oppression was addressed by the LBL spokesman at the SL Black History Month forum:

> "The problem is that decade after decade in this country, every single time the workers, blacks and the oppressed have entered the road of struggle, sometimes quite courageously—like the civil rights movement, going up against the Klan and the cops and the whole goddamned machine at the risk of your life—every time the leadership diverted the struggle and the most conscious fighters right back into support for the Democratic Party.
>
> "It's not inevitable or automatic that people who enter the road of struggle against this brutal system have to end up in the Democratic Party. They get back there because people like the organizers of this [April 24] Mumia protest don't tell the truth; they try to make out that 'Well, you can gradually modify and reform and create better conditions for struggle'—and the best way to do this is to get so-called friends of labor back into office. What we really need to do is begin the difficult but extremely essential work of building a multiracial revolutionary workers party in this country."

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Integrated unions representing millions of workers have gone on record in support of Jamal. That these millions have not been mobilized *in action* to combat this racist frame-up is the responsibility of the pro-capitalist trade-union misleaders, who fear calling their members into action to defend their economic interests, much less in defense of blacks, immigrants and others who are cast off to starve in the streets or locked away in prison hellholes. As an SL spokesman at the Berkeley labor workshop said, "The barriers to mobilizing labor in action for Mumia are the current labor misleaders, who shackle the unions to the class enemy, the Democratic Party. And it's so-called leftists, like many on the panel today and in this room, who provide a left cover for these bureaucrats."

Indeed, this labor workshop was headed by a veritable rogues' gallery of putative "leftists," many of them former members and supporters of the Spartacist League who have since made something of a career out of their hostility to our organization. This is merely an expression of their visceral hatred of our revolutionary program and purpose. Now this crew is trying to give a labor façade to the class-collaborationist politics that define the "Millions for Mumia" protests. To this end, at the labor workshop they were primed to go after the SL and PDC because we fight for the independent *class* mobilization of the proletariat against the capitalist exploiters and their agencies of repression.

Taking umbrage at our statement that the trade-union bureaucrats stand as an obstacle to such a mobilization of the working class, Jack Heyman, who postures as the left wing of the ILWU Local 10 executive board, later went on to declare that the PDC was a "sectarian" obstacle to Jamal's defense. As supposed proof of this smear, Heyman complained that the PDC had refused to hand over the names of various unions and union officials who have endorsed our calls for labor-centered protest demanding Jamal's freedom. A month earlier, the PDC had responded in writing to Heyman's request for such a list. As was noted in this February 10 letter: "Surely you must know that each endorsement we have requested and received is for a specific purpose and specific slogans.... These endorsements are not seen either by the PDC or by the union or union official as a standing endorsement for subsequent events and certainly not as a blank check or part of a 'list' to be passed around to any organization upon request."

But the question itself, which had already been answered, was simply a red herring. If Heyman had truly wanted to know which unions had endorsed previous efforts by the PDC in order to pursue them for his own purposes, he needed to do no more than peruse the pages of *Workers Vanguard* where they are readily available. But that wasn't and isn't his purpose. Rather, the aim here is to go after the reds, in the service of the labor bureaucracy (whose seats Heyman et al. desire to fill) and of concealing the true nature of the capitalist state.

Another featured speaker at this labor workshop was Gerald Sanders. A professional anti-Spartacist who for some years was hooked up with the International Bolshevik Tendency, Sanders more recently has been plying his trade in the realm of electoral office-seeking. Now he wields his knowledge of the history of the revolutionary movement in the service of justifying appeals to the class enemy. Thus, at the Berkeley conference Sanders went to some trouble to try to find precedents for the call for a "new trial" from Cannon's International Labor Defense, claiming that Cannon himself had raised this demand in the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti. We'll let Cannon answer this one himself. As he wrote following the denial of Sacco and Vanzetti's appeal by the Massachusetts Supreme Court: "Only fools put faith in the courts of the enemy" ("From the Supreme Court of the Capitalists to the Supreme Court of the Laboring Masses," May 1927).

Despite mass labor protests around the world on their behalf, Sacco and Vanzetti were ultimately sent to the electric chair. But in struggling for the lives and freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti, the working class gained an understanding that this is a class-divided society where the courts serve the interests of the exploiters against the mass of the exploited and oppressed. To stand up on behalf of these two immigrant workers also meant a conscious rejection of the vicious racism that the ruling class uses to weaken and divide the working class.

In contrast, the "Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal," which is animated by much of the same crew that headed the labor workshop at the Berkeley conference, obscures the class nature of the capitalist state, deep-sixes any mention of the Democratic Party and completely obviates the centrality of the fight for black liberation to the cause of the emancipation of all of labor. A leaflet put out by this committee calls on "workers, unions, labor organizations" to "Join Labor Contingent April 24th to Free Mumia!" Here they appeal to the unions to join the ILWU at the head of a demonstration whose whole premise is not the cause of mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class for Jamal's freedom but rather one which appeals to the agencies of the class enemy for "justice."

As Cannon wrote in "A Living Monument to Sacco and Vanzetti" (October 1927), written after their execution:

> "In this act of assassination the ruling class of America shows its real face to the world. The mask of 'democracy' is thrown aside.... It is the vengeful, cruel and murderous class which the workers must fight and conquer before the regime of imprisonment, torture and murder can be ended. This is the message from the chair of death. This is the lesson of the Sacco-Vanzetti case."

Our fight to free Mumia and all class-war prisoners is an integral part of our struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the multiracial working class to power. Such a party must be based on the understanding that the fundamental division in this society is between the wealthy capitalists who own the means of production and the workers who produce all the wealth, that the state exists to protect the profits and rule of the bourgeoisie. Such a party must act as a tribune of the people, recognizing that the socialist liberation of labor from the chains of capitalist exploitation is inextricably linked to the fight for black freedom. ***Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!*** ■

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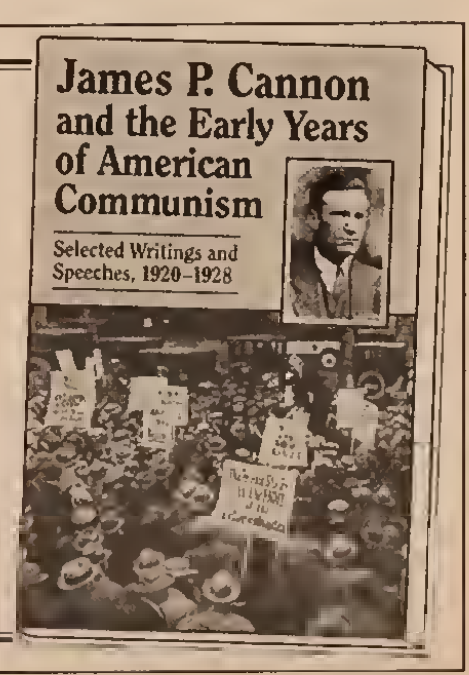

Newport News...

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fed up with being underpaid and overworked in dangerous and demanding conditions. A nuclear fueling worker who makes only $12.59 an hour said bitterly: "There's real suffering going on here. It's tearing families apart."

It can take up to 20 years to make top pay under the company's multi-ticred wage scheme. Workers on the same job can be in different pay categories, and they cannot reach the top of their wage scale except through further raises based on "merit"—at the foremen's discretion. This setup is designed to drive down the wages and conditions of all workers by pitting workers against each other over wages and job assignment. And in this deeply racist society, such a system means rampant discrimination against black and also women workers.

One picketer described to a *Workers Vanguard* team how the shipyard was run like a plantation. The workforce is majority black, and some 40 percent of workers are women. The arrogant, racist management—and there are almost as many white-collar managers as there are workers—is virtually all white, laced with former Navy officers. The Navy, historically the most racist arm of the U.S. military, oversees and inspects work at the yard every step of the way.

The strike is widely popular in the area.

Asher/Daily Press

Bitter three-month strike by Newport News shipyard workers in 1979 defied racist cop terror.

UPS Teamsters and Bell Atlantic telephone workers have refused to cross picket lines. Indeed, this strike involves many of the issues in the August 1997 UPS Teamsters strike, which broke a long pattern of losing strikes and showed a new fighting spirit in the labor movement. Local 8888 is demanding an across-the-board raise of $3.95 an hour over three years as well as improved health and pension benefits. The pension is so low—topping out at $506 a month for a 30-year worker—that it barely covers rent payments for retirees.

But not a single contract demand addresses the rampant company discrimination against black and women workers. This discrimination has to be tackled head-on if the union is to carry out a solid strike and defeat inevitable attempts by management to divide the workers. The USWA tops' failure to take on these questions directly undercuts the union's potential to galvanize trade unionists and black people throughout the Tidewater area to join strikers in the mass pickets needed to win. And workers must not be taken in by the "America first" flag-waving of the USWA International bureaucracy, which will leave them disarmed as management and the government try to break the strike by appealing to the "national interest." *Victory to the Local 8888 strike!*

Build Mass Militant Pickets!

Strikers are largely fighting to regain ground lost with the 1995 contract, which froze wages and cut vacation days. Waves of layoffs led to worsening working conditions. Driving the message home, the shipyard president produced a videotape telling workers that if they didn't like it there they could go take a minimum wage job at the Hardee's fast food chain! The company's arrogance backfired, as huge numbers of workers—including many whites who formerly had softer jobs—began joining the union during aggressive recruitment drives. Despite Virginia's viciously anti-union "right to work" laws, the level of union membership among hourly workers in the shipyard has climbed from 50 percent to 83 percent in the past four years.

While the 1979 strike was eventually sold out by the USWA tops, it established the local as a single industrial union encompassing all categories of workers. In contrast, workers at most unionized shipyards in the U.S. are divided among ten or more craft unions. This places Local 8888 in a strong position to fight the company's racist divide-and-rule schemes. That strength must be reinforced through demands like equal pay for equal work. In racist America, and especially in the non-union South, labor's struggle can only move forward by taking up the fight against racist oppression. Significantly in this Southern city, the *WV* team saw not a single confederate flag—not even a bumper sticker—on or near the picket lines.

The union membership has shown it is geared up for a fight. This strike will be won or lost on the picket lines. That means mobilizing mass militant picket lines drawing in all of Tidewater labor—including the thousands of ILA longshoremen, Teamsters and unionists at Norfolk Naval Shipyard and private shipyards like Norshipco. Even before the strike began, the company, the cops and the bosses' media launched an anti-strike propaganda offensive screaming about strikers' "violence" in 1979. That strike was plenty violent, but it came from the cops' side, as police launched tear gas attacks and unleashed dogs against strikers.

The USWA tops are buying into the bosses' anti-union violence-baiting. Early on, the USWA International moved in to take direct control of the strike in order to police the union ranks. Two key drive-in gates remain open, allowing managers, engineers, painting and sandblasting contractors, as well as Navy inspection personnel, to waltz into the plant. Pieketers told *WV* that non-union shipyards have been busing in scabs to join the handful of scabs from the Newport News yard. ***This scabbing can and must be stopped, through mass pickets that no one dares cross!*** But the USWA bureaucracy refuses to mobilize mass pickets because that would mean a confrontation with the capitalist government and its scabherding cops, and therefore with the labor tops' friends in the Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, the suits in the USWA bureaucracy have set up a paltry strike benefits fund which will only go to those the bureaucracy deems "neediest," making strikers and their families beg for relief. This can only hurt the union by causing dissension among the membership and playing into any back-to-work movement promoted by the company. The USWA International should be pouring in massive amounts of money to support the strikers.

The USWA tops claim that the federal government will back the workers because they work for military industry. This is a false and dangerous illusion. As soon as the strike started, federal labor officials announced that the Clinton White House could seek a strikebreaking court order under the Taft-Hartley Act if it decided that the walkout would "imperil the national health or safety" (Newport News-Hampton *Daily Press*, 6 April).

The pro-capitalist AFL-CIO misleaders claim the Democrats are "friends of labor." But the Democrats are no less a party of the capitalist class than are the Republicans. Whichever party administers it, the capitalist government is at bottom an apparatus of repression—including the cops, the courts, the prisons and the military—*against* the working class and the oppressed on behalf of the wealthy handful who live off the profits extracted from exploiting workers.

"National Interests" Are Capitalist Interests

Pushing American "national interests," the USWA International replaced strikers' hand-lettered picket signs with red-white-and-blue printed placards and planted American flags at picket locations. The bureaucracy has also printed t-shirts for strikers reading, "Our ships defend the country. The union defends us." The purpose of the U.S. military is to enforce the "right" of American capitalists to exploit workers overseas just as the same ruling class sucks the lifeblood out of the workers at home. The "national interest" is the *class* interest of the bourgeoisie. It is the "national interest" that the government will invoke if it decides to use its war against Serbia as a pretext to break the shipyard strike. It is in the class interests of the U.S. proletariat to oppose the imperialist military adventures of this government and the capitalist ruling class it represents. The war against tiny Serbia is part of the American bourgeoisie's ruthless drive for world domination. That is why we Marxists call for defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO terror bombing.

Fittingly, one of the projects ground to a halt by the strike is the building of the aircraft carrier *Ronald Reagan*, named for the president whose crushing of the 1981 PATCO air traffic controllers strike opened the door to a series of wrenching defeats for labor. That action showed how the government uses the watchword of the "national interest" to ***bust unions***. PATCO leaders were dragged away in shackles when the union used its power to cripple air transportation. But it did not have to be that way. If the Machinists and other unions had thrown up pickets, they could have shut down the airports and defeated Reagan's union-busting. But the Machinists leadership, under the phony "socialist" William Winpisinger, refused to strike, sending PATCO to defeat.

The AFL-CIO labor tops also use trade protectionism to line workers up behind the interests of the capitalists, as seen in the recent campaign by the USWA bureaucracy for quotas on steel imports from Japan, South Korea, Russia and elsewhere. Amid escalating trade wars among competing capitalist powers, such protectionist campaigns pit American

Washington Post

November 1982: 5,000-strong, Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. Black unionists from Virginia Tidewater area played key role.

Basque...

(continued from page 5)

the Basque people will gain their freedom from the French imperialists—who brutally oppress their own Basque population as well as other national and ethnic minorities in France—or from the German bourgeoisie which annihilated Guernica. In recent months, the Aznar government has obtained collaboration from both France and Germany in the "fight against terrorism." In return for expelling ETA suspects, the French government has demanded tough action against "Islamic fundamentalists" and closing the door on immigrants from the Maghreb [North Africa] and elsewhere. Fortress Europe targets not only desperate asylum-seekers, like Kurds fleeing Turkish army terror, but also the national minorities in the European Union itself. Herri Batasuna's maximum program is the so-called KAS Alternative, which calls only for amnesty and a new statute for the four Basque provinces in Spain.

Behind the repression in the Basque country is a far-reaching assault on the working class of the whole country, as the Spanish bourgeoisie seeks to carve out a niche in racist Fortress Europe. As in other European countries, the system of social welfare is being dismantled in the wake of the collapse of the USSR and the deformed workers states of East Europe. A large-scale privatization plan has caused mass layoffs in a country which already has the highest rate of unemployment in West Europe. In the Basque country, the destruction of industry and economic decline have exacerbated nationalist sentiments. There has been a flow of capital out of Euskadi, with many Basque industries moving to more profitable markets. Unemployment is almost 25 percent higher than in the rest of Spain and reaches a shocking 53.4 percent among youth under 24.

The working-class struggles of the 1930s and the 1970s demonstrated that resolution of the national question in Spain is inextricably linked with the struggle for workers power throughout the peninsula. Trotskyists defend the right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities of the Spanish state, which means their right to form separate states. Only a Leninist vanguard party defending this democratic right will be able to unite the Basques and Catalans with workers throughout the country—as well as with workers across the Pyrenees in France—in a common struggle for workers revolution which sweeps away the heritage of Francoism by overthrowing the Spanish bourgeoisie, including its Basque and Catalan components, and establishing a workers government.

Down with the witchhunt against Basque nationalists! Release the Mesa Nacional [National Command] of Herri Batasuna! Defend the right of self-determination for the Basque people! For a Trotskyist party in Spain as part of a reforged Fourth International!■

U.S./NATO...

(continued from page 1)

are being targeted by anti-personnel cluster bombs which rip through homes and barns maiming and murdering civilians. NATO bombing has also devastated Pristina, the capital of Kosovo. Washington talks of "collateral damage," but the aim of the NATO bombing is precisely to *sow terror* among the Serbian population. Among the "military targets" singled out for attack have been large numbers of factories and bridges—including one which was a monument to Serbs and Jews killed by the Nazi Holocaust—devastating the livelihoods of the working people and cutting off commerce with neighboring countries. Today, in a deliberate act of terror, a video-guided missile cut a passenger train in half in Grdelica, Serbia, incinerating three cars and killing some ten people.

With Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic refusing thus far to capitulate to NATO diktat, Washington has mooted the possibility of using Yeltsin's Russia as a "soft cop" to impose a deal on Belgrade, as it did following NATO air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs in 1995. But this is overshadowed by continuing preparation for a NATO ground invasion. The flood of propaganda in the Western media about the plight of ethnic Albanian refugees is aimed at providing a "human rights" screen for the U.S./NATO war of terror and building up popular support for a ground war.

This war is not about the Kosovo Albanians. It is a war of domination aimed at realizing longstanding American plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in Serbia through subduing, or if necessary dislodging, Milosevic. That is what is behind the proclamations by Western spokesmen, even those who initially opposed Clinton's Balkans adventure, that NATO must win this war at all costs if it is to preserve its "credibility." Today, the Pentagon approved NATO's request for hundreds more warplanes, bringing the total deployment to nearly 1,000 planes. A former member of Clinton's National Security Council argued bluntly, "If this mission fails, NATO fails."

The interests of Serbia's working class are objectively counterposed to those of the new capitalist ruling class which exploits them. But this is a war of imperialist aggression against a tiny country about the size and population of Ohio. Like the continuing bombing and starvation blockade of Iraq, it is a bloody message from America's rulers that they will stop at nothing to prove they are top cops of the world. It is in the urgent interest of workers and the oppressed in all countries—especially in the U.S.—to oppose by words and deeds the war aims of all members of the NATO alliance in the Balkans and to strive for the defeat of their "own" capitalist rulers. As we emphasized in a Spartacist League/U.S. statement at the beginning of the war (*WV* No. 710, 2 April):

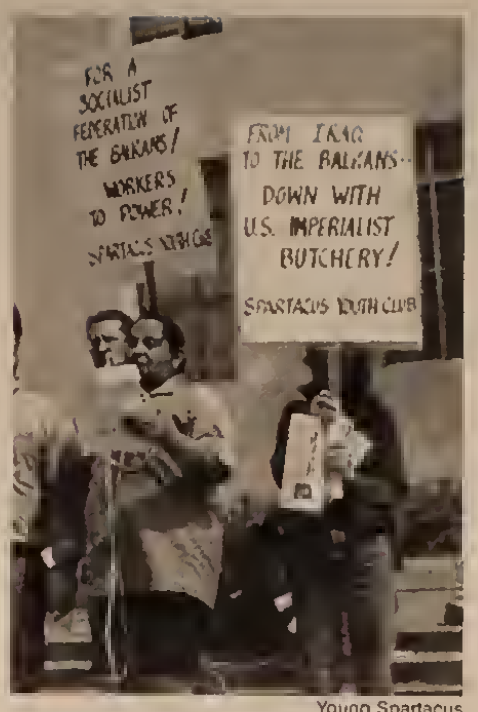
> "If America's capitalist rulers get away with imposing their diktat in Kosovo, it will give them a freer hand to sow terror and destruction around the world. It will also strengthen their hand in breaking strikes, busting unions and flooding the ghettos and barrios of America with even more cops. On the other hand, every blow against U.S. imperialism in the Balkans will help to weaken the class enemy, providing an opening for the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Democratic and Republican parties."

The brutal killing of black African Amadou Diallo by four New York City plainclothes cops has sparked broad outrage against cop terror. Meanwhile, even amid the cacophony of patriotic war fever being drummed up by the mass media, 9,200 workers have gone on strike against Newport News Shipbuilding in Virginia, which produces and services the Pentagon's nuclear aircraft carriers. It is the task of Marxist internationalists to bring to the proletariat the understanding that imperialist terror abroad goes hand in hand with racist terror and union-busting at home. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, is fighting to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party needed to lead the proletarian overthrow of this entire system based on racism, exploitation and war.

"Humanitarian" War Propaganda

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, Washington has sought to redefine the aims of NATO, originally established as an anti-Soviet military alliance, to serve as a vehicle for reinforcing U.S. military power in Europe. The purpose here is to better position U.S. imperialism in the face of growing competition from its major capitalist rivals, Japan in the Pacific and Germany in Europe. When Germany, seeking to reclaim its former sphere of influence in the Balkans, instigated the breakup of the former multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state by promoting independent Croatian and Slovenian states in the early 1990s, the U.S. immediately moved into the region to stake out its claim. Thus, Washington sponsored the Islamic nationalist forces in Bosnia, orchestrated the 1995 NATO air war against the Bosnian Serbs and engineered the Dayton "peace accords" which imposed a massive NATO military presence in Bosnia.

Nonetheless, Serbian strongman Milosevic has remained a thorn in the side to U.S. imperialism, both politically and militarily. Reviving the rhetoric of the Cold War, former U.S. ambassador to NATO Robert Hunter denounces Milosevic as "Europe's last Communist thug."



Young Spartacus

March 29: Spartacus Youth Club speakout at UC Berkeley stressed proletarian-internationalist opposition to U.S. imperialism.

With 100,000 American troops based in West Europe and the U.S.-sponsored expansion of NATO to include three former Warsaw Pact countries (Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland) on the western reaches of the former Soviet Union, Washington is now intent on extending its military tentacles to the last remaining holdout in East Europe—Serbia. British journalist Timothy Garton Ash, who launched his career in the 1980s as a press agent for Polish Solidarność and other anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary forces, laid out the scale of this operation in a piece in the London *Independent* (31 March):

> "This is to take on not just a province of 2 million suffering people, but a whole region. It will mean an international commitment of at least 10 years, tens of thousands of military and civilian personnel, billions of dollars. But what is the alternative?
>
> "The alternative is for the mightiest alliance of democracies in the history of the world to be defeated on its 50th anniversary."

Clinton claimed the air war was launched as a response to Serb "ethnic cleansing" of Albanians in Kosovo. The real reason is that Milosevic refused to accede to a NATO occupation. An article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (7 April) reported: "Despite the appearance of impromptu intervention, the United States and its allies have actively prepared for this crisis. That it will almost certainly lead to ground intervention—to the Western occupation of Kosovo—has been quietly part of NATO's policy assumptions since the mid-1990s." Weeks before the bombing began, the U.S. and its NATO allies began concentrating more than 12,000 troops on the Macedonian border with Kosovo and moved the headquarters of NATO's Rapid Reaction Corps there from Germany. The U.S. has since deployed another 12 Stealth F-117A fighters and is moving in 24 anti-tank Apache helicopters and over 3,300 support troops equipped with surface-to-surface missiles, while 8,000 more NATO troops have been sent in to supposedly aid refugees. Albania has been turned into a NATO military base.

Clinton & Co. might well have miscalculated that Milosevic would capitulate to their demands after a few days of bombing. Now, with the prospect of a ground war posed ever more acutely, the U.S. rulers face a serious domestic obstacle in the persistence of the "Vietnam syndrome"—widespread popular resistance to the commitment of combat ground troops and significant American casualties which followed from U.S. imperialism's dirty, losing colonial war in Vietnam. In the absence of any motivating ideology to justify a wider imperialist war against Serbia, the capitalist media have milked the sight of tens of thousands of ethnic Albanian refugees stumbling across the borders of Kosovo to bolster popular support in the U.S. and West Europe. It is abundantly clear that the current outpouring of refugees not only is no surprise, but was a calculated anticipated outcome of the NATO attack on Serbia.

This whole propaganda blitz reeks of the most transparent cynicism and hypocrisy. We don't underestimate the ruthlessness of Milosevic and the Serb-chauvinist paramilitaries in dealing with the Albanians in Kosovo. But the Western governments—not least Germany, France and the U.S.—now clucking their tongues about Albanian refugees have been busily deporting hundreds of thousands of immigrants in recent years. After Western spokesmen railed for weeks about how Milosevic and Serb-chauvinist pogromists in Kosovo were "driving out" ethnic Albanians, when the exodus stopped last week, these same types screamed that Milosevic was "preventing" the refugees from "fleeing." And even as TV newsmen grimly report that the streams of refugees contained only women, children and old men because the young men had been "taken away to some unknown fate," the crowds seen in the background are filled with young men! As comedian Richard Pryor once said, "Who are you going to believe, me or your lying eyes?"

Fearful that the massive exodus of ethnic Albanians into the tiny impoverished multinational statelets of Macedonia and Montenegro could plunge the entire region into social turmoil, the NATO powers are making noises about taking in 100,000 refugees. Britain prepared to house its allotment in a former prison camp! But first prize for hypocrisy goes to the U.S., which was planning to stow its 20,000 "tragic refugees" from the freezing, mountainous Albanian border in the blistering hot and humid tent city in

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workers against their class brothers and sisters abroad and serve to bind workers in each country to their "own" exploiters. "America first" chauvinism is a deadly enemy of integrated class struggle. It emboldens the racist, anti-union Klan terrorists who believe the only "good American" is white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. It fuels attacks on immigrant workers. Protectionism serves not to "save American jobs" but to fatten the profits of the big corporations. That is why the major steel companies eagerly joined with the USWA in pushing through quotas on steel imports.

With its lie of the "partnership" of labor and capital, the union bureaucracy seeks to obscure the truth that the class interests of the workers are *counterposed* to those of their exploiters. As we noted in an exchange with a Machinists union official on the 1995 Boeing strike (*WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995):

> "The labor bureaucracy is the top layer of the unions which long ago separated itself from its working-class base, and which sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. The purpose of these top union officials is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. This collaboration with the capitalist rulers is codified in the labor bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party—and it has led to an unending string of defeats for organized labor."

Labor Must Champion the Fight for Black Freedom

The class battle at the Newport News shipyard, one of the biggest industrial concentrations in the South, can be a gateway for organizing this "open shop" region. One of the signs carried by picketers read, "Support the Avondale Workers." Avondale Industries, which has a merger pending with Newport News Shipbuilding, has refused to accept a 1993 union recognition vote in its Gulfport, Mississippi shipyard won by the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Council. It is a measure of the horrendous conditions faced by workers in the South that many Newport News workers drive up to two hours, including from North Carolina, to work in one of the very few major unionized industrial facilities in the region.

Unionization of the South is a crucial task for the labor movement, and it means confronting head-on the racism that the ruling class uses to divide the working class and depress the wages of all workers. The integration of white and black workers at the point of production creates the basis for united class struggle, which must necessarily be linked to the fight for black freedom. The open shop and the KKK go hand in hand. This was graphically brought home in 1995 when supervisors at an Alabama Perdue poultry plant burned a cross on company property to intimidate 1,100 mainly black workers and defeat a Laborers organizing drive. The last concerted effort to organize the South, a campaign in the late 1940s obscenely titled "Operation Dixie," foundered on the shoals of racism, the Cold War purge of reds and other militants from the unions, and the labor bureaucracy's loyalty to the Democratic Party.

We need a class-struggle leadership of the unions, forged through political struggle against the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy which chains workers to the Democratic Party. In 1984, when ILA longshoremen and other trade unionists, overwhelmingly black, mobilized in mass demonstrations to defend a busing plan for school integration in Norfolk, that struggle was sold out when Jesse Jackson flew into town to steer it into a Democratic Party voter registration drive. The defeat of school busing was a crystal-clear demonstration of the bankruptcy of looking to the capitalist Democratic Party as the "friend" of labor and blacks.

Two years earlier, longshoremen's and naval shipyard unions in the Tidewater area played a key role in the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. Initiated by the Spartacist League, this mobilization stopped the KKK from carrying out a race-hate march targeting immigrants. With trade unionists championing the black masses and marching under the leadership of reds, this demonstration gave a vivid snapshot of the kind of multiracial revolutionary workers party needed to fuse the fight against the exploitation of labor with the struggle for black emancipation. ■

U.S./NATO...

(continued from page 9)

the American naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba—where even thousands of Haitian exiles used to living badly in that climate rioted because conditions were so intolerable. In the upshot, it appears none of the Western powers will take in a single Albanian refugee!

While the Western media have for years railed against Serbian "genocide" in Bosnia and now Kosovo, "ethnic cleansing" has been perpetrated by *all sides* in the fratricide among Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims. In fact, the largest single act of "ethnic cleansing" was the brutal expulsion—on the eve of the 1995 NATO air strikes—of hundreds of thousands of Serbs by the Croatian regime of Holocaust apologist Franjo Tudjman with Washington's connivance! The nationalist bloodletting in the former Yugoslavia was a direct result of capitalist counterrevolution, which dismembered that bureaucratically deformed workers state along national lines. Under capitalism, such forced population transfers are the way homogenous nation-states are carved out of formerly interpenetrated populations.

In any case, as a Jewish Holocaust survivor in Belgrade, who stressed that he is no supporter of either Milosevic or Serb attacks on ethnic Albanians, told the *New York Times* (9 April): "I don't at all agree that this is genocide. There was no effort to exterminate an entire race—men, women and children—merely because of their religious or ethnic identity." Condemning the NATO air war as a "criminal use of force, which is indiscriminate," he added that he did not survive the Auschwitz death camp only to now die from an American bomb.

Social-Imperialists and "NATO Socialists"

Joining in the imperialists' war cry over "poor, little Kosovo" is a broad spectrum of reformist and centrist "socialists," ranging from Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Britain and its International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. to the Mandelite United Secretariat (USec) of Alain Krivine to the British centrists of Workers Power (WP) and then some. For years, we have noted that such groups are part of a *syphilitic chain* binding them to the mainstream social-democratic parties and thus to the imperialist bourgeoisies. Today, despite a pacifist veneer of opposition to the bombing, they march in lockstep behind the war aims of NATO imperialism and the social-democratic or popular-front governments whose election they welcomed.

This war demonstrates anew the truth of Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin's characterization of the social democrats in World War I as "social-imperialists." Former Labour "left" and supporter of the 1980s Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) Robin Cook is now foreign secretary of the British imperialist state. Former anti-nuke radical Joschka Fischer is now the bourgeois Green party's foreign minister for the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. In fact, the "pacifist" Green movement of the early 1980s was above all an expression of resurgent German chauvinism, pushing (like the CND) both anti-Sovietism and anti-Americanism. Today, USec leader Krivine likewise acts as a mouthpiece for the interests of French imperialism, counterposing to the U.S.-dominated NATO intervention the call for a European imperialist expeditionary force in the Balkans (see article, page 11)!

Under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we are presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-imperialist war rallies. The centrist Workers Power joined the deeply Labourite Alliance for Workers Liberty in a February 10 "Workers Aid for Kosova" rally in London dominated by NATO and Albanian flags and placards screaming, "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO Now or Never." In Toronto, the Mandelite Socialist Action group participated—until they were thrown out for their lip-service opposition to NATO—in a rally of ethnic Albanians which featured placards and speeches saying, "Thanks for your support, NATO." And in Los Angeles, the ISO and the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party were seen selling their papers at a pro-bombing demonstration replete with signs reading, "NATO All the Way," "It's Time for Ground Troops" and "God Bless U.S.A."

It could not be clearer that the fake lefts are now "NATO socialists" whose bottom line is *support ta imperialist war aims in the Balkans*, despite the theoretical contortions they go through in trying to reconcile their lip-service opposition to NATO with their support to the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army, which is now simply a pawn of NATO. In a statement distributed at a March 30 public meeting in London, Workers Power claimed to defend the Serbs against NATO attack—"though not in Kosova which they have no right to occupy"! At the same time, WP urges the Albanian separatists "to take full military advantage of the imperialist bombing to drive out the 'Yugoslav' forces," adding: "If [Clinton and Blair's] primary concern were for the Kosovars they would recognise their statehood, and give the KLA the weapons to drive out the Serbian troops." This is an unvarnished appeal to the NATO imperialists.

Workers Hammer

At "Workers Aid for Kosova" demo in London, April 10, Workers Power beats the drums for war on behalf of "poor little Kosovo," the hypocritical cover for bloody imperialism. Demonstrators carried NATO flags and placards reading "NATO—Good Luck" and "Just Do It."

The way the imperialists and their hangers-on today use the Kosovo Albanians to justify their war aims is not new. During World War I, Britain and France justified their war against Germany in the name of liberating Belgium while Germany claimed to be fighting for the liberation of Poland from Russia. Speaking of the Workers Power types of his day, Lenin wrote in *Socialism and War* (1915): "The social-chauvinists reiterate the bourgeois deception of the people that the war is being waged to protect the freedom and existence of nations, thereby taking sides with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." While strongly supporting Poland's right to self-determination, Lenin argued that raising this slogan in the context of an interimperialist war could only mean "stooping...to humble servitude to *one* of the imperialist monarchies" ("The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," July 1916). Similarly, the ICL called for the right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians against the Serb-chauvinist Belgrade regime until this question became subordinated to the defense of Serbia against the imperialist war buildup early this year (see "U.S./UN/NATO Hands Off the Balkans!" *WV* No. 706, 5 February).

Today, the fake-socialists not only stoop to the imperialists, but have acted as an ideological spearhead for imperialist intervention. This is the product of their years of support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy" and "human rights." In the early 1980s, the virulently anti-Soviet Cliffites and fake-Trotskyists like the USec and Workers Power joined in fervent support to CIA/Vatican-sponsored Polish Solidarność, which was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. A decade later, all these groups cheered on Yeltsin and his pro-imperialist "democrats" as they launched the counterrevolution which was to destroy the Soviet Union.

In the former Yugoslavia, a bureaucratically deformed workers state established after World War II, the planned economy laid the basis for an egalitarian, multinational society. The capitalist counterrevolution which engulfed East Europe led to the destruction of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991-92 through a series of fratricidal wars aided and abetted by the Western imperialist powers. (See "Yugoslavia Ripped Apart in Nationalist Bloodbath," *WV* No. 553, 12 June 1992.) As a former head of the Belgrade central bank responsible for instituting market-oriented "reforms," Milosevic launched his political career by appealing to "Greater Serbia" chauvinism particularly against the Kosovo Albanians. In this, he embodied the link between capitalist restoration and nationalism. But Milosevic was not alone in this regard. His Croatian counterpart, Franjo Tudjman, idolizes the World War II fascist Ustasha—a puppet of the German Nazis—and Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic is a rabid nationalist and Islamic reactionary. We opposed all sides in the fratricidal civil war, as part of our fight for proletarian revolution to overthrow all the nationalist regimes and forge a socialist federation in the Balkans.

The pseudo-leftist champions of anti-Communist "democracy" instead chose among the contending Balkan nationalists, predictably lining up with their own imperialist bourgeoisies and their social-democratic henchmen in supporting the anti-Serb forces. During the 1995 NATO air strikes, WP refused even on paper to defend the Bosnian Serbs against imperialism.

As long as the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe existed, as Trotskyists, we called for unconditional military defense to them against imperialism and counterrevolution and called for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies from Moscow to Belgrade. The triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the homeland of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was a world-historic defeat for the proletariat, bringing in its wake heightened interimperialist conflict and the growing danger of a new world war. While the reformists and centrists move ever closer to their own bourgeoisies, we fight for new October Revolutions to overthrow capitalist imperialism.

Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home!

While the Workers World Party (WWP) in the U.S. has not lined up behind the imperialist hue and cry over Kosovo, its "antiwar" protests have been grotesque orgies of Serbian chauvinism, replete with Serbian monarchist flags and cries of "Kosovo is Serbia." At the same time, WWP fosters the same illusions in the "democratic" pretensions of the American ruling class as the rest of the fake left. Thus, one prominent sign carried by WWP's International Action Center at a protest read, "Clinton: How About a War Against Racism at Home." In fact, Clinton has been carrying out a *racist war against blacks and immigrants* at home—from axing welfare to putting tens of thousands more cops in the ghettos and barrios to ever more draconian anti-immigrant laws.

Behind WWP's absurd appeal to Clinton lies its longstanding strategy of seeking to pressure the Democratic Party of racism and war to act on behalf of workers and the oppressed. Meanwhile, black Democrats like Jesse Jackson whom the WWP reformists particularly look to are pushing hard to line up the black population behind Clinton's Balkans adventure. This is of a piece with efforts by black Democrats to quell and divert anger over the Diallo killing. In a TV talk show this month hosted by right-wing fanatic Oliver North of "Contragate" fame, Jackson staunchly defended the U.S./NATO war against opposition from the isolationist North! When challenged why Clinton had done nothing in Rwanda, Jackson replied, "But you must remember we were in Haiti and Somalia."

Black workers and leftist youth who might be swayed by the "human rights" propaganda over the Balkans should recall those earlier "humanitarian" imperialist interventions. In Haiti, the U.S. terrorized the black plebeian masses while protecting the death squad killers who had ruled the country as Washington's henchmen. And after going into Somalia in 1992 with the phony justification of providing famine relief, U.S. forces proceeded to indiscriminately slaughter hundreds of men, women and children. The American occupation force was finally *driven out* of the country when Somalis began shooting back, ambushing an elite Ranger unit. When U.S. troops were sent in, we said, "U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia!" (*WV* No. 565, 11 December 1992). In contrast, *Workers World* (31 December 1992) gave backhanded support to the imperialist intervention, writing that the U.S. Air Force "could have easily and inexpensively provided famine relief."

Indeed, going by the American rulers' logic, if bombing Serbia is supposed to bring "human rights" to Kosovo Albanians, why not bomb Ottawa to demand the national rights of the Québécois, or London to retaliate for the oppression faced by Catholics in Northern Ireland! And who will bomb Washington for the police occupation of the inner cities, racist oppression of blacks, the gunning down of desperate Mexican immigrants at the border?

Imperialism is not a policy, as the reformists and liberals would have it, that can be pressured to be "humane." As Lenin noted in *Socialism and War*, "Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism," with rival imperialist powers competing to control spheres of investment and exploitation. Murderous terror and wars aimed at ensuring the flow of profits to the American bourgeoisie from superexploitation of semicolonial workers abroad is an integral part of the same system which exploits and oppresses working people in the U.S. The bombing of Serbia by NATO warplanes, the routine killing and brutalization of black ghetto youth by the cops, police scabherding to break workers' strikes—these are part and parcel of the global system of capitalist exploitation of which the U.S. is the linchpin. This system can only be brought down through proletarian revolution.

We fight to win workers and minorities to the understanding that the Democratic Party is no less a capitalist party of racism and war than the Republicans. To unchain the power of the proletariat glimpsed in recent strikes from UPS to Flint GM to the current walkout in Newport News requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party. In the United States, this workers party will come about only as a result of a political struggle within the unions against the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, which ties the working class to the capitalist ruling class through its support to the Democratic Party. ***Defend Serbia! Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!***■

A Craven Capitulation to Imperialism on the Balkans

USec Says: Send In the Troops

While NATO imperialist bombardment ravages Serbia, one of the most repugnant capitulations before the capitalist warmongers by leftists internationally has been that of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec). Like much of the left, these social democrats masquerading as Trotskyists gave tacit support to the imperialist assault on Serbia in the name of defending the "national rights" of the Albanian Kosovars. But the USec went further than most, as its flagship French section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), refused to call for the withdrawal of French and other imperialist troops from the Balkans. But they didn't stop there. Following the logic of their prostration before "human rights" imperialism, the LCR *openly called for imperialist military intervention in Kosovo* under the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)—a European-dominated military bloc—or the United Nations. This is the nationalist, anti-American line being pushed now by both the French and German governments in a clear attempt to minimize a direct U.S. role.

The NATO bombing of Serbia has provoked an uproar among considerable sections of the French bourgeoisie, which are apprehensive over the danger of destabilization in the Balkans and expanded U.S. power in the region. Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin's government coalition has openly divided over the question as both the French Communist Party (PCF) and the bourgeois Movement of Citizens denounced the bombing and the leading role of the U.S. and NATO. Jospin's Socialists called for a meeting of European social-democratic parties—i.e., the ruling parties of most West European countries—to initiate a European conference on the Balkans.

The LCR's pronouncements on the war are a catalogue of contradictions reflecting their vestigial pretensions to Marxism in words and their opportunism in deeds. Swept up in the orgy of social-chauvinism buttressing the ruling class as it wages war in the Balkans, the LCR has stepped into line as capitalist Europe's little drummer boys, disguising imperialist slaughter as "justice" for Kosovo Albanians. The LCR's initial reaction to the imperialist bombing campaign was a March 25 declaration by Alain Krivine, who pleaded: "The left majority in parliament should demand an immediate end [to the bombing] and the withdrawal of the French commitment." Krivine continued: "The Belgrade regime must be isolated and the Kosovo people must be provided all the means, including military means, to defend their lives and impose their freedom." With the Kosovo Liberation Army having become simply an instrument of imperialist war aims in the region, such a call to arm the Kosovo Albanians is nothing but backhanded support to NATO attacks against Serbia. As we previously wrote of Krivine's declaration, "The unity between these hypocrites posturing as an 'antiwar' movement and the imperialist warmongers themselves couldn't be clearer" (*WV* No. 710, 2 April).

One week later, the LCR Political Bureau issued a statement which pointedly refused to call for the withdrawal of French troops from the Balkans (*Rouge*, 1 April). The LCR leadership now virtually screamed for Serbia to be brought to heel: "No hesitation: The Milosevic regime must be fought as firmly as possible." Offering themselves as loyal advisers to the bourgeoisie, the LCR proposed an alternative to the bombing:

> "There were other ways to act if one really wanted to force the Belgrade regime to give Kosovo its freedom: The great powers have the means, if they so desired, to impose effective economic pressures and a military blockade of the Belgrade regime."

This is an appeal to hit Serbia with sanctions like those the imperialists imposed on Iraq. Since the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the imperialist starvation blockade has led to the death of well over one million Iraqis for lack of food and medical supplies.

The same issue of *Rouge* published a "Call By Public Figures" signed by LCR leader Daniel Bensaïd, among others. Taking up the demand for an international conference on the Balkans, the call demanded an end to NATO bombing because it "is leading not only to a political impasse but to legitimizing the role of NATO outside of any international framework of control." This French nationalist call concluded with the demand for "a parliamentary debate on the future of French participation in NATO." But its key demand was for *intervention by military forces under the European-dominated OSCE*:

> "NATO was not the only, and above all not the best, linchpin for an accord. The conditions for a multinational police force (particularly composed of Serbs and Albanians) could be found under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord."

The following issue of *Rouge* (8 April) contained yet another call for imperialist intervention, this time under the banner of the UN. Assuring its readers that "Our opposition to NATO is not based on primitive anti-Americanism," the LCR proposed an "accord" with Serbia based on an end to anti-Albanian repression, the return of refugees to Kosovo and "cooperation with the International War Crimes Tribunal to investigate the massacres":

> "A multinational force under UN control must guarantee and oversee on the ground the application of such an accord. It would be a question of effectively defending the Kosovars, and this would have much greater legitimacy in Yugoslavia and internationally than the NATO bombing."

This is an undisguised call for military intervention in Kosovo by imperialist ground troops. The UN has been nothing but a fig leaf for imperialist militarism from the 1950-53 war against the North Korean deformed workers state to the racist colonialist occupations of Somalia and Haiti. Under UN auspices, U.S. and other imperialist forces slaughtered tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 Desert Slaughter. The U.S. and NATO didn't even bother using the UN as a fig leaf in the current war against Serbia.

DPA

AP

USec supports Kosovo Liberation Army, pawn of NATO terror war against Serbia and openly promotes imperialist military intervention by European bourgeoisies.

On April 6, the LCR co-sponsored a demonstration in the industrial town of Elbeuf with the PCF and the local CGT trade-union federation on the basis of unalloyed French chauvinism. The demands—"Stop the massacres in Kosovo," "Resume negotiations," and "For the right of peoples to self-determination"—didn't even make a pretense of seeking to mobilize the working class against the bourgeoisie's dirty war. The LCR and PCF carefully refused to demand that French or other imperialist troops get out of the Balkans. Calling NATO bombing of Serbia "a big failure," the protest call declared:

> "In this war, France, at the initiative of the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister, has dropped its role as mediator to act as a 'gendarme' on the side of NATO, under the leadership of President Clinton. The involvement of our country represents a break with the friendly relations established over the past century in this part of Europe."

France's "role as mediator" in the Balkans was to join Britain as Serbia's main big-power allies against Germany in World Wars I and II. Anyone who buys the lie of the French bourgeoisie's "friendly relations" should recall the Algerian War for independence, in which French forces slaughtered more than one million people and inflicted hideous tortures on thousands more in their defeated effort to prevent the Algerian people from smashing the bonds of French colonialism.

The LCR's disgusting social-chauvinism was echoed by other USec sections. In Ireland, a leaflet distributed on April 1 by Socialist Democracy called for "the arming of Milosevic's victims" and "building a broad solidarity movement" with the Albanian Kosovars. This harks back to the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" campaign, which the USec was mainly responsible for propagating internationally. Under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for the working class in Bosnia, Workers Aid was really a stalking horse for direct imperialist military intervention against the Serbs (see "What's Behind 'Workers Aid for Bosnia'," *WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994).

"Workers Aid" cynically used the plight of the multinational working class in Bosnia to promote imperialist support to the Bosnian Muslim government in the three-sided fratricidal war between Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims. "Workers Aid" lobbied for the UN "peacekeeping" forces to secure "safe passage," especially through Serb-held territory in the northern corridor of Bosnia. USec members bragged that their supporters actually drove the convoy trucks. But this was nothing new for the USec, which did the same thing for Polish Solidarność in the early 1980s, running supplies "donated" by the CIA through its conduits in the German Social Democracy and other West European social-democratic parties.

In August 1995, the U.S., Britain and other NATO powers embarked on a massive bombing attack against the Bosnian Serbs. A major pretext for the imperialist terror bombing was ensuring that food and other necessities were delivered to Bosnian cities designated as "safe havens," substantially the same program as "Workers Aid for Bosnia."

In sharp opposition to the fake Trotskyists beating the drums for war and fostering illusions in the benevolence of military action by the capitalist states of Europe now ruled by treacherous "Socialists" and former "Communists," we in the International Communist League act on the understanding that war cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and socialism is created. In the crucible of World War I, Lenin broke with the so-called socialists of the Second International who repudiated Marxist proletarian internationalism by supporting their own ruling classes and preparing the proletariat for nationalist slaughter. The LCR's Krivine and the other products of the decomposition of the "class of '68" are now beating the drums for war in the Balkans and offering their services to the capitalist ruling class. Lenin exposed their predecessor, Karl Kautsky, in his 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*:

> "Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content—class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's 'own' government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution."

Part of the struggle of the ICL to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution is to politically clear the road of these latter-day Kautskyites, the "stinking corpse of social democracy."■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

No Illusions in Capitalist Courts!

Mobilize the Power of Labor!
Free Mumia Now!

WV Photo

Trade unionists joined Partisan Defense Committee contingent at August 1995 Philadelphia march for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Reliance on capitalist "justice" system is counterposed to mobilization of labor/black power to free Mumia.

COC Productions

The fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal's life and freedom is urgently posed! The Pennsylvania Supreme Court's rejection of Jamal's legal appeal last October, endorsing every aspect of the frame-up of this innocent man, brought the danger of a new death warrant a hig step closer. Now Governor Tom Ridge has announced a new speedup in signing execution warrants for death row prisoners who do not have a formal stay of execution. Meanwhile, the Fraternal Order of Police and its bloodthirsty allies have escalated their campaign of intimidation against the growing ranks of Mumia's supporters, forcing the cancellation of a citywide high school teach-in in Oakland in January. But the police were foiled when they threatened to shut down a benefit concert at the New Jersey Meadowlands later that month, as over 17,000 turned out for Mumia.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal has come to symbolize what the barbaric, racist death penalty is all about. The forces of "law and order," represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism, want to see Mumia dead because they see in this eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman the specire of black revolution, defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. They seek to execute Jamal in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge vicious cop repression in the ghettos, who stand up for labor's rights on the picket lines, who protest imperialist mass murder from Somalia and Iraq to the Balkans.

The racist rulers' vendetta against Jamal has impelled millions of trade unionists, leftist youth, black people and other oppressed minorities in this country and internationally to demonstrate or speak out on his behalf. At the same time, the death squad style execution of black African Amadou Diallo by four NYPD cops has provoked widespread anger not only in New York City but around the country against the rampant cop terror which has turned the ghettos and barrios into occupied territories and filled the jails and prisons to overflowing with black and Hispanic men.

But just as black Democratic Party officials and labor bureaucrats are scrambling to try to contain the outrage against the racist cops by channeling it into electoral pressure politics, the organizers of the April 24 "Millions for Mumia" protests in Philadelphia and the Bay Area seek to obscure the real nature of the agencies of the capitalist state with the demand for a "new trial." The sham of appealing for justice from the capitalist courts was powerfully exposed by a trade-union supporter of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, speaking during the discussion at a Spartacist League Black History Month forum there in February. She said:

> "I have here a flyer for a planning meeting for April 24; it says, 'Race for Justice, New Trial Now.' How about somebody telling the truth, that there's no way that Mumia's going to get justice in the courts. It's going to be exactly the same frame-up bullshit that happened the first time. So start there, tell the goddamned truth!
>
> "The second thing that needs to happen for Mumia is that the ranks of labor have got to be brought out in the streets and in strike action. It's the only thing the bourgeoisie understands—when their production is stopped. And an issue like Mumia becomes something that is a threat to them only when it radicalizes the one class in society that has the power to take on the capitalist class, the working class."

The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) is calling for two-hour stop work meetings at all West Coast ports on April 24 in defense of Jamal. Despite the obvious efforts of the ILWU bureaucrats to minimize the cost to the company, to pull the thousands of longshoremen coastwide off the job, even if only for a few hours, would be a powerful statement of the social power that can and must be mobilized in broader actions—from mass labor-centered protests to political strikes—for Jamal's freedom.

This country is a powder keg of seething discontent. The labor bureaucracy in the U.S. fears mobilizing the social power of labor in struggle against this whole capitalist system of racist injustice because they fear a movement that could escape their control. The union misleaders who keep the working people tied to their exploiters through the agency of the Democratic Party are an obstacle to

continued on page 6

WV Photo

Spartacist and Labor Black League supporters at Bronx courthouse protest against brutal cop killing of Amadou Diallo, March 31.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 712 X-623 30 April 1999

Declaration of the International Communist League

Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia!

The following April 21 statement by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is being issued in eight languages for distribution at May Day demonstrations and other events internationally.

The imperialist war against Serbia is already the biggest military conflagration in Europe since World War II. Having pounded Serbia for weeks with bombs and cruise missiles, there is a growing crescendo among the Western imperialists for a full-scale invasion of the rump Serb-dominated Yugoslav republic. Once again the Balkans have become the powder keg of Europe, bringing us a step closer to a new world war. As proletarian internationalists fighting to build a world party of socialist revolution, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) says: *Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Down with the United Nations economic sanctions! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!*

continued on page 7

All U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out of the Balkans! For a Workers Europe!

Down With U.S. Cops of the World!

American Capitalists Step Up Terror War Against Serbia

AP photos

As Clinton hosts NATO summit in Washington, D.C., imperialist bombing increasingly strikes at factories, TV stations and other civilian targets in Serbia. Bombs destroyed passenger train on April 12, killing at least ten.

APRIL 27—As the U.S./NATO war against Serbia enters its second month, the imperialist powers have sharply intensified their terror bombing against the Serbian people. Clinton has ordered hundreds of additional warplanes to the region and announced plans to call up as many as 33,000 reservists. According to Belgrade, more than 500 civilians have already been killed and 4,000 wounded, as NATO missiles and bombs crash into factories, electrical power and water distribution systems, radio and television stations, bridges, passenger trains and even a convoy of Albanian refugees. The U.S./NATO capitalist rulers bombed the Zastava auto plant in Kragujevac knowing that workers were occupying it to prevent its destruction. Now the imperialists are intent on further suffocating the Serbian population by cutting off all power, heat and transport, as NATO leaders meeting in Washington to celebrate the alliance's 50th anniversary authorized a military blockade of oil shipments to the country.

If enforced, the oil embargo would mark a dangerous escalation in this already widening conflict. It would directly threaten Russia's fragile economy, which relies on oil exports—with Serbia being the main customer—for fully one-quarter of its hard currency revenues. All layers of the Russian population, including the military establishment, are already seething with anger over the U.S./NATO war on the edge of the country's southern flank. A French diplomat—whose country joined Italy and Greece in reportedly expressing "serious reservations" over the embargo—told the *New York Times* (26 April): "If we make the

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Mexico: IG Lies on "Cardenista Popular Front"

The following article is translated from *Espartaco* No. 12 (Spring-Summer 1999), published by the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League. The article, which exposes the opportunist appetites behind the notion of a "Cardenista popular front" put forward by the Internationalist Group (IG) and refutes their lie that we "invented" a quote from the centrist paper *Alternativa Socialista* which has the same line, has already caused considerable trouble for the IG in Mexico.

The GEM confronted the IG with this article at a massive April 23 Mexico City protest by students and trade unionists against the imposition of fees at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. A report by the GEM describes the reaction of the leading IG supporter in Mexico: "We told him that this was our answer to their infamous article, 'Another Invention of *WV*.' He got red, then he hesitated for a second, then he yelled at us: 'That was because you never lent me your collection of *Alternativa Socialista*!'"

As a large contingent from the STUNAM campus workers union marched past, many of the workers asked the GEM what the heated debate was about. As the report describes:

> "Comrades began to explain to them that we were having a fight with this organization because they had used the state courts in Brazil in order to get control of a union. We told them that we were exposing this organization for a class betrayal. Spontaneously, dozens of workers began to shout to the IG things like, 'Get out of here!' 'It is a question of principle not to sue a union!' or 'If you want to control a union, you have to work with the workers, not ask for a little help from the state!' (Other workers preferred to use some more explicit adjectives and curses.)...
>
> "The leading IG supporter aggressively tried to give some leaflets to the workers and began to speak aloud, trying to explain that we had 'run away from the class struggle in Brazil.' The workers took that as a provocation and began to shout again, 'Get out! Get out!'"

When workers began to take a side against this IG supporter, the report continues, "his 'comrade' left him alone at once." Meanwhile, the GEM sold several papers to these workers, whose understanding of the class line literally put the IG frauds to shame.

ESPARTACO

We revolutionaries guide ourselves by a rule of the Fourth International: to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it is; to be precise in small things as well as in large ones. However, the so-called "Internationalist Group" of the renegade Jan Norden was born inverting this rule. Their principle is to lie, time after time, in large things as well as small ones. Ever since May 1997, when our organization, the ICL, discovered and exposed to the workers movement that the IG's Brazilian partners (the LQB—Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil) had on various occasions brought a workers union into the bourgeois courts—thus breaking a basic principle of communism—the IG has tried to divert attention in whatever direction so as not to admit their class betrayal. Now our readers will be able to know the IG by another "small" maneuver to slander the ICL.

In August 1997, our organization made a public correction of our characterization of the bourgeois-nationalist PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas as a popular front (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 672, 8 August 1997 and "Mexico: For a Workers Revolution!" in *Espartaco* No. 10, (Autumn-Winter 1997). This conclusion was the result of a thorough discussion aimed at Marxist clarity within our organization, to correctly define and struggle against the form of *class collaboration* that has historically existed in Mexico, in other words, the particular way that the Mexican bourgeoisie subordinates the workers movement and the oppressed.

We came to the conclusion that what was posed here was not a "popular front"—which is a precise Marxist category to characterize an anti-worker *bourgeois* formation, in times of social unrest, including parties of the bourgeoisie and reformist workers parties and organizations—but rather intense bourgeois-nationalist ideology which, going back to the Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 and consolidated since then, is the fundamental instrument for subordinating the workers movement to its capitalist exploiters. In that same article, we pointed out that one group which joined with the IG in invoking a "Cardenista popular front" was the centrist Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS), with the clear objective of orienting itself towards Cardenism in search of a supposed working-class sector of the PRD (see, for example, their "Open Letter to the Cardenista Workers" in their paper *Alternativa Socialista* No. 5, December 1989). What's more, the LTS, which emerged as a split from the reformist POS in 1988, was born whining that the PRD didn't do much for the workers and suggesting to the PRD and Cárdenas that "they dedicate themselves to solidarity by calling mobilizations" for workers struggles such as the strike at Ford Cuautitlán (1989 LTS leaflet, "Long Live the Ford Strike!").

Seeking to nullify our powerful argument against this centrist confusion—showing that Norden's IG was at one with the LTS in regard to their mythical "Cardenista popular front," which they use only to capitulate to the backward consciousness of the masses—the spiteful IG has published *on three different occasions*, in English and Spanish, an infamous little article titled "Another Invention by *WV*" where they maintain that our assertion is a "total invention." The last time they reprinted this lie was in a pamphlet called *Cuadernos de El Internacionalista* (January 1999). "Any careful reader"—says the IG—will ask himself, "Where? When?" has the LTS said such a thing?

The IG cannot allege ignorance or amnesia. During one of our public classes of the Grupo Espartaquista at UNAM [National Autonomous University in Mexico City] in 1997, held a few weeks after they first published this lying article, the IG representative who intervened was only able to put on a face of stupidity and surprise when one of our comrades exhibited in front of the audience a huge collection of the LTS paper, *Alternativa Socialista*, with whole articles where they talk about a "Cardenista popular front." But despite all this, the IG continued to reprint their lie and kept asking, "Where? When?"

But the LTS has indeed spoken of the existence of a popular front in Mexico, not once but on countless occasions. In Numbers 18 and 19 (January and March 1995) of *Alternativa Socialista* (whose name has now changed to *Estrategia Obrera*), in an article titled "Who Are We and What Are We Fighting For?" (in other words, something like their little declaration of principles) they say: "...we are for the principled refounding of Mexican Trotskyism, against its manifestations of electoralism and submission to the Cardenista Popular Front." Numerous references, including entire articles on the "Cardenista popular front," also exist throughout the LTS press, in issue numbers *5, 8, 9, 14, 15, 18, 19*...at least—and the LTS has never published any correction on this line since. It's tragicomic to see how Norden and Negrete's IG, in their eagerness to be admitted into the circles of the Mexican nationalist left, do their best to perform circus pirouettes in order to sling mud at the ICL.

The IG lies. Any reader need only consult the LTS papers cited above to immediately realize that those who lie repeatedly and consciously in such "small questions" will find no embarrassment in covering up "one or two" class betrayals, such as the IG does to maintain its "section" of trade-union opportunists in Brazil. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Socialist Revolution to End Imperialist War

As the U.S. and its NATO partners wage a war of domination against Serbia, the reformist and centrist left retails the bogus "human rights" war propaganda of the imperialist rulers. Simultaneously, these fake socialists promote the lie that the capitalist system which breeds war can be made more "humane" and "peaceful." In fighting to forge the Fourth International in the years leading up to World War II, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed that only proletarian revolution can put an end to imperialist war. Today, Trotskyists call for military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO imperialism as part of our struggle to win the U.S. working class to the fight for socialist revolution to sweep away its "own" capitalist rulers.

The war danger, which is a life and death question for the people, is the supreme test for all the groupings and tendencies within the working class. "The struggle for peace," "the struggles against war," "war on war" and similar slogans are hollow and fraudulent phrases, if unaccompanied by the propaganda and the application of revolutionary methods of struggle. The only method to put an end to war is to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The only method to overthow the bourgeoisie is by a revolutionary assault.

As against the reactionary lie of "national defense" it is necessary to advance the slogan of the revolutionary destruction of the national state. To the madhouse of capitalist Europe it is necessary to counterpose the program of *the Socialist United States of Europe*, as a stage toward the United States of the World.

Marxists irreconcilably reject the pacifist slogans of "disarmament," "arbitration," and "amity between peoples" (i.e., between capitalist governments), etc., as opium for the popular masses. The combinations between working class organizations and petty bourgeois pacifists (the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee, and similar undertakings) render the best service to imperialism by distracting the attention of the working class from reality with its grave struggles, and beguiling them instead with impotent parades.

The struggle against war and imperialism cannot be the job of any sort of special "committees." The struggle against war is the preparation for revolution, that is to say, the job of working class parties and of the International. The Marxists pose this great task before the proletarian vanguard, without any frills.

—"An Open Letter to All Revolutionary Proletarian Organizations and Groupings" (July 1935)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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choice of a blockade, then we have to recognize we risk war with a third party." But while the European Union (EU) voted yesterday to implement an embargo, the U.S. announced it had no plans to follow suit and stop oil shipments by American companies. The London *Daily Telegraph* (27 April) noted acerbically, "This means that while it is now illegal for any EU countries to export to Slobodan Milosevic, it remains perfectly legal for American companies to continue to fuel the Serb war machine."

The NATO "summit" was also dominated by ever more explicit talk of a ground invasion of Serbia, promoted aggressively by British Labour prime minister Tony Blair, with a green light from Washington. Significant sectors of the American ruling class, in both the Democratic and Republican parties, now favor a ground war. In a clear move to prepare the U.S. population for an invasion of Kosovo, the Army recently announced that it was staging training exercises in a model Balkan village in the Colorado mountains. Clinton is sending 2,300 more American soldiers to Albania to reinforce the 3,000 now there, and the combined NATO troop strength in Albania and Macedonia has already mushroomed to 19,000. Germany, which occupied the region during World War II and butchered hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Jews, has moved up a *Bundeswehr* mechanized battalion from Greece, including tanks and armored personnel carriers.

The imperialists have cynically cloaked their war against the Serbian people in the "humanitarian" garb of saving Albanian refugees. But Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon gave the game away when he frankly admitted that NATO commanders *favor* the complete expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo: "There would be Serb troops primarily left, and we would be able to attack them with more precision and more concentration" (*New York Times*, 15 April). This war is no more about defending the "human rights" of Kosovo Albanians than the 1992 intervention in Somalia was about ending famine or the military occupation of Haiti was about introducing "democracy." Like the repeated bombing attacks on Iraq, what is behind the murderous assault on Serbia is Washington's aim of riding roughshod over small, weak countries throughout the world and intimidating their populations through sheer terror, while maintaining the U.S. position as top dog against its imperialist rivals.

Washington's war against Serbia is carried out by the same racist ruling class that has ruthlessly driven down the living standards of working people in the U.S., broken strikes and busted unions; that fiercely oppresses blacks, Hispanics, immigrants and others; that has condemned millions to homelessness, disease and starvation through the axing of welfare. This is a rich man's government, which is perfectly willing to send the poor off to fight and die for it. The interests of U.S. workers lie not in saving the skins of this gang of strikebreakers, racists and warmongers, but rather in seeing them defeated. That means opposing the imperialist war aims of U.S. capitalism and standing in military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO attack, demanding the withdrawal of all UN/NATO troops from the Balkans, and striving for the defeat of U.S. imperialism through workers revolution.

Despite the media barrage about Washington's supposedly "humanitarian" aims, the bourgeoisie has had limited success in whipping up support for the war. While polls show a majority of Americans supporting the air strikes against Serbia, Clinton's overall job approval rating has plunged since the war began, hitting its lowest level in nearly two years. Many black people, in particular, are skeptical of Washington's professed "humanitarian" aims in the Balkans. In contrast, black Democratic leaders have enthusiastically supported Clinton. Jesse Jackson proclaimed: "Some things are worth a fight" (University Wire, 14 April). Meanwhile, pro-Democratic black newspapers, such as the Chicago *Defender* and the New York *Amsterdam News*, have remained virtually silent about Clinton's war against Serbia.

The hideous oppression of racial minorities in the U.S. gives the lie to Washington's avowed concern about "ethnic cleansing" in the Balkans. In the calculations of the American bourgeoisie, the ghetto masses who used to provide a reservoir of unskilled labor for industry—a "reserve army" of the unemployed to be tapped when the economy needed them—are now deemed to be a "surplus" population. The racist "war on crime"—in reality, a war on black people—sweeps young men and women from the streets by the thousands and throws them into prison hellholes. One in seven black men are today disenfranchised because of felony convictions, effectively stripped of citizenship rights guaranteed under the 14th Amendment.

At the same time, the three-week-old strike by Newport News shipyard workers against a major military contractor in the midst of the bourgeoisie's war against Serbia testifies to the revival of labor militancy signaled by the 1997 UPS Teamsters strike and underlines once again the fundamental irreconcilability of the interests of labor and capital. What is needed is class struggle against the capitalist exploiters at home and abroad. To start, that means mobilizing the multiracial working class in strike action to defeat the attacks on labor, to bring its weight to bear in political strikes and other powerful protest actions to demand freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolition of the racist death penalty, to lead labor-centered mobilizations against rampant cop terror in the ghettos and barrios.

Only the multiracial U.S. proletariat has the social power to sweep away this rapacious imperialist ruling class. Mobilizing that social power requires a political break with the class collaborationism of the chauvinist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which chains workers to the capitalist Democratic Party and subordinates their interests to the aims of the imperialist rulers.

The Sham of Imperialist "Democracy"

In order to generate support for its war drive, the Clinton administration demonizes Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic as another Hitler and accuses him of carrying out "genocide" against the Albanian population of Kosovo. To equate Milosevic's actions in Kosovo with the horrors of Nazi Germany's cold-blooded and calculated extermination of six million Jews, millions of Slavs, hundreds of thousands of Gypsies, and others deemed to be *Untermenschen* (subhumans) amounts to whitewashing the Holocaust. The killings and expulsions of ethnic Albanians by Serb chauvinists is part of a nationalist war for territory, aimed not at annihilating the Albanians as a people but at terrorizing them into fleeing. In fact, far more Albanians have likely fled as a result of the massive NATO bombing. It is a continuation of the all-sided communalist fratricide in Croatia and Bosnia among Muslims, Serbs and Croats—which included the forcible expulsion of some 850,000 Serbs *with the blessing and collusion of the U.S.*—aimed at compacting homogenous nation-states as the former multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state was fragmented along national lines by capitalist counterrevolution. As we wrote in "'Ethnic Cleansing' and Nationalist Wars," *WV* Nos. 580 and 581, 16 and 30 July 1993):

> "At the heart of imperialist hypocrisy over 'ethnic cleansing' is the fact that what is happening in Bosnia is a recurrent phenomenon in this epoch of capitalist decay, as imperialist barbarism intersects the barbarity of backward capitalist and pre-capitalist societies. The formation of the classic nation-states in West Europe of the 17th and 18th centuries was also a bloody, protracted process. But it was linked to the extension of trade, the development of the national market and the rise of the bourgeoisie. However, under imperialism, in relatively backward capitalist countries the development of the national economy and the emergence of a vigorous bourgeoisie are stifled by imperialist exploitation and domination. Thus national consolidation under capitalism has been reduced to its stark component of communal savagery to drive out or eliminate minority nationalities."

The U.S. rulers' claim to be fighting another Hitler in the Balkans is false on another count as well: World War II was *not* a war of democracy against fascism. This year's academy awards ceremony, featuring *Saving Private Ryan* and *The Thin Red Line*, was practically a commemoration of U.S. military prowess in World War II. But, although the American ruling class tries to pretend otherwise, it was the Soviet Red Army which broke the back of Hitler's war machine and crushed Nazi Germany—80 percent of German casualties were on the Russian front.

The war in Europe had nothing to do with fighting fascism. It was a conflict between competing blocs of the imperialist powers for redivision of the world's markets and sources of raw materials and cheap labor. The U.S. fought to establish its domination in Europe, and against Japan for domination of the Pacific basin. Britain fought to keep hundreds of millions of dark-skinned people enslaved in its colonial empire. The imperialist "democracies" refused to open their doors to Jewish refugees from Nazi genocide, and then set up a "rat line" after the war to help hundreds of Nazi criminals escape to the West and set them to work in the global "crusade against Communism." In the postwar period, the U.S. government trained and supported hideous torturers and mass butchers from South Africa to Central America, while killing millions of people in counterrevolutionary wars from Korea to Vietnam.

Trotskyists opposed the imperialist war on all sides and in each country were for the defeat of their "own" imperialist ruling classes by carrying forward the

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AP

82nd Airborne paratroopers pour into Tirana, Albania as U.S. moves toward ground war against Serbia.

Spartacist Events

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

BOSTON

Saturday, May 1, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
Harvard Hall, Room 103
(take Red Line to Harvard Square)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK

Thursday, April 29, 7:30 p.m.
NYU School of Law
Vanderbilt Hall, Room 214
(40 Washington Sq. South)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Saturday, May 1, 2 p.m. Spartacist League office
123 Townsend St. (between 2nd and 3rd St., ring 826 downstairs)

SAN FRANCISCO For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

Ten Years After Tiananmen Square

Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution in China!

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Friday, May 14, 7 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)

VANCOUVER For more information: (604) 687-0353

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fight for proletarian revolution. The policy of authentic revolutionaries was: The working people of other countries are not your enemy—The main enemy is at home! Despite bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the USSR was a workers state still possessing the fundamental gains of the Russian Revolution—a planned, collectivized economy and a state monopoly of foreign trade and banking. Therefore the position of the Trotskyists was unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack from any quarter and against internal counterrevolution. Trotskyists called for proletarian political revolution to rid the Soviet workers of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy.

In contrast, the Stalinists and social democrats lined up in World War II in support of the U.S. and British-dominated "Allied" bloc of capitalists in the imperialist butchery. For their part, the Stalinist leaders of the working class were instrumental in heading off the explosions of class struggle that swept Europe at the close of the war, suppressing revolutionary opportunities in Italy, France and Greece. The Allied military occupation of Europe and these Stalinist betrayals allowed the bourgeoisie to reconstitute the capitalist order in Europe while, like the French in Indochina, launching new wars to reconquer their colonial empires.

The Soviet victory over Nazi Germany shaped the postwar world. The U.S., now the dominant imperialist power, confronted the military and economic might made possible by the planned economy of the USSR. Despite the constant appeasement of imperialism by Stalin and his heirs, the existence of the Soviet Union as a military power possessing nuclear weapons served as an impediment to the U.S. imperialists' bloody ambitions and kept them from turning their nuclear arsenal on the peoples of the former colonial empires (as was proposed in both Korea and Indochina). The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92 by the forces of capitalist restoration led by Boris Yeltsin and backed by Washington was hailed not only by the bourgeoisie—but shamefully by most of the fake left. We warned that it was a world historic defeat for the proletariat that would usher in a much more unstable and dangerous world. That is precisely what has occurred, as competition among the rival imperialists has sharply increased. The U.S. rulers feel free to use their military might to extend their economic dominance throughout the world, including in Europe. Where a small country refuses to buckle under to their dictates, they will bomb them into submission. That is the real meaning of the U.S./NATO war in the Balkans.

American Imperialist Arrogance and Russian Nationalism

Business Week (26 April) recently editorialized: "The growing tragedy of America's intervention in Kosovo is that neither its military grammar nor its political logic makes much sense." This is currently most apparent in the sharply increased tensions between the U.S. and capitalist Russia, which is seeking to establish itself as a regional power by playing the role of "protector" of the Serbs. As NATO planes bombed Serbia, Yeltsin warned of Russian "military action" in support of Belgrade and the danger of "a European war for sure, and possibly a world war." Washington officials countered by warning Russia against military intervention.

The U.S. bourgeoisie fatuously dismissed Yeltsin's threat with talk of Russia's "weakness" and indebtedness to imperialist bankers. But the war against Serbia has provoked deep anti-American sentiment within Russia. The relatively pro-Western Yeltsin regime could well be displaced by more extreme nationalists, who see in the crisis over Kosovo the means to overcome the current social, economic and political disintegration of Russia. Right-wing former general Aleksandr Lebed said from the floor of the Russian Federation Council (Senate) that the war in Serbia "has allowed Russians to 'get up off their knees'" and offered a "second wind" for the consolidation of a strong state.

For a number of years, Moscow has played the role of "soft cop" vis-à-vis the Serbs on behalf of the U.S. and Germany, while denouncing American bellicosity and "superpower arrogance." Russian troops continue to participate in the Washington-directed "peacekeeping" force in Bosnia, and Moscow is still adhering to the UN-sanctioned arms embargo of Serbia. Germany and France have pushed for a Russian-brokered deal with Milosevic, and the U.S. maintains a posture of openness to some kind of negotiated settlement. But a proposal negotiated by former Russian prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin was dismissed out of hand by the recent NATO summit. Washington is determined to forestall Russia's re-emergence as a major European power with its own client states in the Balkans.

The sharp increase in hostility to the U.S. among Russia's ruling elite has roots going back to Yeltsin's capitalist counterrevolution. In 1992, Yeltsin's foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, saw Russia and the U.S. "not merely as partners but as allies." This view was in its own way just as *illusory* as the old Stalinist dogma of "peaceful coexistence" and building "socialism in one country." Financial aid to the Yeltsin regime from Washington and West European capitals was piddling while foreign capital investment in post-Soviet Russia was practically nil.

By 1994, even the supposedly pro-Western Kozyrev was voicing the frustration of Russia's new would-be imperialist rulers and their resentment of the United States. He denounced "the almost manic wish to see the USA as the only single leading power in the contemporary world" and spoke in favor of a "hard, even aggressive policy of defending one's own national interests" (quoted in Alex Danchev, ed., *International Perspectives on the Yugoslav Conflict* [1996]). For its part, the American ruling class has treated post-Soviet Russia with increasing contempt bordering on hostility. With NATO's admission of the former Warsaw Pact countries of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, bringing NATO right up to the borders of the former USSR, the war against Serbia has escalated tensions to a dangerous new level.

NATO plans for a ground war against Serbia—to be implemented "as early as the end of May," according to the London *Observer* (18 April)—would involve positioning imperialist troops in Hungary and Romania. The *Observer* article elaborated:

> "In Washington a senior US army officer said a ground assault was being planned on two levels: the invasion of Kosovo and the 'securing' of Serbia proper and the region around Belgrade....
>
> "In preparation for the strike force of up to 80,000, some 8,000 troops have been earmarked to secure the border between Albania and Kosovo, and a further estimated 200,000 to secure Serbia's borders with Bosnia, Hungary and Romania."

If the U.S. ups the ante against Serbia, Yeltsin could be forced into certain half-hearted military responses, met in turn with escalations by Washington, possibly leading to a wider war. The Russia of the tsars was not exactly strong when, after years of deepening tensions in Europe, it chose to mobilize against Austria (and therefore Germany) in World War I. None of the combatants indulged in such "rational" calculation, and they all expected the war to be over in a few short months. Imperialism is not rational, and neither are the men who rule over us in its interests. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote five years before the outbreak of the second imperialist world war: "All governments fear war. But none of the governments has any freedom of choice. Without a proletarian revolution, a new world war is inevitable" ("War and the Fourth International," June 1934).

Reuters

AP

Tens of thousands of Serbs were driven out of Bosnia by Muslim and Croatian nationalist forces in 1995 as U.S./NATO warplanes bombed Bosnian Serb areas.

"Humanitarian" Imperialism's Left Camp Followers

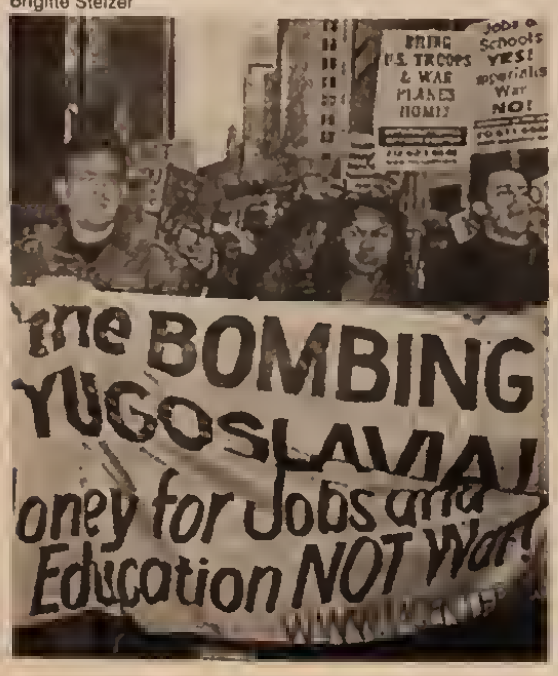
The U.S. bourgeoisie continues to be haunted by the "Vietnam syndrome," its humiliating defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants in Washington's counterrevolutionary war there in the 1960s and '70s. A former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, recently expressed the fears of a section of the ruling class of "the tragic quagmire that looms ahead" in Serbia (*New York Times*, 20 April). It is the role of revolutionaries to seize on the bourgeoisie's embarrassments and defeats to mobilize the proletariat in revolutionary class struggle against its "own" capitalist rulers.

The call for "no more Vietnams" by various elements of the American ruling class is intended to save the U.S. from another debacle. War criminal Nixon raised this demand. This same call is being echoed by the fake-left groups which hailed the capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR and the East European deformed workers states as a victory for "democracy." Thus a member of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) pleaded at their April 13 "Emergency Teach-In" at Columbia University for the bourgeoisie to end the bombing: "We are not learning from our mistakes. Why can we not expect our government to do something for the right reason once and for all?"

The ISO has been prominent among those on the left who hiny into "human rights" imperialism, giving backhanded support to the U.S./NATO drive against Serbia in the name of defending the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) and the national rights of the Kosovar Albanians. Thus, at the beginning of the war the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (26 March) criticized Washington for not wanting the UCK "to win its goal of independence for Kosovo." Now the ISO moans that the UCK "is becoming an instrument of NATO" (*Socialist Worker*, 23 April). This belated "discovery" is a sham. The UCK has long been a NATO pawn.

We supported the right of independence of the Albanian majority in Kosovo as far back as the 1970s. But with the imperialist war buildup in the Balkans earlier this year, the question of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians

Brigitte Stelzer



WV Photo

Meyers/NY Times

While black Democrats like Jesse Jackson stand behind Clinton's Balkans slaughter, reformist WWP (far left) and ISO promote lie that imperialist government can serve interests of working people and minorities.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Serbian Demonstration Bombing

> "[US Secretary of State, Robert] Lansing strongly objected to any introduction of the concept of 'laws of humanity' and to trials of foreign leaders before any foreign or international court. International law, he contended, regulated relations among nations; it had no jurisdiction over what a state chooses to do to its own people."
>
> —Christopher Simpson, *The Splendid Blond Beast* (1995), p. 25

As a deadly rain of high-tech bombs fall on Serbia, a deadening rain of propaganda falls on Americans, media-manufactured lies designed to prime the populace into supporting harsher military measures against a sovereign nation, in the name of protecting human rights.

NATO is but a fig leaf for American "interests," and the bombing of the Serbian state is but a global demonstration of the ruthlessness of the American empire. A demonstration? The monstrous atomic bombing of Japan, after it was virtually beaten in WWII, was not a military necessity, but a political one, designed to demonstrate to the Russians that the U.S. was, and would ever be, boss. It was a massive, deadly demonstration.

So too, the Serbian bombing treats Serbs as the U.S. treated Japanese during the War—as props to demonstrate the power of the empire. Let us consider the claims that the U.S. is concerned about "human rights" or about the "rights of ethnic minorities" as the corporate press projects hourly: What of America's largest national minority—African-Americans? The world-respected Amnesty International group, speaking through its Secretary General, Pierre Sané, announced just days before the bombing, "Human-rights violations in the United States of America are persistent, widespread and appear to disproportionately affect people of racial or ethnic minority backgrounds." Sané was critical of police violence and executions in the U.S.

Further, internationally, let's see how the U.S. responds to "liberation movements" of the oppressed. When fighters for Puerto Rican independence began to raise their voices the U.S. didn't support this "ethnic minority," they sought (and continue) to crush, incarcerate and silence them. Consider the case of the Palestinians, the Kurds, the Tamils, the East Timorese, the Colombian rebels—who has the U.S. consistently supported, the oppressed, or the U.S.-armed governments?

This isn't about "human rights." It isn't about "ethnic minorities." And it also isn't about "genocide." It's about establishing who's "boss" in the next century. It's about keeping Russia in its place. It's about keeping the EU under the thumb of Wall St. The bombing of Serbia is an echo of the bombing of three other countries in the past six months—of Iraq, Sudan and Afghanistan. And for precisely the same reason—to show that it can be done, no matter what so-called "international law" states. It is to instill terror throughout the world, in order for U.S. capital to institute what former president George Bush tried to do, but failed: to establish a New World Order.

Days before the bombing, NATO signed up Poland, Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) as its newest members, thereby virtually isolating Russia. Only Serbia, and the Yugoslav states, have refused to join NATO—their bombing is their punishment.

Our brilliant, revered nationalist leader, Malcolm X, taught us to examine history. If we look at history, the bombing of Yugoslavia becomes clear.

Empires are maintained, not by reason, but by ruthless terror. It was so in Rome. It is so in the U.S. The brilliant revolutionary, Dr. Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, explained "the United States was no longer a nation... We called it an empire.... *An empire is a nation-state that has transformed itself into a power controlling all the world's lands and people*" (1973). Huey was right then, and our response then was to oppose the empire. We must do that now! *Down with Imperialism! Stop the Bombing! NATO/US out of Yugoslavia!*

8 April 1999

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Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

became subordinated to the need to defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack. The UCK openly brags that its officers are working with British and American special forces teams in Kosovo, spotting Serbian targets for NATO bombing raids. Its leaders recently announced that they are concluding a contract with Military and Professional Resources International, the Pentagon-sponsored outfit which advised the fascistic Croatian regime in 1995 as it "cleansed" the Krajina region of several hundred thousand Serbian inhabitants.

Like much of the rest of the fake left, the ISO has postured as opponents of NATO bombing while at the same time calling on Clinton to "really" help the Albanian refugees. Thus, the ISO not only lends credence to the imperialists' cynical justification for sending troops to the region but gives backhanded support to the bombing. Until recently, the ISO steadfastly refused to raise the call for UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans. Now, *Socialist Worker* (23 April) is calling for NATO to "get out of the Balkans." What they really mean is that the UN "international forces" should replace the U.S.-led NATO forces. Thus an article in the same issue of *Socialist Worker* deplores that "the U.S. and its NATO allies stood by" as the Hutu-dominated army and death squads massacred the Tutsi ethnic minority in Rwanda five years ago, complaining that "the UN Security Council refused to authorize forces to intervene in the conflict" because of U.S. opposition.

The idea that imperialist intervention in Rwanda, whether by the UN or NATO-led armed forces, could have done anything but make the hellish situation still worse expresses the same illusions in "humanitarian" imperialism that the ISO is propagating over Kosovo. As we wrote at the time: "We must urgently warn that the imperialists are no friends of the Rwandan and Burundian masses. A 'humanitarian' intervention by the UN—or under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity, that cabal of neocolonial rulers—would produce a racist slaughter like in Somalia" ("The Rwanda Horror," *WV* No. 601, 27 May 1994).

A somewhat different appeal by self-proclaimed leftists to bourgeois opinion can be found in a series of postings on the World Socialist Web Site of David North's "International Committee of the Fourth International" (ICFI). Offering the flimsiest Marxist veneer, North & Co. posture as critics of capitalism, referring to American imperialism "embarking on a policy of global domination" (26 March). But as NATO bombs fall on Belgrade, this article is entirely *silent* on the key question of defending Serbia from this brutal imperialist onslaught—never mind calling for workers revolution against U.S. imperialism. Having long ago dismissed the trade unions as organizations of the working class, for the Northites the question of proletarian opposition to the imperialist slaughter is not even posed.

What they offer instead are arguments for a virtually nonexistent pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie, echoing right-wing isolationists like Pat Buchanan. An April 6 ICFI editorial board statement mutters about costly American "blunders" in Korea and Vietnam. Their touching concern for the "blunders" of U.S. imperialism in its wars to suppress social revolutions in North Korea and Vietnam is no accident. While North now writes off the question of national oppression altogether (for example, declaring flatly that "Kosovo has long been recognized as part of Yugoslav territory" [26 March]), throughout the Cold War of the 1980s North & Co. cheered on every imperialist-sponsored nationalist movement dedicated to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

For Socialist Revolution to End Imperialist War!

The reformist "socialists" perpetuate the lie that imperialism is just a "bad policy" which can be changed through mass pressure, denying that imperialist wars for domination and spheres of influence are inherent to the capitalist system. Even bourgeois columnist Thomas Friedman comes closer to the truth, observing last year: "The hidden hand of the global market would never work without the hidden fist. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies to flourish is called the United States Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps (with the help, incidentally, of global institutions like the U.N. and the International Monetary Fund)" (*New York Times*, 18 April 1998).

Behind the façade of NATO "unity," the U.S. and the various European powers are each frantically maneuvering to extend their own national influence in the Balkans and short-circuit their rivals. And it is far from clear that the NATO alliance could even survive in the whirlpool of forces that will be generated by a ground war against Serbia. In France, the Socialists' government coalition partners, the Communist Party and the bourgeois Movement of Citizens, are already openly denouncing the bombing. In Germany, the Social Democrats' government coalition partners, the Greens, are fissuring over the question of the war. And in Italy, the ruling coalition faces the threat of immediate dissolution if a ground war goes ahead, while 170 parliamentarians have signed a petition demanding an immediate truce.

Imperialism is an organic outgrowth of the profit system—the "highest stage of capitalism," as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described it. Imperialist war is the concentrated expression of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist system, which daily condemns countless millions of people around the world to death by malnutrition and lack of medical care. At the same time, capitalist exploitation creates its own gravedigger, the international proletariat.

We have noted before that with the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union, the world is increasingly coming to look like it did in the years before the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Writing of the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which followed on the heels of growing conflicts of interests and shifting alliances among the major European powers, Trotsky noted: "European equilibrium, which was highly unstable already, has now been completely upset. It is hard to foresee whether those in charge of Europe's fate will decide this time to carry matters to the limit and start an all-European war." In 1914, they did start an all-European war, drawing much of humanity into a then-unparalleled slaughter that killed and maimed millions of proletarian and peasant soldiers on all sides. But as Lenin noted, war is also the mother of revolution. With Lenin and Trotsky at the helm, the Bolsheviks led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917, taking Russia out of the war and creating a beacon for the proletariat internationally.

If imperialist carnage is not to be the continuing fate of humanity, capitalism must be swept away through proletarian revolution. The International Communist League fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, to lead the fight for new October Revolutions around the world.■

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U.S./NATO Ministry of Disinformation

Big Lies for Imperialist War

In 1939, to manufacture a pretext for the Nazi invasion of Poland, Hitler had German troops dress up in Polish army uniforms and stage an "incursion" into Germany. In 1964, U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson fabricated a North Vietnamese "attack" on American warships in the Gulf of Tonkin in order to send ground forces into Vietnam. During the 1990-91 Persian Gulf War, the Western press purveyed outlandish lies, like the one about Iraqi forces murdering 300 incubator babies in a Kuwaiti hospital, to justify the imperialist slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqis.

The Big Lie is the handmaiden of imperialist war. Now the U.S./NATO rulers and their kept media are churning out a deafening drum beat of supposed "human rights atrocities" by the Serbian forces under Slobodan Milosevic with the aim of building popular support for NATO's war of domination in the Balkans and for the concerted terror bombing of the people of Serbia and Kosovo. A London *Independent* (30 March) headline screamed, "Kosovo's Men of Ideas Are Dragged from Homes and Shot," retailing "confirmed" reports of "executions" of Albanian notables—who turned up alive and well a day or two later. There were the Yugoslav pilots supposedly captured in Bosnia whom NATO promised to parade before the media who were never produced; the story of the Pristina soccer stadium supposedly turned into a "concentration camp" for up to 100,000 ethnic Albanians but which in fact stands empty; the over-inflated refugee counts, "reports" of systematic rape and mass destruction, even "genocide" by Serbian forces—all without the slightest evidence.

While maintaining a blackout on hard information about NATO's Balkans carnage, the imperialists have now begun bombing television stations, killing at least 18 people in one Belgrade attack alone. Spelling out the purpose of these attacks, the *New York Times* (23 April) reported: "State television has been the main source of immediate news and film footage for Western television correspondents."

Had it not been for the Serbian media and a handful of Western reporters stationed in Kosovo, one of the biggest atrocities perpetrated by the NATO imperialists would not even have come to light. On April 14, NATO bombers pounded two convoys of Kosovo Albanian refugees on the road between Djakovica and Prizren, killing 82 people who were fleeing by tractor, van, cart and on foot. For the next six days, NATO spokesmen wiggled, squirmed and lied outright about this bloodbath of the Albanians whom they are allegedly there to protect.

When confronted with the story that morning, NATO Supreme Commander Wesley Clark, an American general, claimed to have "very strong evidence" that the Serbs had perpetrated the slaughter in retaliation for a NATO strike on "military" targets. Later that day, bow-tied Pentagon mouthpiece Kenneth Bacon claimed that NATO had "only hit military vehicles" and cited refugee accounts to United Nations officials that they had been bombed by Serbian planes—a claim denied by the UN officials themselves. And Clark's assertion of "evidence" was revealed to be a total fabrication.

Only after a Reuters reporter filmed the body-strewn site did NATO spokesmen start making noises about a "tragic accident." NATO spokesmen cynically accused the Serbian military of using Albanian refugees as "human shields"

Big Lie "briefing" by NATO Supreme Commander, U.S. general Wesley Clark. April 14 U.S./NATO bombing of Albanian refugee convoy in Kosovo killed 82.

AP

and moaned about how difficult it was for pilots to distinguish between farm tractors and military vehicles from 15,000 feet up. They produced an audiotape of a U.S. F-16 pilot supposedly agonizing over whether to bomb what he "mistakenly" thought to be a Serb "ethnic cleansing" operation—a tape which later turned out to involve an unrelated incident.

Finally, slimy Labourite NATO flack "Jamie" Shea opened his April 19 daily "briefing" by exclaiming, "You want the facts, today you are going to get them." The highlight of this "damage control" exercise was a flight-suited U.S. Air Force general moaning about a "very complicated scenario." The "complication" was that the facts had already come out in numerous news accounts. NATO planes had dropped a total of *nine 500-paund laser-guided bambs* on the refugee convoys at three different sites over a 12-mile stretch of road and at a fourth site eight miles to the west, even though a British Harrier pilot had made it clear that the convoy contained civilian vehicles.

In an article in the London *Independent* (17 April), correspondent Robert Fisk wrote: "Mr Shea—or 'Jamie' as he enjoins us to call him—says he is still trying to find out what happened.... Well perhaps I can help Jamie." Having visited three of the four sites along the convoy route bombed by NATO warplanes, Fisk described the "highway of death between Prizren and Djakovica," the dismembered bodies of men, women and children there, and the bomb and missile fragments with American markings on them.

American correspondent Paul Watson, who likewise toured three of the sites, wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* (16 April): "None of the survivors interviewed confirmed NATO's claim that military vehicles were trying to hide in their long convoy." As for the purported mistakes made in bombing from an altitude of 15,000 feet, Watson reported: "The Kosovo Albanian survivors tell of jets divebombing, circling and then bombing again as tractors and horses pulling wagonloads of terrified refugees tried to escape." One survivor recalled, "They were coming very low and dived down." In the *Independent*, Fisk confirmed "evidence of strafing as well as aerial bombing."

For days after the bombing, every sort of lie was piled on to deflect attention from the ever more obvious fact that NATO bombs had blown away dozens of Albanian refugees in cold blood. On April 16, the *New York Times* ran a diversion headlined "U.S. Officials Suspect Deadly Chemical Weapons in Yugoslav Army Arsenal," which went on to say that there is "no evidence that the Yugoslav army or the Serbian forces had used, or were planning to use lethal chemical agents." Then State Department yuppie James Rubin announced that they had "developed [!] new evidence" of mass killings by Serb forces. NATO spokesmen dutifully produced high-altitude photos of mass graves which, they claimed, the Muslim Albanian victims themselves had been forced to dig—as evidenced by the fact that the graves supposedly pointed toward Mecca!

The truth is *NATO has been bombing civilians, including many Albanians, since the war began.* When two video-guided NATO bombs crashed into a Serbian passenger train crossing a bridge two days before the bombing of the refugee convoy, U.S. general Clark described it as an "uncanny accident." Yet the pilot launched a *secand* missile against the train after seeing that he had hit it once! This attack, too, was then buried in the Western press under a numbing stream of supposedly "new" Serb atrocities, including week-old unconfirmed reports of Albanian women being brutalized in Serbian military "rape camps."

The Western press has hammered away at the supposed "genocide" being carried out by the Milosevic regime and Serb-chauvinist militias and talked of the "complicity" of the entire Serbian population in order to justify the terror bombing of civilians. But what has been going on in the former Yugoslav deformed workers state since it was ripped apart by nationalist fratricide has been "ethnic cleansing" on all sides, aimed at compacting homogeneous capitalist nation-states, with the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim nationalists playing no less bloody a role than the Serb forces.

The Western "human rights" propaganda blitz about the Albanian refugees—many of whom have been forced from their homes by NATO bombing—is a flimsy cover for an *imperialist war of domination against Serbia*. The strategy of civilian terror bombing now being pursued by NATO has been employed by the bloodyhanded U.S. warmakers for decades, from the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo in World War II to the "scorched earth" policy during the Korean War and the carpet bombing of Vietnam. In concert with the imperialists' class hatred, this strategy is often used against industrial areas *especially targeting the praletariat*. During this war, dozens of bridges and factories have been destroyed, including the huge Zastava auto plant in Kragujevac, where in 1941 German Nazi occupation forces massacred 5,000 Serbs in a single day. Damage from NATO bombs has reached $100 billion, throwing the Serbian economy back at least a decade. Hundreds of thousands of Serbian workers have been left without jobs and whole cities cut off without water, electricity or heat. These are not accidents but a deliberate effort to terrorize the population.

The point of the lies and the censorship is not to keep information from the Serbs, who know full well that they are being bombed, but from the workers of the U.S. and Europe who may recognize in the perpetrators of imperialist slaughter their own exploiters and oppressors. The arrogant ruling-class spokesmen who lie that their deliberate acts of mass murder in Serbia are "tragic accidents" also try to dismiss the horrendous cop killing of black African Amadou Diallo in New York as a "tragic accident." They are the same types who gleefully point to the corporate bottom line in announcing mass layoffs, revel in union-busting and proclaim the "beneficial effects" of ripping minimal welfare benefits away from black women and children. Our job, as proletarian internationalists, is to bring to the working class the understanding that this profit-driven system of war, racism and immiseration will only be swept away when the capitalist rulers themselves are swept into the dustbin of history and the international working class is in power. ■

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Declaration...

(continued from page 1)

A 25 March statement of the Spartacist League/U.S. asserted:

> "Every blow against U.S. imperialism in the Balkans will help to weaken the class enemy, providing an opening for the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Democratic and Republican parties. We fight to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, forged in the crucible of class struggle, which is the necessary instrument to lead the working class to the overthrow of this entire system based on racism, exploitation and war through a socialist revolution which rips industry and power away from a small handful of filthy rich and creates an egalitarian socialist economy."

In Europe, the brutal imperialist attacks on Serbia are being carried out by capitalist governments headed by social democrats and ex-Stalinists. As the military historian Clausewitz once said, war is the continuation of politics by other means. Having demonstrated their loyalty to the bourgeoisie at home by enforcing racist capitalist austerity, today the social democrats are if anything more vigorous than their right-wing predecessors in doing the imperialists' dirty work abroad. The *Berliner Zeitung* (25 March) observed: "That a red-green government sent units of the Bundeswehr into a military intervention for the first time since the founding of the Federal Republic is saving the country from an unproductive ideological and political conflict." At the onset of the war, sections of the International Communist League immediately issued statements unmasking the imperialist war propaganda and seeking to mobilize the workers of the world against their "own" bourgeoisies.

The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state ushered in a sharp rise in regional wars and imperialist military adventures, as a virulent new nationalism became the hammer of counterrevolution. Interimperialist strife, previously held in check by the need for a common anti-Soviet alliance, erupted anew. Just beneath the surface of the current unity of the NATO "allies" over the bombing of Serbia lie fundamental and escalating interimperialist rivalries expressed in the growing trade war between the U.S. and Europe, as well as Japan. The post-Soviet world increasingly resembles the pre-1914 world. It was imperialist machinations stoking nationalist hatreds in the Balkans which led directly to World War I.

Today, NATO bombing is a trip wire for a broader and even bloodier international conflagration, potentially drawing in Greece, Turkey and Russia. While acting as a soft cop for NATO, capitalist Russia's denunciation of the U.S./NATO military attack on Serbia is in line with its ambition to assert itself as a regional imperialist power. Both Russia and the U.S. have huge nuclear arsenals, and the U.S. has already demonstrated its readiness to use these weapons with the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Who could believe that the French, the British or the Israelis would be any more restrained? Capitalism is an irrational system, and the mad drive for profit and power inherent in this system will inevitably lead to a nuclear third world war if it is not stopped through international proletarian revolution.

Imperialists Rain Terror on Yugoslavia

NATO's war against Serbia has nothing to do with "human rights" or defense of the Albanian population of Kosovo against "ethnic cleansing." This war is not about the Kosovo Albanians. It is a war of domination aimed at realizing longstanding American plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in Serbia through subduing, or if necessary dislodging, Milosevic. Since when do the imperialists care about the oppressed peoples? Hundreds of thousands of immigrants are deported every year by the European governments. Indeed, these same governments went into a virtual frenzy at the thought of having to open their borders to the refugees from Kosovo.

The ICL stands in the tradition of V. I. Lenin, whose "Socialism and War," a powerful handbook of revolutionary internationalism written in 1915 and circulated clandestinely to workers and soldiers throughout Europe during the war, teaches:

> "The standpoint of social-chauvinism is shared equally by both advocates of victory for their governments in the present war and by advocates of the slogan of 'neither victory nor defeat.' A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, and cannot fail to see that the latter's military reverses must facilitate its overthrow."

Lenin stressed that in the case of an imperialist war against a small nation or semicolonial people, it is the duty of the working class not only to fight for the defeat of one's "own" government but to defend the victims of imperialist aggression. In the present war, we are for the military defense of Serbia, without giving the Milosevic regime a shred of political support. We called for the right of self-determination for the Albanian population of Kosovo against the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade until the Albanian separatists became simply a pawn of NATO's predatory designs. For Marxists, the democratic right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians is necessarily subordinated *now* to the struggle against the imperialist bombing and threatened invasion.

In fact, the all-sided nationalist bloodbath in the Balkans was directly instigated by the imperialists in their drive to destroy the former deformed workers state of Yugoslavia through capitalist counterrevolution. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was born out of World War II, when Tito's Communist partisans battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. Tito's partisans were the only force in Yugoslavia during the war that opposed communalism. But the socialist and democratic ideals to which the Tito regime publicly appealed were undermined by the bureaucratic deformations and the inherent limitations of Stalinism, with its program of building socialism in one country. Tito introduced "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to imperialist economic penetration and reinforced disparities among the various regions, fueling resurgent nationalism.

After Tito's death the bureaucracy began to fracture along national lines. Milosevic, who promoted "market reforms" as head of the central bank, launched his political career by appealing to "greater Serbia" chauvinism particularly against the Kosovo Albanians. In this, he embodied the link between capitalist restoration and nationalism. But Milosevic was not alone in this regard. His Croatian counterpart, Franjo Tudjman, idolizes the World War II fascist Ustasha—a puppet of the German Nazis—and Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic is a rabid nationalist and Islamic reactionary. Marxists oppose the poison of nationalism and fight for the class unity of the workers of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo in overthrowing all the bloody nationalist regimes of the region, from Milosevic to Tudjman. For a socialist federation of the Balkans!

The terminal crisis of Titoist Yugoslavia came in early 1991, when newly elected right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession from the federated state. Germany moved in to steamroller its European allies into recognizing their independence. The U.S. then joined Germany in throwing its weight behind an independent Bosnia under the leadership of Muslim nationalist forces. In Croatia the U.S. and Germany provided the fascistic Tudjman regime with not only large quantities of modern weaponry but also high-level training and advisers. This enabled the Croatian army in mid-1995, in league with NATO's air assault, to rout the Bosnian Serb military forces. Hundreds of thousands of Serb civilians were expelled by Croatian forces in the largest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the war. At the same time, the U.S. covertly funded and armed Islamic fundamentalist

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Chicago: SL/SYC Protests Labourite Warmonger Blair

As British Labour prime minister Tony Blair addressed Chicago's elite Economics Club on April 22 to drum up support for a ground invasion of Serbia, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club protested outside against the U.S./NATO terror war. Calling to "Defend Serbia against imperialist attack," demonstrators chanted "Not one penny, not one man for the Clinton/Blair mass murder plan!" and "Down with U.S./British imperialism! Workers to power!" A Spartacist speaker declared:

"NATO's war in Serbia has nothing to do with 'human rights' or defense of the Albanians in Kosovo against 'ethnic cleansing.' The hypocrisy of the U.S. and its British partners' so-called 'humanitarianism' doesn't fool us. For starters, what about British army repression in Northern Ireland, or the police occupation of the inner cities in the U.S., the racist oppression of blacks, the gunning down of Mexican immigrants at the border.

"This weekend, NATO is plotting the intervention of over 100,000 ground troops as they 'celebrate' their 50th anniversary of imperialist horror over the workers of the world. This deepening conflict in the Balkans underscores the urgency of forging Leninist vanguard parties to lead the working class in socialist revolution to sweep away all the rapacious capitalist ruling classes."

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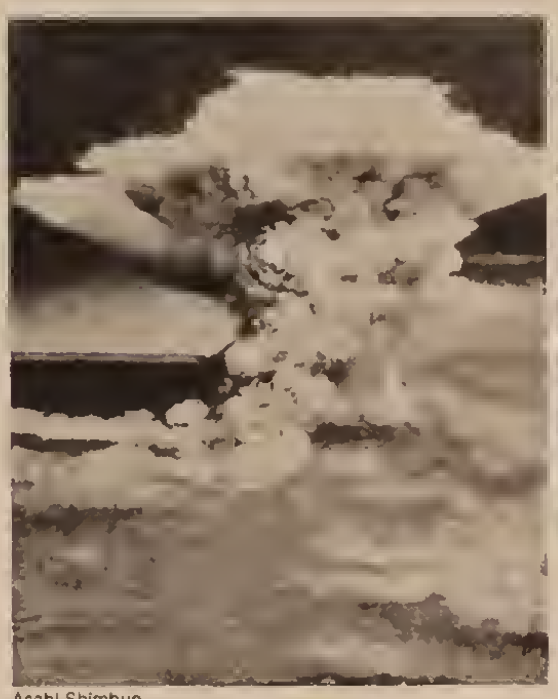

Asahi Shimbun

Novosti

Imperialist barbarism: U.S. nuclear incineration of Hiroshima, 1945; Nazi death camp at Auschwitz.

Spartacist pamphlet

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state in 1991—instigated by the same imperialist powers now carrying out a war of terror against Serbia—was prepared by the former Stalinist regime's pro-capitalist market "reforms." This 1988 collection of *Workers Vanguard* articles analyzes how "market socialism" widened social inequalities and intensified ethnic and national divisions, enormously strengthening the internal forces of capitalist counterrevolution.

$1 (32 pages)

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Declaration...

(continued from page 7)

killers in Bosnia including the *mujahedin* cutthroats who had fought against the Soviet army in Afghanistan.

Euro "Socialists"

War is always a decisive test for revolutionaries. Trotsky insisted that a proletarian position on war required "a complete and real break with official public opinion on the most burning question of the 'defense of the fatherland'." The fake left proves Trotsky's point in the negative. They join in the imperialists' war cry over "poor little Kosovo" while rejecting the defense of Serbia, whose very *right ta natianal existence* is under attack by the imperialist powers. Despite a pacifist veneer of opposition to the bomhing, they march in lockstep behind the war aims of their own imperialisms and the social-democratic or popular-front governments whose election they supported. The camouflage: stop the NATO bombing; the message: go to war in the Balkans with ground troops under EU control. For today's "death of communism" leftists, who long ago gave up any confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, the bloody imperialists—whether under the flags of thc UN or thc EU or NATO—are the means for hringing "human rights" to the oppressed peoples of the world!

In its supposedly "antiwar" propaganda, the European "left" is simply acting as the spokesman for their own imperialist bourgeoisies, whose interests are by no means the same as those of the American imperialists. "The partnership with NATO in the Yugoslav crisis is simply a cloak, masking great differences between the United States and its European allies," a former UN official told the San Francisco *Chronicle*. The same article (15 April) quoted a range of people running the gamut from left to right "who view the intervention in Kosovo as a thinly disguised effort to impose Washington's will on Europe's future." In France, the *Chronicle* noted, "newspaper commentaries are so unremittingly hostile to thc United States that a reader might well imaginc Paris is at war with the Pentagon, rather than with the Yugoslav army," while former German chancellor Helmut Schmidt complained about being "held on a leash by the Americans."

Thus, thc "left" is running point for their own capitalist ruling class: their "anti-Americanism" is a cheap substitute for and an obstacle to anti-imperialist proletarian internationalism. Swimming with the tide of bourgeois "public opinion," the slogans of the "left" dovetail with those of outright fascists; for example, in Germany the Nazis raise the call, "No German blood for foreign interests!"

Perhaps the most hlatant of the *pro-war* "leftists" are the former Stalinist parties, exemplificd by thc French CP, which is of course in the government. Headlining, "Europe and France Must Participatc in Building Peace," a leaflet signed by thc PCF along with the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) in Rouen complained that thc NATO bombing hasn't gotten rid of Milosevic: "Milosevic is still in place! The Albanians are being hunted down or massacred! These are the first results of the military adventure. In contrast, peace in the region implies active and determined support to the weak social and democratic forces fighting against the nationalist dictatorships and for thc right of ethnic minorities."

The fake-Trotskyist LCR, the French organization of the United Secretariat (USec), in its own press is more explicit in beating the drums for war. The LCR openly called for *imperialist military intervention in Kasava* under the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)—a European-dominated military bloc—or the United Nations. In its 1 April issuc, *Rouge* declared:

> "NATO was not the only, and above all not the best, linchpin for an accord. The conditions for a multinational police force (particularly composed of Serbs and Albanians) could be found under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord."

The following week a *Rouge* statement advocated an accord with Serbia that would be policed by "a multinational force under UN control." The UN—truly a den of thieves and their victims—has been an instrument for imperialist militarism from the 1950-53 war against the North Korean deformed workers state to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 war in the Persian Gulf.

Alain Krivine's USec is acting as a mouthpiece for the interests of French imperialism, counterposing to the U.S.-dominated NATO intervention the call for a European imperialist expeditionary force in the Balkans. Rifondazione Comunista (RC) in Italy and the PDS in Germany (as well as somc SPD members like ex-party chairman Oskar Lafontaine) push much the same brand of nationalist anti-Americanism. While the American government is the foremost imperialist military power, this attempt to depict the European imperialist states as more benevolent than the U.S. is nothing but vile social patriotism. Presumably, then, the German hourgeoisie of Anschwitz is morally better than its American counterpart? And what about the dirty history of French colonialism in Algeria and Indochina, or the British empire's history of pillage and murder in Ireland, the Indian subcontinent, Africa and the Middle East? And it was the Italian bourgeoisie which invented concentration camps in Libya, which first used poison gas against the Ethiopian population, and which carried out countless acts of butchery in the Balkans during World War II.

Yevgeni Khaldei

1945: Soviet troops raise red flag over Berlin after Red Army smashed Hitler's Third Reich. Counterrevolution in Soviet Union has increased danger of new imperialist world war.

The French pseudo-Trotskyist organization Lutte Ouvrière (LO) has a well-deserved reputation for catering to the backward prejudices of the working class by ignoring special oppression, whether it be women's oppression, homophobia, racism or the national question in France, where along with the rest of the fake left it denies the right of self-determination for the Basques in France. But they too have suddenly become champions of the right of self-determination of thc Kosovo people. In its 9 April issue, Lutte Ouvrière writes: "If the French government, as well as the other Western governments, were really helping the Kosovars, it would be noticeable and we would not see the endless lines of refugees that we see on TV." Despite its claimed opposition to NATO military attacks, the logic of this position is that the imperialists should intervene more decisively and really crush the Serbs. By demonizing Milosevic—rather than the imperialists—as the main enemy in this conflict, LO serves as a left apologist for the bourgeoisie.

In the same vein, the minuscule International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT), which sneers at independence for Quebec and more generally is notorious for its indifference to the rights of oppressed peoples, such as the Catholics in Northern Ireland, today howls for "independence for Kosovo"—apparently they only champion independence for those who have imperialist sponsorship.

In Italy, Rifondazione preaches confidence in the UN and calls for a conference of European *capitalist* powers to resolve the Balkans crisis. RC revels in anti-Americanism in order to alibi its support to its own ruling class. RC's call to shut down the NATO air base in Italy is raised from the perspective of Italian nationalism and in the interest of a stronger capitalist Europe directed against its imperialist rivals (like the U.S.). Wc Trotskyists appeal not to the bourgeois state, but rather to the Italian proletariat to mobilize labor actions against the U.S./NATO bases, from which a deadly war is being launched against the interests of all workers—Serbian, Italian, Albanian and American. We say: Smash the counterrevolutionary NATO alliance through workers revolution!

A four-page supplement issued 10 April by *Proposta*, the limp "left opposition" of RC, never calls for immediate withdrawal of Italian troops from the Balkans. *Proposta* supported the previous "Ulivo"/RC bourgeois government which invaded Albania.

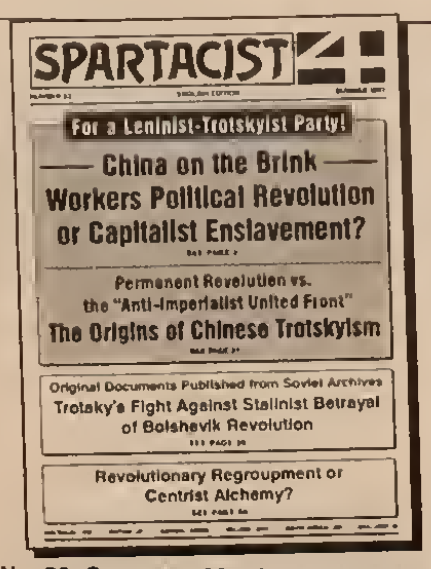
Social chauvinism means defense of "national interests," i.e., calling on the working class to identify with the imperialist aims of the ruling capitalist class. It means the explicit abandonment of class struggle by reformists and pro-capitalist trade union leaders. Thus, the Italian CGIL-CISL-UIL bureaucrats called off a railroad strike as soon as the war broke out. Serbian workers are nòt the enemy of Italian rail workers! The cnemy is the Italian bourgeoisie!

As Lenin asserted: "Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content—class collaboration instcad of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's 'own' government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution." The reformist trade union leaders are bribed with the crumbs of imperialist profit. In France unions get more revenue from the state and the capitalists than from their own members. Fake left groups like LO and LCR emulate this political corruption by taking their own financial subsidies from the bourgeois state. But he who pays the bills calls the political tunes! We struggle for the *complete independence of the trade unians fram the capitalist state!*

Under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we are presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-imperialist war rallies. The centrist Workers Power joined the deeply Labourite Alliance for Workers Liberty in a 10 April "Workers Aid for Kosova" rally in London dominated by NATO and Albanian flags and placards screaming, "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO Now or Never." "Workers Aid for Kosova" is modeled on "Workers Aid for Bosnia," initiated in 1993, which, under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for workers in Bosnia, promoted support to the Bosnian Muslim government and worked hand in glove with UN troops in the fratricidal war between Serbs, Croats and Muslims. It thereby served as a stalking horse for direct imperialist military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs.

A statement distributed at a London public meeting of 30 March by WP's international, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI), claimed to defend the Serbs against NATO attack—"though not in Kosova which they have no right to occupy"! At the same time, WP urges the Albanian separatists "to take full military advantage of the imperialist bomhing to drive out the 'Yugoslav' forces," adding: "If [Clinton and Blair's] primary concern were for the Kosovars they would recognise their statehood, and give the KLA the weapons to drive out the Serbian troops." This is an unvarnished appeal to the NATO imperialists.

Workers Power has in fact supported every reactionary force in the Balkans (including in Serbia) as long as they are opposed to the imperialists' current main enemy, Milosevic. Thus, in June 1991 when the German Fourth Reich was engineering the destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, they called for immediate recognition of the capitalist-restorationist Slovenian and Croatian declarations of independence. A year later WP's Austrian affiliate, the ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt, was involved in a "united front" with the local chapter of Vuk Draskovic's Serb National Rebirth, an organization of Great Serbian monarchists and Chetniks, then in opposition to Milosevic. During the 1995 NATO air strikes, WP refused even on paper to defend the Bosnian Serbs against imperialism.



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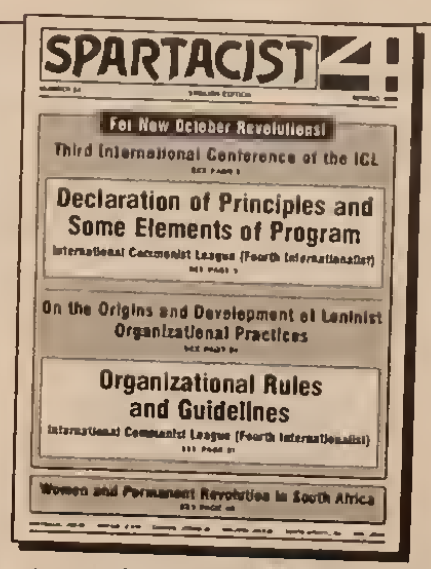

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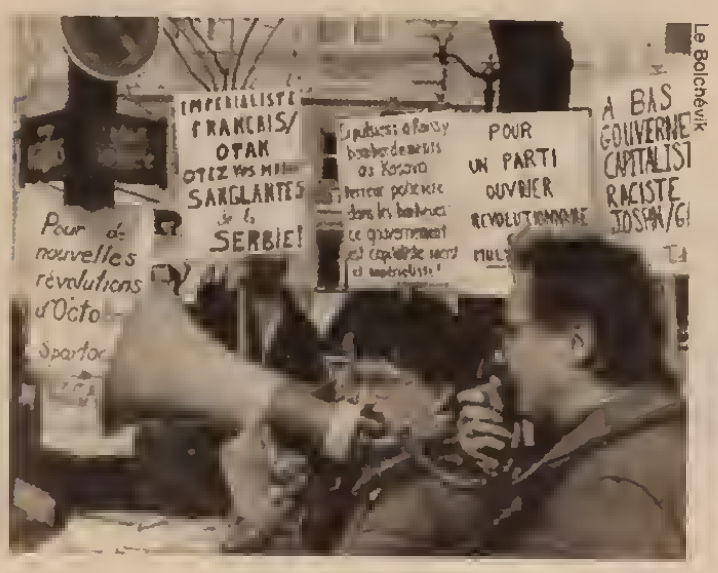
Workers Hammer photos

Fake lefts march behind "human rights" imperialism: Labourite "Alliance for Workers Liberty" and centrist Workers Power (right) at April 10 "Workers Aid for Kosova" rally in London.

It could not be clearer that the fake lefts are social-chauvinists whose bottom line is support to imperialist war aims in the Balkans, despite the theoretical contortions they go through in trying to reconcile their lip-service opposition to NATO with their support to the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army, which is now simply a pawn of NATO. Against the social-chauvinists of his time, Lenin polemicized against Karl Kautsky, a central leader of the German SPD who during the first interimperialist war maintained "loyalty to Marxism in word, and subordination to opportunism in deed." Lenin wrote that "Kautsky 'reconciles' in an unprincipled way the fundamental idea of social-chauvinism, recognition of defence of the fatherland in the present war, with a diplomatic sham concession to the Lefts—his abstention from voting for war credits, his verbal claim to be in the opposition, etc." (Lenin, "Socialism and War," 1915). But today's "leftists" like Workers Power are indeed far to the right of a Karl Kautsky.

It took the opening of the first imperialist world war, World War I, and an orgy of chauvinism to shatter the Second International and for the "socialists" of that time to lead the working class to the slaughter. Today, as the first bombs were being dropped on the Balkan peoples, what passes for the "left" was already prostrate before its own imperialism. In the face of World War I, Lenin called on the workers to turn the interimperialist war into a civil war in all belligerent countries, demanding a split of authentic socialists from the Second International.



Le Bolchévik

Ligue Trotskyste denounces racist Jospin government and imperialist war against Serbia at March 27 Paris protest against deportations of immigrants.

The fake left's ideological prostration before imperialism reflects their many years support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy" and "human rights." As long as the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe existed, as Trotskyists we called for their unconditional military defense against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. We fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. In contrast, the fake left supported all manner of pro-capitalist forces in the name of "anti-Stalinism." The state-capitalist British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Tony Cliff along with its satellites and fake Trotskyists like the USec and Workers Power (the latter with some contradiction) all opposed the intervention of the Soviet Army into Afghanistan, the last objectively progressive act of the Kremlin bureaucracy. In the early 1980s they joined in fervent support to CIA/Vatican-sponsored Polish Solidarność, which was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. A decade later, all these groups cheered on Yeltsin and his pro-imperialist "democrats" as they launched the counterrevolution which was to destroy the Soviet Union.

The SWP, who rejoiced when New Labour was elected, tails after Labour "left" Tony Benn, saying, "Tony Benn has opposed the Falklands War, the Gulf War and this war" (SWP pamphlet, "Stop the War," April 1999). Tony Benn is a "little England" nationalist who called for UN sanctions during the Gulf War and today complains the bombing doesn't have UN authorization. Meanwhile, the press of the Socialist Party (formerly "Militant") calls for "workers' action to overthrow Milosevic" (*Socialist*, 16 April) while, needless to say, never calling for British workers to overthrow British capitalism.

Politically apart from the British "poor little Kosovo" crowd is the Socialist Labour Party (SLP), headed by mineworkers leader Arthur Scargill. An SLP press release of 24 March, quoting Scargill, forthrightly branded Labour Party prime minister Tony Blair a murderer. It pointed to the hypocrisy of the imperialists, noting that "Britain still occupies part of Ireland." However, Scargill's statement that the bombing is being carried out "without even the fig-leaf of a United Nations Security Resolution" implies confidence in that institution of the imperialists. A more left-wing statement by the Normanton Constituency SLP is titled: "Defend Yugoslavia and Iraq—Fight Imperialism." The statement correctly nails Blair's New Labour Party as "anti-working class, pro-imperialist." It says, "We firmly believe in the principle of the right of nations to self determination, and in the case of Yugoslavia that means the right of a sovereign nation to solve its own problems." However, both SLP statements are uncritical of Milosevic's virulent Serb-chauvinism.

Yet in the April/May issue of its *Socialist News*, the SLP says nothing about defeating imperialism, hints at a call for ground troops ("Neither Clinton nor Blair has any intention of putting their soldiers into Kosovo on the side of the Kosovar Liberation Army") and calls on "UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, Russian Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov and the Pope to devise a form of peace negotiations which would stop the bombing"! Talk about an unholy alliance—the Pope who was a key operative for Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, the chief of the UN which invaded Haiti and Somalia and is starving Iraq, and the prime minister of capitalist "post-Soviet" Russia the SLP now beseeches to bring us peace! Scargill's opposition to the Vatican-sponsored Solidarność was used by the Thatcher government as a union-busting spearhead against Scargill and the British miners before and during their 1984-85 strike.

Militants in the SLP who want to oppose British imperialism must understand that the "old Labour" political tradition which the SLP fondly harks back to is anything but anti-imperialist. The "little England" nationalists of the pre-Blair Labour Party "left" stood on the side of their own imperialism from India to Ireland to the "virginity testing" of Asian women seeking admittance into Britain. The line of Labourism is the so-called parliamentary road to socialism—as though the ruling class would hand over state power to the proletariat after a democratic election; in the meantime, they seek to participate in the "humane" administration of the capitalist system. You can't fight imperialist war without a revolutionary fight against the capitalist system which breeds war.

The Working Class Must Fight National and Racial Oppression

Under Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks led the Russian working masses to successfully smash the capitalist state in October 1917. The Bolsheviks took revolutionary Russia out of the imperialist carnage, and founded the Communist International for the purpose of spreading the revolution worldwide.

But unlike in Russia, the sharp revolutionary opportunity presented by the first World War did not lead to the proletariat overthrowing the bourgeoisie in Western Europe. The chief responsibility for this lies with the social democracy. These bloodhounds of counterrevolution served their bourgeois masters well, butchering revolutionaries like the German communists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The pressure of imperialist encirclement on the economically backward Soviet state, the devastation of the Russian working class in the civil war that smashed the counterrevolutionary Russian and imperialist forces, and the failure of proletarian revolution abroad set the stage for a political counterrevolution in 1924 (Thermidor), in which political power was usurped by a nationalist, parasitic caste headed by Stalin and his heirs. Their false dogma of "building socialism in one country" meant in practice an accommodation to imperialism. The Stalinist program of class collaboration has led to the defeat of incipient workers revolutions from China in 1925-27 to Spain in 1936-39, Italy 1943-45 and France in May 1968. Having destroyed the revolutionary internationalist consciousness of the Soviet proletariat, the Stalinist bureaucracy finally devoured the workers state, ushering in the capitalist counterrevolution of 1991-92.

U.S. imperialist president Jimmy Carter

continued on page 10

AP

Lutte de Classe

French expeditionary forces in Macedonia. LO's Arlette Laguiller and LCR's Alain Krivine, "left" promoters of French imperialism.

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Declaration...

(continued from page 9)

waged Cold War II under the rubric of "human rights." Today, "human rights" imperialism is the watchword of the imperialists and their hangers-on to justify their war aims. During World War I, Britain and France justified their war against Germany in the name of liberating Belgium while Germany claimed to be fighting for the liberation of Poland from Russia. Lenin savagely ridiculed this bourgeois deception. While strongly supporting Poland's right to self-determination, he argued that raising this slogan in the context of an interimperialist war could only mean "stooping...to humble servitude to *one* of the imperialist monarchies" ("The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," July 1916).

While the bourgeoisies today howl about "poor little Kosovo," they perpetuate numerous instances of national and racial oppression, including in western Europe. The French bourgeoisie oppresses and expels thousands of North Africans and other *sans papiers* from "la belle France." Germany has deported Kurds back to sure repression and possible death in Turkey, while Bosnian refugees were victims of mass deportations by the Fourth Reich. Italy sank a ship of Albanian refugees on the high seas. Roma and Sinti peoples are hideously tormented across "socialist" Europe.

The repression of the Basque people exposes what capitalist "European unity" is all about: trans-national police-state coordination of terror against oppressed peoples fighting for liberation. We demand freedom for the Basque nationalists in French and Spanish prisons, and call *for the right of self-determination of the Basques, north as well as south of the Pyrenees!*

The ICL fights for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as part of the fight for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles. In this situation of interpenetrated peoples, in which the Catholic minority is currently oppressed within the sectarian Orange statelet, we recognize that there is no equitable solution to national oppression short of the mobilization of the proletariat throughout the British Isles for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, smashing the Orange statelet in the North as well as the Catholic clericalist state in the South.

While screaming about Milosevic, the imperialists are silent about the oppression—including massive forced population transfers—of Kurds in Turkey. The government of Turkey, the southeast bastion of NATO, has carried out a 14-year war against the oppressed Kurdish population that has left some 30,000 dead, totally destroyed 3,500 villages and forced more than three million Kurds to flee their homes. It is notable that the leader of the petty-bourgeois nationalist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), Abdullah Öcalan, was tracked down by the CIA and was denied asylum by every European country, while in Germany the PKK is banned. We say: Freedom for Öcalan! Down with the persecution of Kurdish militants! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

The domestic face of bourgeois nationalism is the sharp increase in racism directed at Europe's dark-skinned and Eastern European immigrant communities, who face massive deportations and state and fascist violence. Immigrants who are no longer needed as "guest workers" for low-paid dirty work are being thrown out while second-generation youth in particular are viewed with contempt by the rulers: with no jobs and no future for these youth, the ruling class fears them as social tinder waiting to explode. Across Europe, capitalist regimes administered by supposed "socialists" unleash their cops to terrorize minority youth, while in Blair's Britain the oppression of blacks and Asians has become such an acute embarrassment that the government was forced to acknowledge "institutionalized racism" in the police.

Racist oppression is integrally linked to the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. Social-democratic regimes and popular-front governments (coalitions which tie working-class parties to the bourgeoisie in government) have been put into office since the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the express purpose of destroying the "welfare state." The capitalist rulers no longer feel obligated to maintain a high standard of living for Western workers to compete with the social benefits of the planned economies of the East European deformed workers states resulting from the victory of the Red Army in World War II. As the bourgeoisie seeks to drive up the rate of exploitation, immigrants are not only targeted for deportation but are used as convenient scapegoats for unemployment and immiseration. Anti-immigrant racism is the cutting edge of attacks on the whole working class. The interests of the working class and minorities must advance together, or they will fall back separately. The workers movement must fight for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants and refugees from right-wing repression.*

Der Spiegel

AFP

"Human rights" imperialism: U.S. occupation forces terrorized Somalia, 1993; SPD-led German government unleashed cops against Kurds protesting arrest of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan in February.

Along with the intensification of the bourgeoisies' war against their own working masses, the final undoing of the October Revolution has intensified social reaction, and as always women are among the chief targets. Capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has pauperized women, driving them out of jobs and back to the tyranny of "Kinder, Kirche, Küche." Across Western Europe and North America, abortion rights are under concerted attack, while in the so-called "Third World" (but not only there), fundamentalist religious forces are on a rampage of anti-woman terror, seeking to buttress every kind of familial and social obstacle to the emancipation of women.

The fake left spreads the illusion that putting the social democrats into power is a means of "fighting the right" and the fascists. This is a bald-faced lie. These capitalist governments have relentlessly persecuted the immigrants, while protecting the fascist gangs who spread their murderous terror. Appealing to the racist bourgeois state to ban the fascists is simply suicidal and augments the arsenal of state repression, which will invariably be used against the left, not the right. We fight to mobilize the social power of the organized proletariat at the head of all the oppressed to smash fascist provocations!

West Europe's dark-skinned proletarians are not just defenseless victims but an important component of the working-class forces capable of destroying the racist capitalist system. To mobilize the power of the integrated proletariat, however, requires a political struggle against the social-democratic parliamentary and union leaderships, which are transmission belts for racist poison into the working class and whose pro-capitalist policies have simply perpetuated the conditions of mass immiseration and despair which serve as the breeding ground for fascism. Only active engagement in the urgent social struggles against racial oppression and repression can lay the basis for the unity of the multiethnic proletariat against the bourgeoisie. But the labor "leaders" pursue the opposite policy, for example by organizing the racist cops into the trade unions. Cops are not workers! We demand: Cops out of the unions!

Fabian/Sygma

Pope of counterrevolution blessing Lech Walesa, leader of Polish Solidarność, which spearheaded drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe in 1980s.

To once and for all smash the fascists—the armed gangs which capital holds in reserve to use against the working class—requires socialist revolution. But the fake lefts who politically tail the larger social-democratic bourgeois workers parties are totally incapable of a bold assault on the capitalist system. It is instructive that the electoral platform of the LO-LCR lashup in the European parliamentary elections does not even mention "socialism," let alone "revolution." For these timid reformists the maximum program is to go back to the good old days of the "welfare state"—the program of social democracy! It is a measure of the retrogression of proletarian consciousness since the destruction of the Soviet Union that most of those who once paid lip service to the *Fourth* International, founded by Leon Trotsky and destroyed by revisionism, have become open mouthpieces for the politics of the Second International, which the heroic Rosa Luxemburg already aptly described as a "stinking corpse" at the time of the First World War! In sharp distinction to these pseudo-Trotskyists, who openly acquiesce to capitalist rule, we fight for *new October Revolutions*, which requires the reforging of the Fourth International as a world party of socialist revolution!

Down With Maastricht! For a Workers Europe!

Previously a diplomatic appendage to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance, today the European Union is an unstable adjunct to the economic, military and political priorities of the European capitalists, and is

International Communist League

(Fourth Internationalist)

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directed against the workers of Europe and non-European immigrants, as well as against Germany's main imperialist rivals, the U.S. and Japan. With Germany as its strongest component, the European Union is also an arena in which the fundamentally conflicting interests of the major European bourgeois states are expressed.

Because capitalism is organized on the basis of particular nation states, itself the cause of repeated imperialist wars to redivide the world, it is impossible to cohere a stable pan-European bourgeois state. The perspective of a progressive European "superstate," as preached by Jospin, Schröder et al. is a bald-faced lie. As Lenin noted long ago, a capitalist United States of Europe is either impossible or reactionary:

> "Of course, *temporary* agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists...but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America" ("On the Slogan for a United States of Europe," August 1915).

In contrast, Workers Power actually maintains that the EU is progressive, or potentially so, arguing that "to some extent European workers will be better armed to fight back on a continental scale after the implementation of the terms of Maastricht" (*Workers Power*, June 1992). Thus WP becomes the mouthpiece for capitalist "united" Europe. As Trotsky wrote of the centrists of his time, "But it is a law that whoever is afraid of a break with the social patriots will inevitably become their agent" ("Lessons of October," 4 November 1935). In a parody of parliamentary cretinism, WP even calls for a Europe-wide constituent assembly!

LO similarly had an abstentionist position on Maastricht. In reality, these groups act as left democrats, seeking to put a "democratic" face on capitalist reaction. We stand with Lenin. The "unity" of the EU has been directed against the proletariat and oppressed; raining bombs on Yugoslavia, policing the borders against "illegal" immigrants, turning over Öcalan to the torture chambers of Turkey.

A statement for the Europarliament issued by Scargill's SLP calls for getting Britain out of the European Union. Titled "Vote Us In to Get Us Out," the statement presents the EU and the Maastricht Treaty as the root cause of rising unemployment and the general worsening of economic conditions. This obscures the fact that, with or without the Maastricht Treaty, the main enemy of the workers of each country is their "own" bourgeoisie. Thatcher's Britain pioneered the dismantling of the "welfare state" years before there was any serious talk of a common European currency. Our opposition to the EU is based on a proletarian internationalist perspective, not the nationalist protectionism of the SLP. Only the overthrow of capitalism through workers revolution and the establishment of a *Sociolist United States af Europe*, as part of a worldwide socialist society, can lay the basis for the development of productive resources that will genuinely benefit mankind.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Sharply impacted by the Asian economic collapse, the Japanese economy has suffered its greatest crisis in 50 years. Japanese imperialism, for its part, has reacted with an aggressive attempt to refurbish bourgeois militarism. As the U.S. and its NATO allies began their barrage of cruise missiles and bombs against Serbia, the Japanese navy fired at two vessels suspected of being North Korean spy ships. This was only the second time in the postwar period that the navy has fired its weapons, the other time being in 1953 against the USSR off Hokkaido.

A statement by the Spartacist Group of Japan (SGJ) noted:

> "While endorsing the U.S./NATO massacre of Serbs, the Japanese ruling class is well aware that American imperialism's role as top world cop is also directed against them, America's main imperialist rival in the Pacific. Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Japan-U.S. security treaty less and less suits the real interests of the Japanese bourgeoisie. Already the second biggest military spender in the world, Japanese imperialism is pushing the revised military guidelines to prepare its own battle-ready army and navy."

Asserting "Not one man, not one yen for the imperialist military!" the SGJ emphasized that the struggle against imperialist war cannot be conducted separate and apart from the class struggle:

> "Japanese workers must join with workers from Indonesia to the Philippines in the struggle for a socialist Asia, in the unconditional military defense of China, North Korea and Vietnam against imperialist attack and for proletarian political revolution. What is needed is an uncompromising proletarian party to lead the working class to state power."

The sharp escalation of interimperialist rivalry, reflected in the growth of bourgeois militarism in the U.S., Europe and Japan, expresses a fundamental law of imperialism. Imperialism is not a policy that can be made more humane, as the liberals and reformists contend, but "the highest stage of capitalism," as Lenin defined it: "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

Lenin sharply polemicized against Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism," today resuscitated as "globalization," which claimed that the great capitalist powers could peacefully agree on the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital. Lenin asserted, to the contrary, that "the only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interest, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the ***strength*** of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc." The small number of imperialist powers are engaged in a ruthless struggle to improve their relative competitive position by increasing the rate of exploitation of their domestic working class, by plundering the colonial and semicolonial world and by seizing markets at the expense of their rivals. Thus, the basis is laid for new wars to redivide the world in accord with the changing relative strengths of the imperialists. As Lenin asserted: "'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing ***all*** the imperialist powers, are ***inevitably*** nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars" (Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*).

The view held by fake leftists like Workers Power that a European capitalist superstate can be constructed by peaceful means is simply a modern-day variant of Kautsky's theory. Another variant is the view that the existence of nuclear weapons will restrain the capitalist imperialists—at least the "democratic" imperialists—from resorting to a new world war. In a polemic with Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers International we pointed out that this demonstrated touching faith in the democratic imperialists, who gratuitously atom-bombed their already defeated enemy at the close of World War II. Today's "leftists" who expect rationality and restraint from the imperialist rulers have deliberately short memories: the bloody-handed carpet bombers of Vietnam have little rationality and even less scruples.

There is an element of fatuousness in the presumption on the part of the American bourgeoisie that Russia's weakness and indebtedness preclude it from military intervention. The Russia of the tsars was not strong when it chose to mobilize against Austria (and therefore Germany) in WWI. None of the combatants indulged in such "rational" calculation; they all expected the war to be over in a few short months. This is how wars start, and our centrist opponents are as foolish as the bourgeoisies they tail in this regard. We are not dealing with a rational social system, but rather with imperialism. ***Only warld socialist revolution can sove monkind from a borboric autcome.***

Writing on the aftermath of Hitler's coming to power, the Russian revolutionary leader and founder of the Fourth International Leon Trotsky wrote: "The catastrophic commercial, industrial, agrarian and financial crisis, the break in international economic ties, the decline of the productive forces of humanity, the unbearable sharpening of class and international contradictions mark the twilight of capitalism and fully confirm the Leninist characterization of our epoch as one of ***wors and revalutions***." He concluded "War and the Fourth International" (1934) by asserting: "It is indisputable at any rate that in our epoch only that organization that bases itself on international principles and enters into the ranks of the world party of the proletariat can root itself in the national soil. ***The struggle agoinst war means now the struggle far the Faurth International!***" We seek to carry forward the work begun by comrade Trotsky: ***Rcforge the Fourth International!*** ■

War is the mother of revolution: Petrograd soldiers in June 1917 raise banner calling for Third International only months before Bolshevik-led October Revolution brought workers to power. ICL fights for new October Revolutions.

Newport News...

(continued from page 12)

strike. Newport News shipyard workers are proud to be an integrated beachhead of union power in the "open shop," racist South—a picket line captain aptly calls strikers his "soldiers." The attention of workers throughout the area is riveted on this strike. Teachers join retired shipyard workers on the picket lines. A black auto worker at the Volvo plant in the southwest Virginia town of Radford who used to work at the shipyard came to the picket line to express his solidarity. Go-go dancers from "The Katt" brought a thousand burgers and sodas to the picket line. A union leadership determined to win this strike would be raising a call for the thousands of Tidewater unionists—from other shipyard workers to ILA Longshoremen and Teamsters—to beef up the picket lines.

A victory in this strike could lay the groundwork for a drive to organize the South. It could be a concrete aid to the effort by the International Union of Operating Engineers to organize 2,100 workers at a Gateway 2000 computer plant in nearby Hampton. More directly, a victory at Newport News would have a huge effect on the years-long union recognition fight at Louisiana's Avondale yard, which is slated for a merger with Newport News. That unionization drive has dragged through the courts because the labor tops have looked to the government's pro-business National Labor Relations Board.

Unions are built on the picket lines, just as Local 8888 was during the bitter three-month-long strike in 1979. The fight to organize the South means taking on not only the capitalist owners of industry, who reap huge profits by exploiting low-paid labor but the cops and courts at their command and the Klan terrorists who are deadly enemies of integrated labor struggle.

Such a class-struggle perspective is far removed from the outlook of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). An article on the strike in the SWP's *Militant* (26 April) *sympathizes with scabs crossing the picket lines*: "The shipyard employs thousands of non-union contract workers, many of whom face immediate termination if they do not go into work. A number of these workers give the striking unionists the thumbs up as they enter the yard." We say: Picket lines mean don't cross! The SWP's scabherding line is part and parcel of a program counterposed to mobilizing the multiracial proletariat in class struggle against the capitalist system. The *Militant*'s coverage of the strike refuses to take on the pro-capitalist, flag-waving policies of the labor misleaders and says nothing about the burning need to combat racist oppression. And while opposing the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia, the SWP puts front and center the call for "independence for Kosova," echoing the "human rights" propaganda which the American capitalist rulers use to justify their war of terror.

The Spartacist League calls forthrightly for the *defeat* of racist U.S. imperialism through workers revolution and for defense of Serbia against the U.S./NATO terror war. A blow to the U.S. rulers' drive for world domination would aid the struggles of workers and blacks here. We fight to forge a multiracial workers party committed to sweeping away this whole system of exploitation, racism and imperialist war and replacing it with a workers government. Those who labor must rule! ■

CORRECTIONS

In "Victory to Newport News Shipyard Workers!" (*WV* No. 711, 16 April), we wrote that Avondale Industries refused to accept a 1993 union recognition vote in its Gulfport, Mississippi shipyard. The Avondale shipyard is in Gulfport, Louisiana.

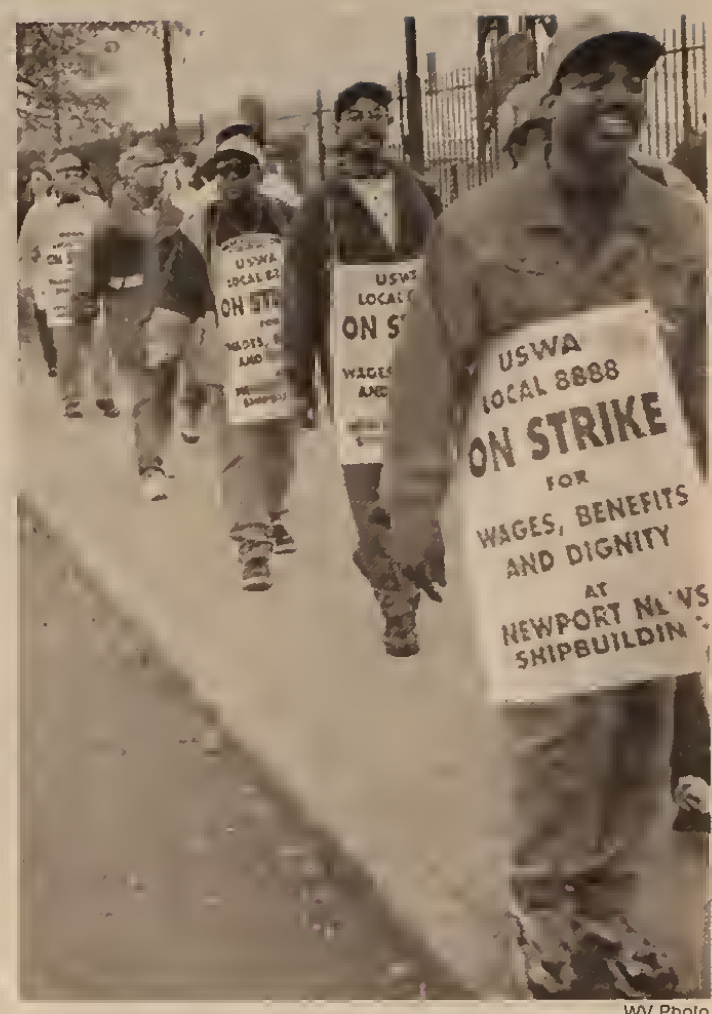
In the same issue, the article "Down With U.S./NATO Terror Bombing!" misdated the London "Workers Aid to Kosova" demonstration as February 10. The correct date is April 10.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Newport News Shipyard

Shut It Down Tight With Mass Pickets!

Lobbying Congress—Dead End



Newport News strike is key battle for labor in racist, "open shop" South.

WV Photo

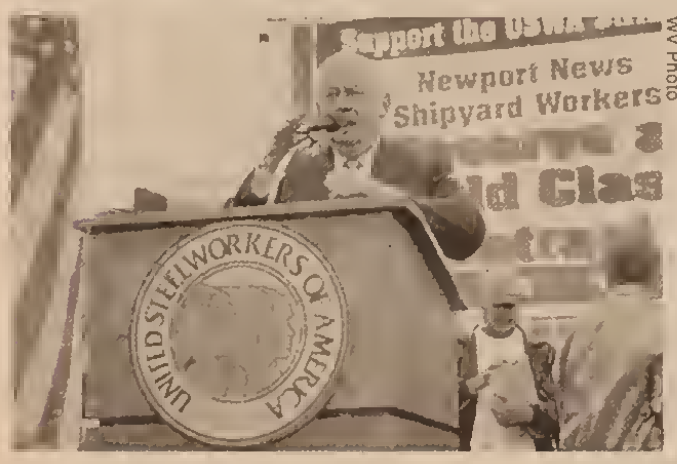
APRIL 25—The strike by United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888 against Newport News Shipyard in the Virginia Tidewater area is now entering its fourth week. Newport News, where nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers are built and overhauled, is the country's largest private shipyard. The outcome of the Newport News strike will weigh heavily in the national steel contract negotiations coming up this summer. And a victory by Local 8888, one of the few integrated industrial unions in the South, can serve as a gateway for unionization of this low-wage, "open shop" region. Central to this strike and the organization of labor throughout the South is the need to combat racist discrimination on and off the job. *Victory to the Newport News strike!*

The anger against the arrogant shipyard bosses which fuels the strikers' resolve was clear to a *Workers Vanguard* team at the picket lines last week. One striker told *WV* how management tried to dump an injured 62-year-old worker by getting him a job as a K-mart "greeter." Another talked about how he would retire with a pension of $300 a month after 26 grueling years in the yard. While workers' wages have been frozen since 1993 (as opposed to a 16.5 percent raise at the General Dynamics Electric Boat shipyard in Connecticut), Newport News chairman William Fricks' total compensation package rose *256 percent* to over $2 million.

Picketers complained bitterly about how the local press is working overtime to disparage the strikers, like a recent issue of the *Virginian-Pilot* which sneeringly labeled these highly skilled workers "high school dropouts" who ought to be "thankful" they had a job. Meanwhile, state and local cops have been out in force—sometimes outnumbering picketers—doing the bidding of the shipyard bosses, harassing strikers and arresting six on bogus "public drunkenness" charges.

In our last article, we stressed the need "to galvanize trade unionists and black people throughout the Tidewater area to join strikers in the mass pickets needed to win" (*WV* No. 711, 16 April). Though there is no production going on, the shipyard remains open. Contractors and Navy personnel are crossing the picket lines. Scab trucks continue to make deliveries. The workers rightly think their skills, involving exacting and highly dangerous work, cannot easily be replaced. But Fricks hopes to foster a scab "back to work" movement in the course of a protracted strike—that is the significance of keeping the yard open. The picketers' chant of "88, close the gate" must become a reality. The key to winning the strike is *mass, militant, disciplined picket lines that shut the yard down tight.*

The USWA International tops' strategy only weakens the picket lines. Their failure to provide adequate strike benefits is forcing many strikers to find part-time jobs to get by. More importantly, the union bureaucracy is channeling the strike into dead-end appeals to the capitalist government and Democratic Party politicians. We warned last issue that the "America first" chauvinism of the USWA International bureaucracy would leave the strikers "disarmed as management and the government try to break the strike by appealing to the 'national interest'" in the context of the capitalist rulers' war against Serbia.



WV Photo

April 21 USWA lobby of Congress featured AFL-CIO president John Sweeney and Democratic politicians. Labor tops' flag-waving appeals to "national defense" and reliance on capitalist government undermine fight against Newport News management.

This became all the clearer last week as the International sent hundreds of strikers to Washington on April 21 to ask Congress to "show their appreciation for the contributions these workers make to our national defense." This lobby was a centerpiece of the "Blueprint for Victory" unveiled by the union tops at an April 14 mass meeting of some 7,000 workers. Standing on the Capitol steps, USWA International president George Becker and AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney were flanked by a host of Democratic Party politicians, including Virginia Senator Charles Robb. Becker kicked off the flag-waving hoopla with talk of how Newport News workers build the "finest fighting ships in the world" that "defend this country" throughout Asia, the Near East and Kosovo.

Robb, announcing that he had just returned from the Balkans, openly beat the drums for the U.S./NATO war of domination against tiny Serbia. Praising the "master shipbuilders" at Newport News for building the ships now being used for bombing defenseless civilians and destroying factories and homes in Serbia, Robb's punch line was to warn the strikers that it is not "in the U.S. interests to have a long, protracted disagreement" at Newport News. Only a few days earlier, Secretary of Defense William Cohen had made it amply clear that the "national interest" is the capitalists' *class* interests—i.e., profits—as he weighed in behind management attacks on the union. In reporting his veto of a proposed takeover of Newport News by General Dynamics, the Newport News-Hampton *Daily Press* (17 April) headlined: "Cohen Warns Shipyard: Cut Costs or Else." In addition to keeping wages down, the shipyard bosses are now threatening hundreds of layoffs. As the vast number of military bases in the South are mobilized for a ground war, the tempo of war propaganda will accelerate and put even more pressure on the strike.

In joining with capitalist politicians in pushing "stars and stripes" demagogy, the union tops express their class-collaborationist lie of a "partnership" between labor and capital. This was clear as well in the protectionist tirades for steel import quotas voiced throughout the April 21 rally. Such trade-war measures are the prelude to another world war, in which the sons and daughters of working people will be dragged off to die for the interests of the corporate fat cats. At the rally, Hawaii Congressman Neil Abercrombie declared his state "the beachhead of American interests in the Asian Pacific area." *Those* interests are *counterposed* to the international class interests of the working class, which includes active solidarity with 6,000 shipyard workers in South Korea now on strike against the giant Daewoo conglomerate and the American-backed police-state regime there. In the U.S., "America first" chauvinism fuels attacks on immigrant workers and emboldens racist, anti-labor forces like the KKK lynchers.

Becker & Co. appealed to Congress to get the "parties back to the bargaining table." This is an invitation for government intervention—which will only be used to break the strike. The pro-capitalist union misleaders claim that the Democrats are "friends of labor," but the Democrats are no less than the Republicans a party of big business. The Clinton administration has overseen a broad assault on labor—including escalating attacks on the Teamsters in the wake of their 1997 victory over UPS—while massively augmenting the repressive forces of the racist, strikebreaking cops, axing welfare programs for the ghetto poor and forcing them into slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes.

What is needed is a political fight inside the unions to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership—one which recognizes that the interests of labor are counterposed to those of the employers, their government and their political parties. Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government!

Reliance on the racist capitalist government and its politicians is a blueprint for defeat, directly counterposed to the fight to mobilize the mass pickets needed to shut down Newport News and win the

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Break with the Democrats—Forge a Workers Party!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 713 | 14 May 1999

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War

U.S. Rulers Target Serbian People

MAY 10—U.S. jets dropped anti-personnel cluster bombs on the Serbian city of Nis last week, devastating a hospital and an outdoor market, killing 15 people and wounding 70. This gruesome atrocity exemplified the U.S./NATO rulers' intensifying war of terror against the people of Serbia. The following day, three NATO missiles crashed into the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, killing three people and injuring many more. In recent days, U.S./NATO war jets have repeatedly bombed generators and power grids. While issuing ever more perfunctory "apologies" for inflicting "collateral damage"—the slaughter of civilians by the hundreds—the imperialists barely even try to disguise the obvious fact that *the aim of the U.S./NATO bombing is to terrorize the Serbian population*.

Reuters

U.S./NATO terror bombing is aimed at inflicting maximum suffering on civilian population of Serbia. U.S. jets dropped anti-personnel cluster bombs on city of Nis, killing 15 and destroying homes, a hospital and street market.

All U.S./NATO/UN Troops Out of the Balkans Now!

The Italian newsweekly *L'Espresso* (6 May) reports that NATO has now implemented "phase three" of its bombing campaign, specifically targeting water and power supplies and telephone networks with the aim of inflicting maximum suffering in the hope that the population will turn against President Slobodan Milosevic. The article noted:

> "Five weeks of bombing has brought Yugoslavia back to a pre-industrial era, with the destruction of factories, refineries, streets, bridges, railways, communications and command centers.... At the end of April, it was announced that a campaign had been launched against the aqueducts to destroy the system of water distribution. (Yugoslavs will begin to drink water from the Danube, and thousands of newborns will die and come down with dysentery—a scheme which was already tried and applied in Iraq.)"

This underlines the cynicism of the imperialists' "human rights" pretenses. This is an imperialist war of domination against a small, dependent country in which the international proletariat has a side, against the U.S./NATO rulers. As we wrote last issue: "The interests of U.S. workers lie not in saving the skins of this gang of strikebreakers, racists and warmongers, but rather in seeing them defeated. That means opposing the imperialist war aims of U.S. capitalism and standing in military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO attack, demanding the withdrawal of all UN/ NATO troops from the Balkans, and striving for the defeat of U.S. imperialism through workers revolution" ("Down With U.S. Cops of the World!" *WV* No. 712, 30 April). Our revolutionary-defensist line toward Serbia means not one iota of political support to the capitalist Milosevic regime. Rather, we call for the workers of the former Yugoslavia to overthrow all the nationalist butchers in the region and forge a socialist federation of the Balkans.

The extent of the destruction unleashed by the imperialist attacks is truly staggering. A group of economists, including some from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, evaluated total bomb damage at more than $40 billion and estimated that more than 500,000 people have seen their workplaces destroyed. The report noted that "the total economic damage caused by NATO aggression and measured in relation to gross domestic product will likely exceed that caused in World War II" (Inter Press Service). At the same time, the *L'Espresso* article reports that Serbian military losses have been limited to a couple of planes, a few tanks, one missile battery and some radar installations. In other

continued on page 6

As NATO Bombs Factories

Campaign Launched for Aid to Yugoslav Workers

Donate Now!

On the night of April 9, NATO forces bombed the Zastava car factory in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, *knowing that the plant was protected by a "live shield" of workers*. Tens of workers were killed, scores were injured, many of them seriously, and the power plant supplying heat to the city's hospital, schools and residences was also bombed to bits. The Zastava plant employed some 20,000 workers. They and another 60,000 from 200 companies linked to the plant are now out of work. "We are out of bread now. I hope that NATO will stop bombing us," said one of the injured workers. In response to this deliberate act of imperialist murder, workers organized by the Italian COBAS (Rank and File Committee) in Milano's Alfa Romeo plant staged a strike and decided there to

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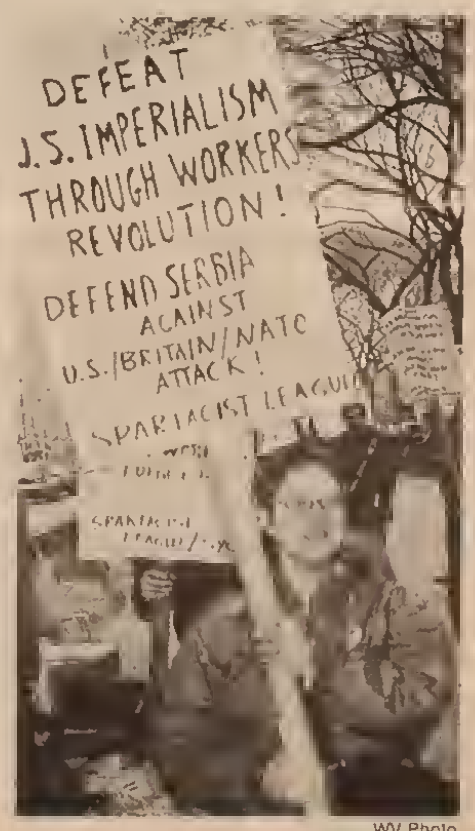

WV Photo

Spartacist League protest in Chicago: For proletarian revolutionary struggle against imperialist war!

Free Mumia Now!

New Papers Filed in U.S. Supreme Court

WV Photo

With his fight for life and freedom posed with ever greater urgency, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court on April 22 to hear his appeal to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman. The petition for a writ of *certiorari* calls for a review of last October's Pennsylvania Supreme Court decision, which upheld his conviction under hanging judge Albert Sabo and rubber-stamped Sabo's dismissal of a 1995 appeal by Jamal. The stay of execution which Mumia won toward the end of the 1995 appeal hearing holds while the current petition is pending.

As the new court papers state, Jamal "maintains his innocence and has, since his conviction, been able to uncover an array of evidence powerfully supporting his long-standing insistence that he is a victim of a monumental injustice." Yet at each step of the way, the racist courts have tossed aside overwhelming evidence of Jamal's innocence and police and prosecutorial misconduct as they prepare the legal lynching of this eloquent spokesman for the oppressed. (For more on this, see *Black History* No. 15, August 1998, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!")

Jamal's petition specifically challenges the outrageous violation of his Sixth Amendment rights to represent himself and be present in the courtroom during the 1982 trial. Jamal, who had prepared his own case, was stripped of his right to defend himself in both the jury selection and trial procedures and saddled instead with an attorney totally unprepared and unwilling to take over the defense. After Jamal protested this trampling of his rights, Sabo went on to order him removed from large portions of the trial. As a result, Mumia was tried virtually *in absentia*, kept in a jail cell without even a video or audio feed to allow him to follow the proceedings in which his life was at stake.

Jamal's removals from the courtroom came during critical moments in the trial, including the testimony of the central prosecution witness, Cynthia White, who had been coerced by the cops, and the presentation of the prosecution's phony ballistics evidence. When the prosecution presented a security guard who claimed that Jamal had confessed shortly after the shooting, Jamal rose to demonstrate that the story was a total fabrication, asking why the guard had taken two months to report the "confession" to police. Once again, Jamal was dragged from the courtroom. He was also barred from a critical closed-door hearing to examine two police officers about a police report stating that Jamal had been shot by "arriving police reinforcements"—not by the slain officer, as the prosecution claimed.

A talented print and broadcast journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his searing exposés of racist injustice, Mumia had wide experience covering Philadelphia courts. The judge, prosecutors and cops feared that Jamal would be a strong advocate in the courtroom. The petition gives a taste of this in quoting one of Jamal's statements at the trial:

> "I have been told from the duration of this trial, the beginning of the trial, the inception of the trial, that I had a number of constitutional rights. Chief among them the right to represent myself. The right to select a jury of my peers. The right to face witnesses and examine them based on information they have given. Those rights were taken from me.... I want my rights in this courtroom because my life is on the line."

The wholesale denial of Jamal's rights in the sham 1982 "trial" and at every legal appeal since only underscores the impossibility of his receiving a "fair trial" from the racist courts. Nor can fighters for Mumia's freedom look for justice from the U.S. Supreme Court, which has been instrumental in speeding up executions and gutting federal *habeas corpus* rights—from the 1987 *McClesky* decision that evidence of racial bias in death sentences was "irrelevant" to the grotesque 1993 *Herrera* ruling that the execution of an innocent man would not violate constitutional rights! While Mumia and his lawyers pull every available legal lever on his behalf, what is crucially necessary is to bring to bear the social power of the integrated labor movement at the head of all opponents of racist capitalist injustice. Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Bux 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contrihutions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deduetible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Ahu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

As the U.S. and its NATO partners rain terror down on Serbia, the reformist and centrist left either openly supports the war aims of the imperialists or issues impotent appeals to the bloody capitalist rulers to "stop the bombing." In this, they follow in the footsteps of the social democrats of the Second International, who supported their bourgeoisies in World War I and today administer many of the European capitalist governments waging war against Serbia. Our attitude is fundamentally counterposed. Like Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, we understand that the only way to put an end to imperialist war is through socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist rulers and place the proletariat in power.

Conferences with so-called programmes of "action" have till now confined themselves to announcing a more or less outspoken programme of sheer pacifism. Marxism is not pacifism. Of course, the speediest possible termination of the war must be striven for. However, the "peace" demand acquires a proletarian significance only if a *revolutionary* struggle is called for. Without a series of revolutions, what is called a democratic peace is a philistine Utopia. The purpose of a real programme of action can be served only by a *Marxist* programme which gives the masses a full and clear explanation of what has taken place, explains what imperialism is and how it should be combated, declares openly that the collapse of the Second International was brought about by opportunism, and openly calls for a Marxist International to be built up without and *against* the opportunists. Only a programme that shows that we have faith in ourselves and in Marxism and that we have proclaimed a life-and-death struggle against opportunism will sooner or later win us the sympathy of the genuinely proletarian masses.

—V.I. Lenin and G. Y. Zinoviev, *Socialism and War* (July/August 1915)

IRS: Hands Off Defenders of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

We print below a letter by the Partisan Defense Committee protesting a reported probe by federal tax authorities against the Black United Fund, a group which collects funds for defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. This probe targets all of Jamal's supporters.

9 May 1999

To: Internal Revenue Service

The Partisan Defense Committee strongly protests the ominous threats from the Internal Revenue Service against the Black United Fund of Pennsylvania for its fundraising activities on behalf of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, and against the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and donors to his cause. This maneuver is of a piece with the ongoing vendetta by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and its bloodthirsty cohorts aimed at intimidating the growing ranks of Jamal's supporters. The F.O.P. and its allies, meanwhile, raise tens of thousands of dollars in a sinister campaign to speed this innocent man to the execution chamber. IRS: Hands off Black United Fund!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 713 **14 May 1999**

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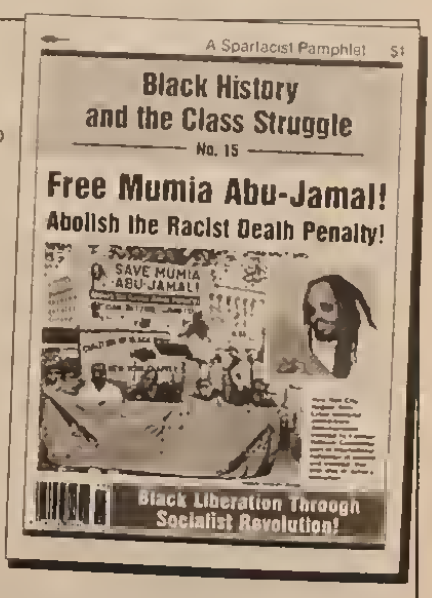

Liberals on Kosovo: Give War a Chance

Reuters

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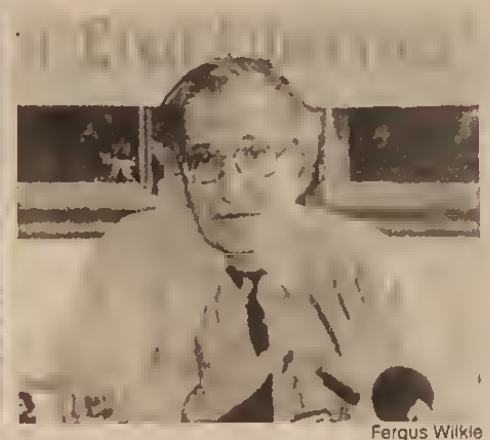
Fergus Wilkie

Liberal Susan Sontag (left) and "Democratic Socialist" Bogdan Denitch (center) beat drums for terror war against Serbia, while "antiwar anarchist" Noam Chomsky peddles illusions in more "humane" imperialism.

As U.S./NATO bombs rained down on the people of Serbia, the annual "Socialist Scholars Conference" opened in New York City last month with a plenary session where the chairman, Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) head Bogdan Denitch, decreed that there would be no discussion of the war. Sitting alongside this rabidly pro-imperialist warmonger, self-styled "antiwar radical" Noam Chomsky dutifully followed suit and said not a word against the war. In this gathering of a thousand supposed "socialists," only the Trotskyist Spartacist League rose to voice proletarian revolutionary opposition to the U.S.-led imperialist terror bombing. Our comrades also raised signs demanding, "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" and "Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!"

Against these social-patriots and lukewarm liberals who gather once a year to sugely intone on Marxism—while spitting on the Marxist program of proletarian revolution—we carry forward the revolutionary heritage of Marx and Engels. Like Marx, we understand that the fundamental division in capitalist society is between those who must sell their labor power in order to survive and those who live off the exploitation of that labor. Like Lenin, we understand that imperialist war is endemic to capitalism, whose drive for profits means competition for markets and spheres of influence.

As Marx put it, capitalism had created its "own gravedigger" in the proletariat, which by virtue of its role in creating all the wealth in capitalist society has the social power to overturn this system predicated on exploitation, oppression and war. Our purpose is to provide the revolutionary leadership which will mobilize that social power for a proletarian revolution to place the working class in power, expropriate the bourgeoisie and lay the basis for a socialist egalitarian society. Thus, we seek to mobilize the proletariat in class-struggle opposition to the imperialist war against Serbia and strive for the *defeat* of the U.S. capitalist rulers.

The purpose of Denitch and the DSA, as well as the other purported socialists and radicals at the Socialist Scholars Conference, is the opposite—to provide a "democratic" façade to the depredations of imperialism. Denitch's DSA has long been a loyal component of the Democratic Party, a capitalist party of war and racism. A shrill advocate of Clinton's war, the Croatian-born Denitch chastises his more squeamish comrades in a *Nation* (26 April) editorial that "opposition to US military intervention...shouldn't become obsessive dogma." He baldly added, "The bombing should stop only when Belgrade agrees to pull out or is pushed out of Kosovo, if necessary hy ground troops."

While Denitch is so contemptible that he is reviled even within his own organization, his pro-war line is typical of a whole range of liberals, warmed-over New Leftists and renegades from Marxism. A chemically pure expression of the latter is Tim Wohlforth, onetime leader of the fake-Trotskyist Workers League, who screamed at the time of the U.S./NATO bombing of the Bosnian Serbs in 1995: "Give war a chance"! Joining these types are an array of liberal intellectual glitterati like Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens. Hitchens uses his column in the *Nation* (17 May) to sneer at the "self-pitying" types who attend "peace" events carrying the target symbol worn by Serbs to protest the NATO bombing of civilians. He concludes by urging NATO that if it is not to accept "a sordid carve-up brokered with Russia," its only option is a "full-scale invasion." Hitchens, who fashions himself a "bad boy" intellectual, is also a longstanding opponent of women's right to abortion.

Sontag was a radical antiwar writer during the Vietnam War who in 1982 shocked even many anti-Communist "leftists" when she declared, "Communism is in itself a variant, the most successful variant, of fascism" (quoted in Alan Wald, *The New York Intellectuals* [1987]). Now, an article by Sontag in the *New York Times Magazine* (2 May) boosting the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia as a "just war" for the Kosovo Albanians drips with chauvinism:

> "Are we not saying that European lives, European suffering are more valuable, more worth acting on to protect, than the lives of people in the Middle East, Africa and Asia?...
>
> "Yes, to care about the fate of the people in Kosovo *is* Eurocentric, and what's wrong with that?"

Bringing up the rear of these drummer boys and girls for "human rights" imperialism is the eminent Professor Chomsky, who trades on his credentials as a noted linguist in order to hoodwink leftist youth with his armchair "anarchism." For all his long, boring speeches exposing some of the crimes of U.S. imperialism, Chomsky is an out-and-out liberal whose "anarchism" is a cover for virulent hostility to Leninism and the 1917 Bolshevik-led workers revolution in Russia. In an interview in *Against the Current* (March/April 1995), Chomsky crowed over the capitalist counterrevolution which plunged the working people of the former Soviet Union and East Europe into misery and fratricidal bloodletting, saying: "It's like the fall of fascism. It opens new opportunities for socialism."

And Chomsky knows a thing or two about fascism. Exemplifying liberal "evenhandedness," in the early 1980s he publicly defended Nazi Holocaust apologist Robert Faurisson, a French academic. When French leftists criticized him for his vile stand, Chomsky countered that this was because they were under the "great influence of Leninism"!

Chomsky's performance at the Socialist Scholars Conference was typical of this intellectual charlatan. While not openly supporting the U.S./NATO war aims, he sows ideological confusion which serves to corral leftist youth behind the hope for a more "humane" imperialism. In his recent Internet statement on the *Z Magazine* Web site, "The Current Bombings: Behind the Rhetoric," the good professor leads his reader on a quest for the mythical good imperialist who meets the "heavy burden of proof...in undertaking the threat or use of force in violation of the principles of international order." Chomsky opposes the current terror bombing only because it contradicts the "regime of international law and international order, binding on all states, based on the UN Charter." For this "anarchist," imperialist war is justified if carried out with good intentions or under the auspices of the United Nations! Indeed, when U.S./NATO "peacekeeping" forces went into Bosnia in 1995 under UN authorization, Chomsky announced: "I probably would have voted for sending the troops" (*Class Warfare* [1996]).

If the U.S. has thus far sidelined the UN, it is only because it does not currently serve the American rulers in their war of domination in the Balkans. But the UN has been a fig leaf for imperialist slaughter from the 1950-53 counterrevolutionary war in Korea to the 1991 Gulf War and ongoing bombing and starvation blockade against Iraq to neocolonialist interventions from Somalia to Haiti.

continued on page 5

Tran/Columbia Spectator

Reformism rots the mind: liberal pacifism at ISO-organized teach-in at Columbia University, April 13. Socialist revolution is the only way to end imperialist war!

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U.S. Imperialism Sponsors Islamic Fundamentalism

The Hideous Oppression of Women Under Islam

Khomeini's 1979 "Islamic revolution" imposed imprisonment of Iranian women in head-to-toe *chadors*.

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

We publish below a May 8 letter by comrade Alan W. in Los Angeles.

Dear Comrades:

Our recent article "Iran: 20 Years of Islamic Dictatorship" (*WV* No. 708, 5 March) powerfully lays out how the Islamic Republic of Iran, even under the current "liberal" clericalist president Khatami, perpetuates and intensifies the horrible oppression of women symbolized by the stifling *chador*. For our uncompromising defense of women and the oppressed against reactionary religious terror, we have been the target of Islamic fundamentalists around the world. Recently, a Los Angeles Spartacist forum, held on April 17, titled "The Communist Fight For Women's Liberation in the Muslim East" was descended upon by over 20 members of the UCLA Muslim Student Association screaming, "Death to communists" in Persian (see page 5).

The reactionaries of the Muslim Student Association and their like feel the wind in their sails today because of the ongoing terror bombings of Serbia, supposedly in defense of Muslim Albanians in Kosovo. The racist American bourgeoisie, which is carrying out the murder of countless civilians in the Balkans, does not care a bit for the Muslim refugees. In fact, in the name of "anti-terrorism," Muslims and Arabs in this country have been the target of vicious racism and deportations. It is enough to recall the anti-Arab witchhunt in the U.S. during the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq and the years-long vendetta against the L.A. Eight, targeted for deportation because of their support for Palestinian national rights. The anti-immigrant, anti-black racism promoted by this country's white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant capitalist rulers goes hand in hand with their fomenting of puritanical religious reaction against abortion rights and gay rights.

I wanted to draw your attention to a subject that has gotten recent media attention: "honor killings" of women in Islamic countries for sexual activities, insolence, disobedience, independence... for being a human being. These killings are not rare aberrations, but cold and calculated murders that are carried out regularly and condoned and encouraged by the state, society, religion and culture. Over the past few months, a good deal of news coverage has been devoted to the subject, much like female genital mutilation some years back. These have included articles in the *New York Times* and *Middle East Report* as well as the English editions of the Israeli *Ha'aretz* and the Egyptian *Al-Ahram Weekly*. Recently, the BBC aired a special on "honor killings" in Pakistan, which ABC's *Nightline* replayed in the United States.

Today, Pakistani prisons have several thousand female prisoners convicted of such "crimes" as sex outside marriage, eloping, adultery, insolence, lack of religious morality, etc. These are the "lucky" ones who do not get killed. Meanwhile, no man ever gets punished for any form of abuse toward women. In fact, those who murder or attempt to murder their wives, daughters or sisters for such actions are paraded around as "defenders of honor." After all, they argue, is it not ridiculous to reprimand a man for ill-treating his "property"? There are also hundreds of women who sit on death row in Pakistan for killing their husbands—these women will be hanged for defending themselves. And such atrocities are not confined to hellholes like Afghanistan or Pakistan.

According to Khaled Al-Qudra, former attorney general of Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority—which remains firmly under the thumb of the bloody Zionist rulers of Israel—some 70 percent of all murders in the Gaza Strip and West Bank are "honor killings"! An article in the Spring 1998 issue of *Middle East Report* recounts a number of harrowing tales of Palestinian women butchered for their "lack of morality." And, in Palestine as everywhere else, it makes no difference whether a woman "defaced" her and her family's "honor" through consensual sex or through some savage rape. An extreme example (or maybe not so extreme) was a four-year-old girl who was raped by a 25-year-old man and left to bleed to death by her family. The only reason she survived was because a shelter for such women took the poor child in. And this is among the more cosmopolitan Palestinians!

In Egypt, particularly the rural south, most people are not buried in graves but in rickety mausoleum-type structures. When your daughter gets pregnant outside marriage, it is considered perfectly acceptable, reasonable and normal (though illegal but hardly ever prosecuted) to bury her alive to starve and thirst to death in the dark mausoleum halls in the midst of bodies stinking of death.

In countries like Afghanistan, "honor killings" are carried out to the full extent of the "law" by the ruling Taliban fundamentalist thugs themselves. If the victims of such atrocities manage to survive, rather than receive essential medical attention and emotional sympathies, they are shunned and utterly exiled from all they once knew. More often than not, they die slow, pathetic deaths. In fact, several of the women shown on the recent BBC special died shortly after the piece was filmed. In the past few years, burning with kerosene has become the preferred method of torture and murder over the age-old practice of stoning. Thousands upon thousands of women are murdered every year by vile scum all over the Muslim world.

It is not a matter of "honor killings" (or some other form of barbaric brutality against women) alone. Rather, it is a question of everyday existence. The majority of women in the Muslim world are not burnt alive or sprayed with acid or subjected to physical harm that is life-threatening in the immediate sense. However, they mostly lead an existence hardly above that of cattle. And those faced with physical danger are not too small a minority. To be recognized as a human being in the cruel hoax they call life is a radical step for these poor women.

Since the so-called "death of Communism," the U.S. bourgeoisie has been on a rampage against "political Islam" and "terrorism" as the greatest evils to ever befall the world. While it is true that Islamic fundamentalism is a grave danger to women and all the oppressed, the U.S. imperialists seek to whitewash their own role in both its rise and these horrendous crimes against women. The imperialists have long cultivated Islamic fundamentalism as a weapon against communism. In 1950, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles pointed to a "common bond" with the "religions of the East," whose "spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism." The vicious bastards who run this country have backed the most reactionary and murderous forces in the world, such as Suharto of Indonesia, whose rule was sealed with the murder of over 500,000 communists, leftists, women and ethnic Chinese in 1965-66—a bloodbath carried out in league with Islamic mobs and with the direct assistance of the CIA.

Despite what the U.S. media portrays, the heinous subjugation of women (to speak nothing of what homosexuals go through) goes back long, long before Muslim fundamentalism became the bugaboo that it is today. It is bitterly disgusting that the same American ruling class that backed to the hilt the fundamentalist Afghan forces against the Soviet Red Army can today condemn the practices of their former allies (and in some countries present allies). In our fight for new October Revolutions throughout the world, we seek to forge Trotskyist parties in the Near East based on the program of permanent revolution. Defending and extending proletarian power will be a red army including women armed to the teeth to mete out revolutionary justice.■

UPI

DPA

Ronald Reagan hosted anti-Soviet Afghan *mujahedin* in 1983 at the White House. U.S.-sponsored Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats murdered school teachers for teaching girls to read.

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UCLA: Socialist Action Plays Footsie with Islamic Fundamentalists

We print below a leaflet issued by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club on May 1.

On April 14, the fake-left Socialist Action joined hands with the anti-communist UCLA Muslim Student Association (MSA) in a "panel discussion" on the UN starvation sanctions against Iraq. Less than one week later, a Spartacist forum held in Hollywood on the communist fight for women's liberation in the Muslim East was descended upon by two dozen MSAers chanting "Marg Bar Communists" (death to communists) and holding pickets reading, "Honk if you hate communists." Ominously, one of them had a syringe and was giving instructions to his cohorts on how to use it. The MSA's planned provocation to shut down our forum failed, and the event continued to its conclusion. Eventually, the cops were called and this threw the MSA's plans for a physical battle into disarray.

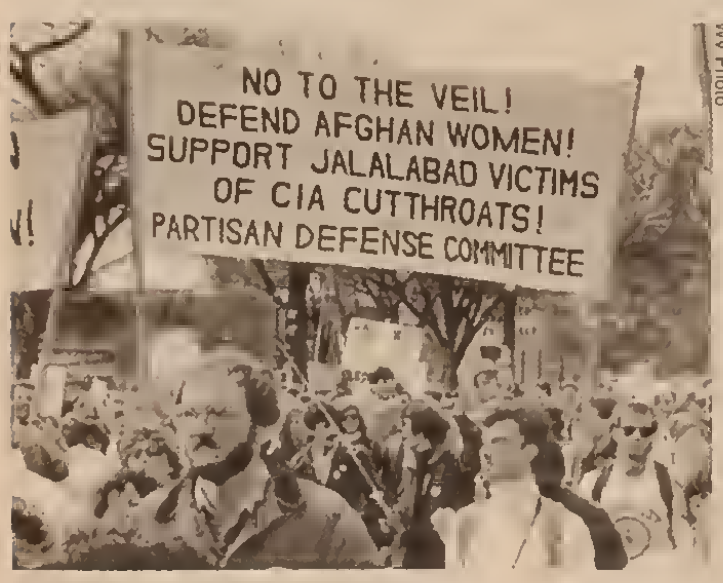
To pseudo-Marxist groups like Socialist Action there is no contradiction between their socialist veneer and being in bed with the fundamentalist MSA. Socialist Action fully backed the rise of the reactionary Khomeiniite mullahs in Iran, which has meant hell for workers, peasants, national and ethnic minorities, and women. Likewise, they cheered on the murderous CIA-backed *mujahedin* in Afghanistan against the heroic Red Army, whose intervention defended women's access to such basic rights as education and jobs. Islamic fundamentalism goes hand in hand with anti-communism and imperialism. In the pursuit of "mass movements," no matter how reactionary, Socialist Action joins ranks with those who scream "death to communists" and hail religious bigots who burn unveiled women with acid.

Socialist Action, which endorsed the call for sanctions in the Persian Gulf slaughter, refuses to defend Serbia today. In fact, their conception of an "antiwar" action is to sell their newspaper to *pro*-NATO demonstrators, as their comrades in Toronto did. So, it is not coincidental that they find such hearty allies in the pro-bombing MSA, which went so far as to berate U.S. Secretary of Defense William Cohen when he spoke at UCLA last fall for taking over "three months to act in Kosovo" (*Daily Bruin*, 29 October 1998). The social-chauvinism of these "bring our boys home," yellow-ribbon "socialists" opens the door for them to co-sponsor "panel discussions" on Iraq with the MSA apologists for imperialist murder in the Balkans.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club, youth group of the revolutionary communist Spartacist League (U.S. section of the International Communist League), defend the right of self-determination for the Kosovar Albanians, but that question is currently subordinated to the necessary military defense of Serbia against imperialist aggression. Those who peddle the line that this war is in defense of Muslim Albanians are lackeys for imperialism and worse. ***Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack!***

AP

Women in Afghanistan. Socialist Action cheered on CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries.



WV Photo

Trotskyists hailed 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, organized international campaign for aid to embattled city of Jalalabad following Kremlin's treacherous 1989 withdrawal.

The MSA is consistent in its anti-communism. It throws its lot with the most reactionary, woman-hating and *murdering* mullahs, clerics and thugs across the globe. But it is a scathing indictment of the "progressive" milieu on this campus that the MSA is welcomed with open arms. In addition to frolicking under the sheets with Socialist Action, the MSA is part of the Affirmative Action Coalition, whose hallmark has been to demand representation on the campus admissions board so it can decide who gets *excluded* from higher education. Perhaps the MSA would propose the exclusion of women from the university, much like their co-thinkers in Afghanistan and Iran do?!

As Marxists we oppose all forms of religious reaction, which in the U.S. is most powerfully expressed in murderous anti-abortion, anti-gay and racist Protestant Puritanism that will have Muslims in its crosshairs.

We look to the heritage of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which began to lay the material basis for the emancipation of women by socializing the functions of the family, the fundamental root of women's oppression in class society. The Bolsheviks fought to smash the enslavement of women to the veil, to their husbands and fathers, and to hideous religious subjugation in all its forms. Heroic female Bolshevik cadre even donned the veil as a measure of defense against murderous mullahs to bring the message of emancipation to the downtrodden women of the Muslim East. As the forum emphasized, "From among the women who today cower under the *chador* or the *paranja*, the International Communist League will recruit many of the leading cadre of the coming socialist revolution." ***For women's liberation through socialist revolution!***

The SYC fights to win anti-racist and anti-capitalist youth to the perspective of building the revolutionary, multiracial workers party necessary for the victory of socialist revolution. We are looking for students with a gut hatred of the ravages of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad who will ally with the working class. This perspective stands in sharp contrast to Socialist Action's cowardly capitulation before woman-hating fundamentalists and imperialist butchers. If you want to fight for black liberation, women's liberation, free abortion on demand, full democratic rights for gays, full citizenship rights for immigrants; if you want to fight for a socialist egalitarian society free of war, exploitation, racial and sexual oppression, join the SYC!■

Liberals...

(continued from page 3)

Today, after well over a million Iraqi men, women and children have been killed by the UN starvation blockade, Chomsky joins with other liberals in signing "A Call to Action on Sanctions and the U.S. War Against the People of Iraq" (8 January). But in 1991, Chomsky (along with rad-libs like Alexander Cockburn) called on Washington to implement "sanctions" as a "peaceful means prescribed by international law" in order "to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, settle regional issues, and move towards a more decent world" (*Z Magazine*, February 1991).

Chomsky performs a valuable service for U.S. imperialism, diverting critical-minded youth into the lap of the ruling class by sowing his own weary, but comfortable, despair at the prospect of social struggle. Having attained success in the petty-bourgeois academic world so attractive to many students, Chomsky "manufactures consent" for the bourgeois order by invoking an anti-communist "radical" alternative to Marxism and the fight for proletarian revolution. Indeed, Chomsky's closest connection to the proletariat is probably with the janitors who clean his MIT office.

Yet the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) gushes, "There is a tremendous amount that socialists can learn and take from Chomsky's work" (*International Socialism*, Spring 1997). Rejecting the possibility that the proletariat can be mobilized on the basis of a revolutionary program, the ISO embraces the liberals' view that the capitalist state can serve the interests of workers and the oppressed, albeit with some mass pressure "from below." The ISO was forged as a tendency in 1950 in the crucible of social-democratic anti-Communism. Driven by hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state, they embraced imperialist "democracy" as the alternative to "Stalinist totalitarianism." And they simply carry this forward today. In January 1991, the ISO jettisoned its nominal opposition to the imperialist embargo against Iraq in order to endorse a liberal "Campaign for Peace" march in Washington that explicitly called for UN sanctions. Today, the ISO impotently pleads with the U.S. rulers to "stop the bombing" while at the same time begging Clinton to help the Albanian refugees, thus lending credence to the imperialists' "human rights" war propaganda. Like Chomsky, the ISO looks to the United Nations, complaining that the U.S. prevented the UN from sending an expeditionary force "to intervene in the conflict" in Rwanda five years ago (*Socialist Worker*, 23 April).

In an article titled "The Treason of the Intellectuals" (May 1947), written on the heels of a massive strike wave, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said of the once-radical intellectuals who embraced U.S. imperialism's Cold War against the Soviet Union:

> "Great class battles have taken place, and more momentous ones are in preparation. The workers are on the march. But all is quiet on the intellectual front. The imperialists 'pacified' that sector without a fight.
>
> "The American intellectuals didn't simply step out for a rest, like tired warriors nursing their wounds after a hard campaign. They quit before the fight got really started. They took it on the lam. They deserted and betrayed....
>
> "They went over to the enemy, unconditionally and all the way, with all their bags and such baggage as they had, and helped to lie the youth into the war."

Today's crop of rad-lib intellectuals trumpet the "death of communism" and would have all believe that no alternative to imperialism exists. But in spite of their most heartfelt wishes, history is not over and class struggle persists. The capitalist system of exploitation, racism and imperialist war is not the only world possible. There is an alternative: the fight for socialist revolution to establish the rule of the working class worldwide. Those youth who set their sights higher than a comfortable career in academia as ideologists for the imperialist war machine should join with the Spartacus Youth Clubs in our fight for a communist future for humanity.■

SYC Class Series

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Thursday, May 20, 7 p.m.: ***Stalinism—Gravedigger of Revolutions***; Thursday, May 27, 7 p.m.: ***The Revolutionary Party***

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Information and readings: (312) 454-4930 or spartacist@iname.com

Serbia...

(continued from page 1)

words, "Nothing. The Serbian army is intact, protected in caves just as 50 years ago, with well-armed depots, munitions, fuel, food.... This is the truth after five weeks of war. The rest is propaganda."

The result has been increased pressures for a U.S./NATO ground war in Kosovo, along with a flurry of diplomatic activity aimed at using capitalist Russia as a "soft cop" to impose a deal on Milosevic. But the imperialists face problems with both approaches, as the latest London *Economist* (8 May) indicates in its cover story, "Making the Best of a Bungled War." While both Hungary and Macedonia have allowed use of their airspace and military bases, they refuse to be used as staging areas for a ground assault. In Greece, popular sentiment against the war is so strong that a contingent of British soldiers which recently arrived in the port of Salonika was confined to a warehouse for fear that they would be attacked by the population. That leaves Albania where, despite inadequate ports, roads and bridges, U.S./NATO forces have been assembling for a possible ground assault. The removal of Kosovo Albanian refugees from the area around Kukes in northern Albania, which was presented by the capitalist media as a grand "humanitarian" gesture, was in fact designed to clear one of the key valleys leading into Kosovo in preparation for a possible land assault.

WV Map

Reuters

U.S. aircraft carrier *Theodore Roosevelt* in the Adriatic Sea. While intensifying air war against Serbia, U.S./NATO imperialists pour in more troops, weapons to prepare for ground invasion.

Meanwhile, the destruction of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade—which the CIA reportedly believed to be the site of a Serbian military supplier—has sharpened opposition to the NATO war by China and Russia. Beijing condemned the bombing as a "crime of war that should be punished," while the American embassy there and U.S. government offices in other Chinese cities have been surrounded by rock-throwing protesters for the past couple of days, as thousands have poured into the streets in outrage over the attack. With China holding a veto in the United Nations Security Council, the embassy attack could well frustrate any attempt by NATO to get UN approval for an occupation force in Kosovo.

Clinton hailed last week's statement by the foreign ministers of Russia and the Group of Seven—the U.S. and other major capitalist powers—as marking Moscow's acceptance of armed forces to occupy Kosovo. The agreement signed by Russia deliberately omitted any mention of NATO, but Washington continues to insist that any occupation force must have the U.S.-dominated NATO "at its core." France and Germany have been pushing for an occupation under the banner of the United Nations or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), a European-dominated military alliance, as a way of undercutting U.S. influence in the region. We oppose *all* such occupation forces in the Balkans—whether under the auspices of NATO, the UN or the OSCE—including troops from Yeltsin's Russia.

The tensions among the major capitalist powers are also reflected in the fact that the blockade against oil shipments to Serbia decreed at last month's NATO summit in Washington has remained a dead letter. Moscow openly defied the ban, while France and Germany vetoed a U.S. proposal to give NATO commanders authority to use military force to enforce it. Italy, which has been particularly shaken up by the war, is pursuing its own parallel negotiations, inviting "moderate" Kosovar Albanian Ibrahim Rugova to Rome after he had reportedly conferred with Milosevic. The Italian coalition government headed by Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema's Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) threatens to fall if the war intensifies.

Working-class opposition to the war is widespread in Italy, and mutinies have reportedly broken out in the conscript military. Attempts by the trade-union bureaucracy and the PDS to use May Day demonstrations to whip up working-class support for the war led to street clashes between PDS supporters and antiwar demonstrators. In many cities, cops blocked contingents of the syndicalist-influenced COBAS trade-union formations from entering the central squares. The COBAS have initiated a fund drive for Yugoslav workers whose factories were bombed by NATO (see "Campaign Launched for Aid to Yugoslav Workers," page 1).

Even in the U.S., the ruling class has not been particularly successful in generating popular support for this war despite the media blitz about Albanian refugees. The House voted last week to bar the president from sending ground troops into Kosovo without Congressional approval and, on a tie vote, rejected a resolution supporting the air strikes against Serbia. The *Wall Street Journal* (30 April) opined that this is "as close as we get under our system to a no-confidence vote" and called on Clinton to broaden his support by forming a "war cabinet" with pro-war Republicans. Significant sections of the "isolationist" Republican right oppose the current military adventure in the Balkans. AFL-CIO head John Sweeney endorsed Clinton's "humanitarian" war aims at the onset of the war, but the trade-union tops have since largely avoided any mention of the war. Among black people and other minorities in particular, there is widespread skepticism over the "humanitarian" pretensions of the American ruling class.

Enter Jesse Jackson. An embarrassed Clinton frantically tried to head off Jackson's trip to Belgrade to negotiate the release of three captured U.S. soldiers and ordered the most intense night of bombing against the Serbian capital while Jackson was there. But the reality is that Jackson was on a face-saving mission for U.S. imperialism. This front man for the racist U.S. rulers seeks to mobilize the black population behind the war by strengthening its "human rights" cover. The pro-Democratic Party black press, which had previously turned a blind eye to the bombing of Serbia, was now filled with accolades for Jackson's "political coup." As a black transit worker in Chicago who had been hostile to the war said, "Jesse seized the moral high ground."

Jackson's prayerful "moral" preachings are a cover for support to U.S. imperialism's war of domination. The U.S., Jackson told a May 8 meeting in Chicago, must "use our minds, morals and missiles." Jackson endorses the capitalist rulers' war aims, fearing only that U.S. imperialism may get caught in a quagmire, warning that "our tactics are increasingly risky." Jackson's talk of "negotiations," no less than Clinton's, is nothing but a means to further U.S. imperialist ambitions. As Jackson put it, if Milosevic is "not willing as we think he ought to be, then there's always the option to continue the fight" (*Daily Challenge*, 4 May).

The reformist "socialist" organizations in this country have joined in pacifist appeals to "stop the bombing." Their common bond—whether they embrace rabid Serb chauvinism like the Workers World Party or echo imperialist "human rights" propaganda about the Kosovo Albanians like the International Socialist Organization—is to pressure the capitalist rulers to end the war. Our aim is to *mobilize the proletariat in class struggle to defeat the bourgeoisie and overthrow the imperialist order through socialist revolution*. This perspective is presented below, in an edited transcript of a talk by Spartacist League Central Committee member Ed Clarkson at an April 29 New York City SL forum.

* * *

During the course of this war, the International Socialist Organization, which on rare occasions pretends to stand in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, has made the not very sage observation that bombs don't make peace. It's interesting to explore Lenin and Trotsky on the question of imperialist war. In Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), written as competing blocs of imperialist powers were engaged in the First World War, we have: "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired a pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed." Lenin then explained the political repercussions of this—that capitalism had exhausted its progressive role on the planet and that the only road to progress was proletarian revolution. The choices were socialism or the barbarism of war, the ultimate result of imperialist competition.

To that, Trotsky added his analysis of permanent revolution, which has special relevance to the statelets in the Balkans—that the national bourgeoisies in the backward, dependent countries are tied by a thousand threads to the dominant imperialists and are therefore too servile and too bound to the imperialist system to play any role in leading the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Therefore, in such backward countries, the proletariat, leading the oppressed, must seize state power to even begin to accomplish the tasks of the democratic revolution and, in the process, begin on the road to socialism. In the case of the former Yugoslavia, the bourgeois states are in fact products of the capitalist counterrevolution which ripped apart the bureaucratically deformed workers state that formerly existed there.

Now, there is a program that flows from this understanding of Lenin and Trotsky: Defeat imperialism—and for revolutionaries in this country, specifically U.S. imperialism—through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Down with all the United Nations economic sanctions! All U.S./NATO/UN troops out of the Balkans! We militarily defend Serbia without the least political support to Milosevic. The capitalist states, or statelets, in this patchwork of ethnic enclaves—which still contain areas of considerable interpenetration—perpetrate atrocities to achieve "ethnic cleansing" in rough proportion to their military capacity to do so. Down with all the nationalist butchers, from Milosevic to Tudjman! Workers to power—For a socialist federation of the Balkans in a workers Europe!

This Leninist programmatic understanding is alien to the other self-

Reuters | La Repubblica | Der Spiegel

Imperialist-instigated counterrevolution ripped apart Yugoslav deformed workers state in early 1990s, fueling all-sided nationalist bloodletting. From left: Bosnian Muslim fundamentalists, Croatian soldiers giving fascist salute, Serbian Chetnik chauvinists.

Donate Now to Aid Yugoslav Workers!

(continued from page 1)

initiate a fundraising campaign for the workers of Zastava and other bombed factories. The COBAS initiative states:

> "Every thing that exists on Yugoslav territory has now become a military target. We will not be told the true number of civilian dead and wounded in these 40 days of mad bombing until the ultimate massacre. But we already know that hundreds of factories, bridges, dwellings, railroads, telecommunications, electrical plants, aqueducts have already been razed to the ground. Hundreds of thousands of families are reduced to misery and the infrastructure for sustaining every human convenience is in ever more jeopardy. Devastated refineries and chemical factories leak poisonous waste into the soil, air and water, which will spread death across an ever wider area. The illegal use of depleted uranium shells will contaminate entire generations. There is no possible motivation in the world that could justify such a massacre of a population.... And meanwhile the stock market rises."

Almost two weeks before the NATO attack, Zastava workers issued a letter dated March 26 "to the public of all NATO member countries" which warned that a live shield of workers would be occupying the plant around the clock to protect it against NATO bombing and gave their precise latitude and longitude coordinates. This warning was widely published in the international press; yet knowing that this was an auto factory occupied by civilians, NATO bombed anyway. On the night of the bombing, the Zastava workers issued another letter to the public: "The live shield is broken through.... What none among us either could or was willing to assume as possible did happen: Kragujevac has re-experienced its World War II tragedy; its citizens have again become the target of a barbarian assault." In 1941, in three horrendously bloody days of World War II, 300 schoolchildren and 7,000 citizens were executed in Kragujevac by German Nazi occupation forces in reprisal for standing up to the fascists.

NATO's coldblooded murder of the Zastava workers was a deliberate act of terror and a warning to the proletariat throughout the region. The Zastava workers were engaged in a hard-fought strike against the Milosevic government just two and a half years ago. From the most basic demand of "We want bread!" to "We are Zastava! The factory is ours!", these workers fought the impoverishment that capitalist counterrevolution has brought to this former deformed workers state. In their drive to dominate the world for imperialist exploitation, the last thing U.S.-led NATO forces will tolerate is *a class-struggle fight by the workers of Serbia against the capitalist Milosevic regime.*

As leader of the central bank, Milosevic spearheaded the breakup of the Yugoslav planned economy with "market reforms" and then fueled "greater Serbia" chauvinism particularly against the Kosovo Albanians. He personifies the link between capitalist restoration and murderous nationalism, as does his Croatian counterpart Tudjman, who idolizes the fascist Ustasha, as well as Bosnian Islamic reactionary leader Izetbegovic. Against the poison of nationalism, we in the International Communist League fight for the *class unity* of the workers of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo, to overthrow all the bloody nationalist regimes in the region. *For a socialist federatian af the Balkans!*

no credit

Yugoslavia Review

Zastava auto plant in ruins (top) after NATO bombed factory knowing that workers were inside. Plant had employed 20,000 workers.

Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO imperialism!

Other groups participating in the campaign of aid to Yugoslav workers have different political viewpoints. In Italy, *Proposta*, the pale "left opposition" in Rifondazione Comunista (RC), actively supported the previous Ulivo/RC popular-front government which invaded Albania. Today *Proposta* can't even muster a basic call for the immediate withdrawal of all Italian troops from the Balkans. Capitulating to different pressures, the small Italian pseudo-Trotskyist group Voce Operaia supports this campaign as part of its overt political support to Milosevic, who is a proven enemy of Yugoslav workers. And the COBAS overall have a syndicalist deprecation of the urgent need to forge a Leninist party to lead the proletariat, as a tribune of the people fighting on behalf of all of the oppressed, to their own state power through a proletarian socialist revolution.

The perspective of socialist revolution, which requires the instrumentality of a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead it, is the only way to put an end to the capitalist system which breeds war. Despite the deep political disagreements we have with many of the participants in this campaign, sections of the ICL around the world will fully participate in the spirit of the united front: March separately, strike together—with full freedom of political criticism within a common effort in defense of the interests of the international proletariat! We salute the COBAS for taking the initiative with this campaign.

As soon as this campaign of material aid for Yugoslav workers was brought to our attention by CODISPRO, the legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the views of our comrades in the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, the ICL actively joined the campaign. At an antiwar demonstration in London on May 8, over £250 was collected, a gesture which enabled demonstrators to take an active stand against their "own" bourgeoisie and do something that will concretely help the Yugoslav workers suffering under the NATO bombing. This revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist opposition to one's own ruling class thoroughly exposes the miserable fake left's "Workers Aid for Kosova" crowd as pawns for Blair and Clinton. (Indeed, as Workers Power marched in April amid placards screaming, "NATO Good Luck!", exposure is not difficult!) In 1993, Workers Power and other centrists and reformists forged a "Workers Aid for Bosnia," which under the pretense of international workers aid in fact worked hand in glove with UN troops on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs. In so doing, these leftists who posture as "antiwar" helped set the stage for the direct imperialist military intervention taking place against the Serbs in Yugoslavia today.

Here in the belly of the imperialist beast, we have a special obligation to take a stand against Washington's murderous war in the Balkans. The Partisan Defense Committee is raising funds—and donating every dime—for the COBAS-initiated campaign of aid to Yugoslav workers. COBAS' goal is to raise a billion lire (some $560,000) and transmit the funds directly to the workers of Zastava and other bombed factories. We urge our readers to donate generously and give direct material aid to the workers and their families struggling for survival under the U.S./NATO murderous war of aggression against Serbia and its civilian population. This is truly a cause in the interest of the whole of the working people. *The warking class has na fatherland! Defeat imperialism thraugh workers revolutian! Defend Serbia!*

Contributions can be made out to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "For Yugoslav Workers") and sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

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described socialists, both in this country and in Europe. In this country, the focus tends to be on "butter not bombs"—incidentally, a demand recently raised by the fascists in Germany. Within the European left, groups like the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire in France push the line that the European imperialist armies should intervene on the ground on their own behalf in counterposition to the U.S. At bottom, all of these groups call for a more effective imperialist policy, directed towards creating a "free Kosovo" through the agency of the Kosovo Liberation Army or implying that imperialism can choose a more humane policy rather than assert its dominance militarily on foreign soil.

There is a just cause for self-determination for Kosovo, a point we have made since 1976. But that cause is currently subordinated to the imperialist attack on Serbia. Most clearly through the Rambouillet agreement which preceded the war, the Kosovo Liberation Army has subordinated itself to the imperialists and openly operates as spotters for U.S. planes bombing Serbia and Kosovo. There was, incidentally, a codicil to the Rambouillet agreements, which specifically called for the free intervention of NATO troops into Serbia itself. It read: "NATO personnel shall enjoy, together with their vehicles, vessels, aircraft, and equipment, free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] including associated airspace and territorial waters." This is essentially an attack on Serbia's right to even exist as a separate state.

"Human Rights" Outcry: Cover for Imperialist Slaughter

I have a quote here from Trotsky when he was a correspondent covering the Balkan Wars a couple of years before World War I. Now, the situation in the Balkans was the flashpoint of World War I, not the cause. When the Austro-Hungarian empire perceived that it had not obtained sufficient satisfaction for the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand by Serbian nationalists in June 1914, this was deemed to be worth the 20 to 30 million European lives expended in the process of the war. From Trotsky:

> "The abstract humanitarian-moralistic way of looking at the process of history is the most barren of all. I know this very well. But the chaotic mass of material acquisitions, habits, customs, and prejudices that we call civilization hypnotizes us all, inspiring the false confidence that the main thing in human progress has already been achieved—and then war comes, and reveals that we have not yet crept out on all fours from the barbaric period of our history. We have learned how to wear suspenders, to write clever leading articles, and to make milk chocolate, but when we need to reach a serious decision about how a few different tribes are to live together on a well-endowed European peninsula, we are incapable of finding any other method than mutual extermination on a mass scale."
>
> —Trotsky, *The Balkan Wars (1912-13)*

In World War I, the imperialist powers revealed themselves as the prime engine of such extermination. Now if you add to this statement the arsenal of nuclear

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Serbia...

(continued from page 7)

weapons, substitute for suspenders Nike tennis shoes and for milk chocolate personal computers, we are at essentially the same place today. World proletarian revolution is the only alternative to the nuclear annihilation of humanity.

It is interesting to explore the human rights credentials of imperialism, and specifically of the U.S. imperialists. Let us remember that even in its pre-imperialist history, the U.S. made valiant efforts to exterminate the Native Indian population in this country—not to forget the history of black slavery. At the onset of U.S. imperialism, in the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century, tens of thousands of fighters for Filipino independence were slaughtered in the interests of the now-imperialist U.S. ruling class. There followed two world wars—with, say, a hundred million dead—the latter ending with an American flourish, the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, cities of no military value whatsoever. And this primarily as a warning to the Soviet Union.

A side point here is that air wars are always, primarily, an instrument for terrorizing the population and remain so in the current war. Another is that the U.S. has no particular history of suffering the impact of its imperialist wars. The U.S. bourgeoisie has a tendency not only to see itself as all-powerful but as invulnerable, and therefore must be considered not just the most dangerous power economically and militarily but the one most likely to misjudge and trigger a wider war.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Balkan Wars of 1912-13, flashpoint of nationalist hatreds and imperialist intrigues which were prelude to World War I. Bulgarian troops en route to battle in war against Turks.

After World War II, which left the U.S. economically and politically dominant compared to any other imperialist power, the lion's share of imperialist terror and destruction has been its bailiwick. Over two million killed in Korea after the Second World War, some three million or more in Vietnam dead, a half million to a million more in quelling uprisings in South America, up to a million in Indonesia, and a million-plus to date in Iraq through the starvation blockade, to control world oil supplies.

In the immediate post-World War II period, for the most part these wars were directed at the threat of "Communism" and sometimes specifically at suppressing social revolutions, as in Korea and Vietnam. All this from a ruling class which exterminates or frames up fighters for black liberation—such as the Black Panthers, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal—or fighters for Puerto Rican independence like José Solís Jordán in Chicago. And the International Monetary Fund, which is primarily an economic agency of the American imperialists, is currently starving thousands of people to death each day in Asia and Africa.

Liberal Imperialist Warmongers

Speaking of the bombing of Serbia, "Mad" Albright recently said the U.S. intends to force the Serbs to bend to its will no matter what amount of "collateral damage"—i.e., terror—that entails. And that is the important thing—U.S. imperialism intends to impose its will. In 1991, German imperialism, its appetite sharpened by the counterrevolutionary annexation of the East German deformed workers state, moved to separate Slovenia and Croatia from Yugoslavia. Initially the U.S. opposed this. But presented with a fait accompli, the U.S. then moved to impose its will over the other imperialist powers in Europe.

So in fact it was imperialism that smashed up the deformed workers state in Yugoslavia, that fostered and armed its various reactionary nationalist components and now makes the pretense of fixing it. It is quite clear that NATO realized from the beginning that the bombing would cause Milosevic to move against the Albanian population in Kosovo, and in fact it is openly confessed by the U.S. military staff that they desire the removal of the Albanians so that NATO can more "humanely" bomb the Serbs in that area.

There's a question if this war is well-conceived even from the standpoint of U.S. imperialist policy. An occupation of Kosovo by 20,000 or so American troops, especially if joined by what is currently projected to be a sizable Russian contingent, is likely to be able to do nothing except add heat to that tinderbox. Nevertheless, it looks like more—perhaps including a land invasion—is on the agenda. And there is a wing of the American bourgeoisie that wants a land war, that wants to smash the "Vietnam syndrome," the continuing popular resistance here to any military commitment entailing significant U.S. casualties.

Tanjug

Yugoslav Communist Party leader Josip Broz Tito led multinational Partisans in struggle against Nazi occupation forces in World War II.

It's worth recalling that the counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam was also launched by liberal Democrats, the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The Democratic Party in this country is usually the party of war. This is both because of its influence over trade unionists, black people and other working people who will have to fight the war and because, normally through the agency of the trade-union bureaucracy, it can combine "America first" jingoism with some promise of scant handouts—and god knows there's been damned little of that recently.

This war, as many have noted, is the liberals' war, promoted by the *New York Times*, the *New York Review of Books*, Jesse Jackson, the social democrats of *In These Times* and other so-called leftists. Jackson, of course, is now trying to free the three American soldiers captured by Belgrade, though he may get himself bombed by Clinton in the process. Meanwhile, it is generally the case that the "isolationist" bourgeois right—from Pat Buchanan, who is as close as America gets these days to a clerical fascist, through much of the Republican Party—wants no deeper involvement, if not out of this conflict altogether.

There's a point to be made here. The NATO alliance is really a house of cards. France is deemed suspect by the U.S.—there were even reports some months ago that it was excluded from NATO military planning—because its military officers are seen as spies for Serbia. Greece and Italy are currently opposed to a land invasion, while Turkey looks to recover its influence in the region lost with the smashing of the Ottoman empire in World War I.

As in the years before World War I, the Balkans are not just a patchwork of peoples but also a patchwork of counterposed interests of the greater and lesser state powers of the area. If you push at Serbia, you push at Russia and at France. If you push at Macedonia, Greece becomes agitated. Push at Albania, it agitates Turkey and Italy. Push Romania, France again becomes excited. If you push at Greece, you animate Britain and Germany, which tend to compete in the area with the U.S. In other words, the more the imperialist powers attempt to operate together, the more toes are stepped on in the process, and abrasions accrue. And this points to the irrationality of imperialism.

It was the final overturn of the October Revolution in the USSR in 1991-92 that stoked the appetites of the various imperialisms, which no longer felt constrained by the sacred cause of unity against the Soviet Union. The USSR was the military and economic powerhouse of the degenerated and deformed workers states, societies where capitalism had been overthrown but political power was in the hands of a Stalinist bureaucratic caste. It is quite possible that the current imperialist effort in the Balkans could result in reducing NATO to its reality, which is an American-British military and political alliance.

Now, this war is not likely to result in World War III and the destruction of humanity. But such abrasions could very well lay the basis for fueling the next go-around in imperialist rivalries. These have already been seen on the trade front with the recent "banana war" between the U.S. and Europe. Of course, this sounds absurd, but the bananas have names—they're called Chiquita and Dole. This country is ruled by the corporations. When they phone and say, "You haven't done enough about this problem," shit happens.

Especially in the U.S., where politics tends to theology, there's a need to dress up imperialist aspirations for increased power and enrichment—which is to say, simply, greed—in the sackcloth of morality and piety. This requires supplementation with bald-faced hypocrisy and lying. NATO spokesmen are often much less creative in this regard than the "dog ate my homework" type of excuse from schoolchildren. So the initial response by the U.S. and NATO to a report that they'd bombed a column of Albanian refugees was to call it a lie: "We didn't do it, the Serbs did it." Then they hold a news conference where a NATO spokesman admits they did it and turns to the general, who confesses to bombing another convoy of Albanians. Finally, it turns out they bombed both convoys.

Incidentally, one of the lessons from Vietnam for the bourgeoisie was to "manage" the news much more tightly in a war, attenuating even the limited capacity or willingness of the bourgeois media to reveal a soupçon of truth. So in the current war, for instance, there's the case of the disappearing Albanian male population in Kosovo, which repeatedly "disappears" and is then repeatedly seen on TV waving at cameras. Then there's the great crime of the Serbs driving the Albanians out and the great crime of not letting them leave—which are reported with equal fury by NATO spokesmen. Recently, we were to believe that the destruction of Milosevic's villa was not what it was, an assassination attempt, but an attack on a military headquarters. No doubt those sneaky Serbs were hiding a nuclear submarine in his Jacuzzi.

This kind of morality and piety also played out domestically over the past year or so in the preoccupation of Congress and the bourgeois media over who has been polishing Clinton's scepter—by report, evidently not Hillary. But little or no attention is devoted to the precipitous decline in the living standards of working people, the disappearance of health insurance for growing numbers, the erosion of public education, the youth without futures, the black men re-enslaved in America's prisons and shot down on the street by the racist cops. All of this during a longish economic boom, during "good times."

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Much of the world working class once saw socialism, if a distant dream, still as its future. Not so today. Under the impact of the bourgeois triumphalism in the wake of what was a historic defeat for the world working class—capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe—to many in the world, socialism seems to have been proven a failure. It is our job as Leninists to bring to the proletariat the understanding of its historic class interests, the need to seize state

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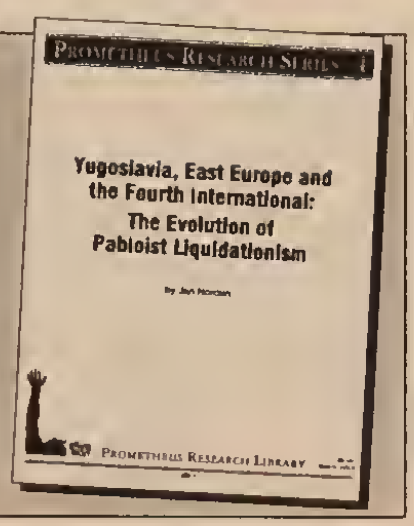

power and organize an egalitarian socialist society.

The October Revolution of 1917 demonstrated in practice that the proletariat in power was the sole force for human progress on the planet. It occurred precisely because the working class of Russia was led by a party, the Bolsheviks, which steadfastly opposed its "own" Russian imperialism amid the patriotic fury and charnel house of World War I. The working class in power, through the rule of soviets (workers councils), expropriated the capitalists and landlords—ushering in a planned, collectivized economy—while implementing the tasks of the democratic revolution like land to the peasantry and national self-determination. As Marxists, revolutionary internationalists, the Bolsheviks' primary efforts were directed toward proletarian revolutions in the major advanced industrial countries of Europe, notably Germany.

It was the failure to carry through a socialist revolution in Germany in 1923, in particular, which paved the way to a political counterrevolution in the isolated and impoverished Soviet Union in 1923-24. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky was destroyed, the revolutionary leadership replaced by the representatives of the large bureaucracy administering the workers state. The political program of the counterrevolution was nationalism, soon to be called by Stalin "socialism in one country"—an impossibility from the standpoint of Marxists. The soviets and other organizations of the working class were destroyed, as was the revolutionary consciousness of the Soviet proletariat, with Marxist internationalism replaced by nationalism. In order to ensure the position and privileges of the bureaucratic caste, the Stalinists became virulent opponents within the international workers movement of proletarian revolution. By the mid-1930s, this had taken the form of openly advocating bourgeois reform governments under the rubric of the "People's Front." Finally, large sectors of the bureaucracy became agents for imperialist economic penetration and, eventually, for counterrevolution and the reintroduction of capitalism in those societies.

On the other hand, it is a measure of the power of a planned, collectivized economy even when deformed by Stalinist misrule and in relatively backward societies that for the most part all had jobs, all had places to live, all had education, all had medical care. It was this strength that enabled the Red Army, virtually unassisted, to smash the Nazi war machine in World War II. As Trotskyist revolutionaries, our task was to militarily defend the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, we called for political revolution against the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. This program is still on the agenda today for the remaining deformed workers states: China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

The Yugoslav deformed workers state was a particular expression of the contradictory character of these societies. As a result of the German military occupation in World War II, a fascist regime was established in Croatia under the Ustasha. In Serbia, you had the monarchist Chetniks, who occasionally collaborated with the Nazis and occasionally militarily resisted the occupation forces. The Bosnian Muslims in no small part collaborated with the Nazis during the occupation. Tito's Yugoslav Communist Party (YCP), on the other hand, played a unique role. Tito's Partisans actually mobilized people from the various ethnic areas of Yugoslavia, from Croatia, from Serbia, from Bosnia. And their distinction was this: should you be captured by them, you wouldn't be killed because of your ethnicity. Because of that, they were able to mobilize a quite effective force in resisting the German occupation. At the end of the war, the local capitalists—who had been tied to the occupation regime or one or another of the defeated nationalist forces—were expropriated. The result was a deformed workers state, led not by political organs of the working class, soviets, but by the staff of the Titoist guerrilla army and the Stalinist YCP.

San Francisco BAY VIEW

He set the captives free

The least among us

'Ethnic cleansing' of Blacks from highway

Chicago Defender

Jackson hailed on freeing of POWs

New York Amsterdam News

Kudos, congratulations and a job well done to Jesse Jackson

... AND WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN WASHINGTON, D.C., BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA, AND NEW YORK CITY?

By WILBERT A. TATUM
Publisher Emeritus and Chairman of the Board

Editorial:
Giuliani must be removed #8

Meyers/NY Times

Pro-Democratic Party black press cheers Jesse Jackson as he tries to mobilize black population behind Clinton's Balkans slaughter.

To defend its narrow national interests against the Moscow Stalinist regime, the Belgrade bureaucracy initially tilted quite heavily toward NATO. I remember when I was a kid during the Cold War, and *Life* magazine would have diagrams showing the (bad) red planes and the (good) blue planes, and the Yugoslav planes were blue. Yugoslavia was also the very first deformed workers state to experiment with "market socialism." On the other hand, that deformed revolution managed for a good period of time to cut across the various nationalist antagonisms of the area and, to some extent, the economic disparities between the regions, leading in the urban areas especially to significant intermarriage between various nationalities. All of that has now been destroyed. Particularly after Tito's death, and with the intensification of market forces, the disparities between the regions and thus the different nationalisms revived and intensified until the multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state was finally ripped apart.

I remember when Tito died in 1980, just after I'd moved to Chicago. There were a number of Serbian churches in the Gary, Indiana area that mourned his death—and Tito was of Croat and Slovene descent. Can anyone imagine that sort of thing happening today? Nor will it happen again until we build revolutionary parties in those areas and the multinational proletariat establishes its class rule. Within the framework of Stalinist nationalism, Tito's regime went about as far as it could in overcoming national divisions. But to open the road to the development of a genuinely socialist society, particularly in this backward region, what was needed was a struggle for workers revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe, creating the economic basis for genuine national equality in the Balkans and throughout the continent. What is required today is that the working class in the former Yugoslavia overthrow its various nationalist butchers—from Serbia's Milosevic to Croatia's Tudjman—and forge a Socialist Federation of the Balkans, which must necessarily be part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Proletarian Revolution!

Now I suppose for many young people today, the Russian question—the question of the degenerated and deformed workers states—seems rather an abstraction. There's a phenomenon referred to in Europe today: "The '68ers are in charge." Now in this country, if one thinks of 1968, you think of SDS and the cop attack against leftist antiwar protesters at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. But in Europe, '68 refers to the French general strike which opened up a revolutionary situation in France and the possibility of proletarian power—which was then betrayed, primarily through the agency of the French Communist Party. The '68ers now in charge—to some extent in Germany, France and Italy—are "leftist" veterans of that period. These are the individuals who are today among the primary architects of imperialist aggression in the Balkans.

How did they get that way? In the interim, these people, to a man, sided with one or another pro-imperialist reactionary mobilization against the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states—Solidarność in Poland, the Sajudis in Lithuania, various other nationalist forces. That was a school for these individuals. And going through that school, they learned to be what they are today, the prime proponents of imperialist domination on the European continent. That's not an abstraction. That's the result of class collaboration, because the Russian question drew the class line.

The Spartacist League fights for the overthrow of American imperialism through proletarian revolution, just as the other sections of the International Communist League fight for the overthrow of their bourgeoisies through working-class revolution. Here in the U.S., the racist oppression of black people acts to maintain the backwardness of the proletariat and to impede the formation of a revolutionary workers party. However, black workers are integrated significantly on the factory floor and form a substantial and strategic component of the trade-union movement. The way forward is to link the cause of black liberation to proletarian revolution through a fight for revolutionary integrationism. The way forward is to forge a multiracial revolutionary working-class party with a significant black leadership component.

The pro-capitalist AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucracy and its left hangers-on must be mercilessly exposed—through political struggle within the trade unions—as traitors to the working class. It is necessary to break the ties of the trade unions to the war party of racist American imperialism, the Democrats. The trade-union bureaucrats subordinate the interests of the proletariat to the class enemy, the American imperialist rulers, and call for reliance on the capitalist state and its courts—including through inviting direct government intervention into the unions—to supposedly provide "justice" for American workers. Now this isn't just hegging but an actual disarming and betrayal of the working class and of black people and other minorities.

Jesse Jackson and the Congressional Black Caucus are foursquare for the war effort in spite of the fact that it would seem the majority of black people in this country have serious reservations about this war. The not-so-hidden wish expressed by Jackson in supporting Clinton's war was that it would have been good if the U.S. had intervened in a similar way in Africa, notably during the slaughter of Tutsis by Hutu death squads in Rwanda five years ago. This is in fact a call for another Somalia, where U.S./UN imperialist forces intervening under the cover of "famine relief" killed hundreds of people. Meanwhile, Jackson appeals to the racist U.S. capitalists to "empower" black people, while joining with the likes of New York Democrat Al Sharpton in trying to quell outrage over the police killing of black African Amadou Diallo and pushing the lie that the cops in this racist society can be "cleaned up."

There cannot be one step forward toward the formation of the American revolutionary workers party without an all-out fight against "America first" chauvinism and protectionism, against those who support the war aims of U.S. imperialism, against those who pit native-born against immigrant workers. It is necessary to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. From the standpoint of this racist ruling class, racial and ethnic minorities—citizens or not—are deemed "aliens" to be despised, segregated and oppressed in America's ghettos and barrios.

The fight for the future requires the program of revolutionary Marxism. It requires an organization of revolutionaries, a party of the Bolshevik type, to organize opposition to America's bosses, to mobilize the working class as the tribune of all the people and to fight its "own" imperialist order. It requires an organization that exposes every capitulation to blood-drenched American imperialism, an organization committed to overthrowing this rotten imperialist order through socialist revolution and to establishing worldwide proletarian rule. That is the purpose and program of the Spartacist League and the International Communist League.■

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Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 12)

was about sending a signal to the people of Puerto Rico that this is what happens to you if you dare the authority of the United States government in Puerto Rico" (*Chicago Ink*, March 1998). Indeed, there is a long and sordid history of the American colonial rulers trying to silence advocates of Puerto Rican independence. In 1950, nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos, who had already been imprisoned once, was put behind bars for violating *la mordaza*, Puerto Rico's gag law analogue to the anti-communist Smith Act. This blatant "thought crimes" prosecution was based on speeches Albizu had made.

The frame-up of Solís is part of an ongoing witchhunt of Puerto Rican activists in Chicago. Last year, Illinois state legislators launched an investigation aimed at proving an alleged conspiracy to channel state funds from Chicago's Roberto Clemente High School to the Puerto Rican Cultural Center for use in promoting the release of Puerto Rican political prisoners. Marrero played a prominent role in testifying against Puerto Rican activists in those hearings. Indeed, Solís stated that the FBI repeatedly tried to get him to finger Puerto Rican Cultural Center director José López, the brother of an imprisoned nationalist. López himself had spent eight months in prison for refusing to testify in the 1977 trial which sent his brother to prison. Now a federal grand jury is reportedly looking at ways to indict Puerto Rican activists for other possible "crimes" (*La Raza*, 11 March).

U.S. Militarism and Colonial Oppression

Ever since America's rulers seized Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War of 1898, which marked the emergence of the U.S. as an imperialist power, they have brutally suppressed every struggle against colonial oppression on the island (see "A Century of U.S. Imperialist Plunder," *WV* No. 686, 13 March 1998). Puerto Ricans chafe under the yoke of Yankee imperialist domination. The working people on the island are exploited as a low-wage labor pool by capitalists seeking to maximize their profit margins. Though nominally citizens of the U.S., Puerto Ricans have no right to vote in federal elections and no voting representation in Congress; they are politically dispossessed and suffer the national oppression of a colonized people.

U.S. militarism sharpens the contradictions of life as second-class citizens for Puerto Ricans. Fully three-quarters of the tiny island of Vieques is used as a bombing range by the U.S. military, and a total of 13 percent of the colony's scarce land is appropriated by the military, including the huge Roosevelt Roads naval base, the largest in the world. Puerto Rico is key to American military designs as the gateway to Central and South America, particularly the Panama Canal, and as a training ground and staging area for imperialist attacks throughout the region, especially against Cuba. We call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. At the same time, we call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Castroite Stalinist bureaucracy, linking this to the internationalist struggle for socialist revolution throughout the hemisphere.

Zayas/El Nuevo Dia

July 1998: Two-day general strike against privatization of telephone company in Puerto Rico was derailed by labor bureaucrats who subordinated unions to capitalist politicians and program of bourgeois nationalism.

The pervasive U.S. military presence on Puerto Rico has provoked a wave of anger and protest after an American jet, practicing for the imperialist terror bombing of the Balkans with 500-pound bombs, missed its target and killed a Vieques resident. Even the pro-statehood ruling party felt compelled to beg Clinton to prohibit the use of live ammunition, while the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) has loudly called for the Navy's exit from Vieques and for "demilitarization of Puerto Rico" (*Nuevo Día*, 21 April). But the PIP has made it amply clear that an independent capitalist Puerto Rico under the thumb of U.S. imperialism would be quite willing to maintain U.S. bases if the price was right. We say: All U.S. troops and bases out of Puerto Rico now!

The U.S. bourgeoisie denies Puerto Rico national sovereignty and discriminates against Puerto Ricans economically, linguistically, racially, politically and culturally. Last December, Puerto Ricans went to the polls for the third referendum on the island's status in three decades. This vote, like the preceding referendums, offered "choices" designed to continue the colonial domination of the island. While some 46 percent voted for the statehood option pushed by the colonial administration, 2 percent for independence and less than 1 percent for continued "commonwealth" status, a bare majority of voters chose "none of the above." As a register of popular sympathies, it was a sham and only useful insofar as the results indicate the simmering discontent and profound ambivalence of the Puerto Rican masses for whom "status" festers as the national ulcer. Even those who fervently want to get out from under the heel of U.S. colonial subjugation understandably fear a downward economic plunge if ties were severed with the U.S. Any formal "independence" achieved through a U.S.-sponsored referendum or Congressional proclamation—as opposed to a revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism—could only be a cover for neocolonial U.S. domination. As we wrote in *WV* No. 704 (8 January):

> "We Trotskyists of the International Communist League fight for a revolutionary solution to the Puerto Rican national question. As forthright opponents of all forms of U.S. imperialist colonial oppression, we favor the independence of Puerto Rico in order to fight against chauvinism in the United States and to undercut the bourgeois-nationalist leadership of the working class on the island. But given the evident and understandable contradictions of Puerto Ricans on the question, we do not advocate that independence be *forced* on them. The sympathies of the population are a large factor for Marxists in determining how to get the national question off the agenda and clear the road for revolutionary internationalist class struggle. Therefore, today we champion the *right of independence for Puerto Rico*."

For Proletarian Class Independence!

The two-day general strike last summer, supporting a strike by *telefonistas* against privatization of the phone company, provided a palpable demonstration of the power of the Puerto Rican proletariat. However, the strike was derailed by labor bureaucrats who subordinated the political independence of the working class—a burning necessity if it is to fight for its interests as distinct from those of the class enemy, the bourgeoisie—to the program of bourgeois nationalism and tied the unions to bourgeois political and right-wing religious elements through a class-collaborationist front (CAOS). Priests were trotted out to lead prayer vigils, while the union tops pushed the lie that the cops facing down strikers on the picket lines were workers, too. The workers' anxieties over the layoffs to come with privatization were channeled into classless nationalist slogans like "Puerto Rico is not to be sold." The nationalist lie of *el pueblo unido* (the people united) disappears the conflict between labor and capital and is counterposed to a proletarian struggle for state power.

What was urgently posed by the *telefonista* struggles last summer was the need to construct a revolutionary workers party to break the working masses from the nationalist parties and their handmaidens in the trade-union bureaucracy. It is only through workers revolution that Puerto Rico will be fully liberated from colonial oppression. We seek to forge the international class unity of the workers of Puerto Rico and the United States against both the U.S. capitalists and the local bourgeois overseers, in a fight for socialist revolution on the island, and internationally. This is the perspective of ***permanent revolution***, as first outlined by the great Russian revolutionary, Leon Trotsky.

The Puerto Rican bourgeoisie is too weak, corrupt and tied to imperialism to wage a struggle for national liberation, a task historically associated with the bourgeois revolutions. Meanwhile, petty-bourgeois nationalists have sought to pressure the United Nations—a den of imperialist robbers and their victims—to intervene against American colonialism. Such futile pressure politics have sometimes been augmented by courageous but desperate acts of individual terror—which bring the day of liberation no closer while leading to increased state repression—like the 1954 shooting attack in the U.S. House of Representatives and the 1981 blowing up of nine National Guard planes in San Juan by Los Macheteros. Marxists oppose the strategy of individual terrorism, which is based on a rejection of the revolutionary capacity of the working class. We nevertheless

In Defense of the Right to Privacy
Free Dr. Kevorkian!

Because he helped Thomas Youk, a man suffering advanced-stage Lou Gehrig's disease, with his requested suicide, Dr. Jack Kevorkian was sentenced this month by a Michigan judge to 25 years in prison. Judge Jessica Cooper sentenced the 70-year-old doctor despite a tearful appeal by Melody Youk, who described her husband as being in constant pain, afraid he would choke on his own saliva because he was too weak to swallow, and confined to a wheelchair with the wasting disease. Youk's entire family supported his decision to end his life. "Why doesn't the prosecutor charge me with conspiracy to murder?" angrily asked Youk's brother Terrence after the trial.

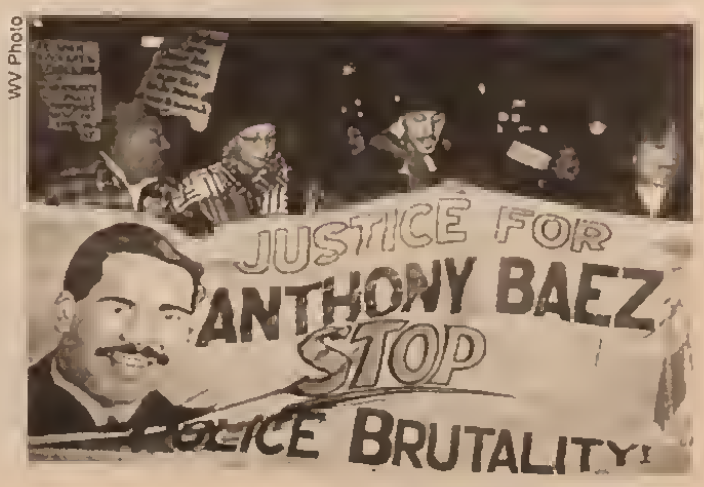
For this government and its legal system, truth, justice and the easing of human agony are of no concern. Dr. Kevorkian, who represented himself, had sought to use the trial as a forum on the "right to die." Instead, the judge hammered home the vindictive message that Kevorkian had to be punished for "disrespect for a society that exists because of the strength of the legal system."

In fact, the entire bourgeois "justice" system, with its courts, cops and prisons, exists to preserve the rule of the capitalist class over the rest of society, by its own repressive laws and by murderous police terror on the streets. Despite many polls showing that most of the population supports some form of the "right to die," politicians continue to enact laws against assisted suicide. Thumping bibles and pushing religious superstition to prop up a deeply unjust society, Democrats and Republicans join in denying individuals the right to decide how and when they will die, while simultaneously overseeing expansion of the racist death penalty and the grisly machinery of state terror.

For us, Dr. Kevorkian has committed no crime. What is at issue here is the most basic right to privacy, the right to be left alone in intimate personal matters like death and sex. The same religious fanatics who terrorize abortion clinics in the name of "life" are a moving force to ensure that you die in agony in the name of "god." As we wrote in "In Defense of Dr. Kevorkian" (*WV* No. 593, 4 February 1994):

> "The big problem is the state, priests and preachers, and the upper echelons of the medical establishment who ordain that they, and only they, have the 'god-given right' to determine how you live and how you die....
>
> "The priests and preachers simply provide the ideological overlay to the interests of the rich, propertied few. To maintain their rule, they try to enforce their control over all aspects of the lives of the rest of us, from birth to death."

As Marxists, we fight for the expansion of human freedoms—for proletarian rule and a socialist society in which all human beings can live with dignity, without being forced to sell their labor power to blood-sucking parasites and without being forced to expose their most private decisions to the scrutiny of the state. Free Dr. Kevorkian!



WV Photo

Anthony Baez was victim of killer cops in the Bronx. Puerto Ricans in U.S. are subjected to brutal racist oppression.

Newport News...

(continued from page 12)

lines. Crucial to such a perspective is that the union actively champion black rights against the vicious racism which the bosses have used to keep the South a bastion of the "open shop." A cross-burning last year outside the home of an interracial couple in nearby Virginia Beach was an ominous example of the racist terror which is also aimed at suppressing integrated labor struggle.

Reporting on Honda's plans to build an auto plant in rural Alabama, the *New York Times* (7 May) wrote: "Southern states have been very successful in luring auto makers, partly because their anti-union laws and traditions make it hard for the United Automobile Workers union to organize workers." A victory for the workers in the integrated Newport News union—whose wages have been frozen at an average of $14 an hour even for highly skilled workers—could be a gateway to organizing the South. That means defying the bosses' "right to work" laws; it means mass picket lines, solidarity strikes and an all-out fight against racist discrimination on and off the job.

But far from seeking to mobilize labor's social power, the USWA International leadership pushes reliance on the class enemy, looking to the politicians of the capitalist Democratic Party and issuing flag-waving appeals to the "national interest." The April 21 Washington, D.C. rally organized by the USWA tops was aimed at urging Congress to show "appreciation for the contributions these workers make to our national defense." But as we have warned throughout this strike, the "national interest" is the capitalists' *class* interests—i.e., profits. The capitalist rulers are waging a war against tiny Serbia for the same reason they bust unions and oppress minorities in the U.S.—to strengthen their ability to exploit working people around the world. It is in the class interests of the U.S. proletariat to oppose the imperialist military adventures of this government and the capitalist ruling class it represents.

The bureaucracy's policy of class collaboration, based on the lie that there is a partnership between labor and capital, directly undermines the strike. The USWA International tops' appeals to Democratic Party politicians—falsely painting them as "friends of labor"—to pressure management to the bargaining table is an open invitation for government intervention. If the capitalist government does intervene—likely using the pretext of "national defense"—it will be to *break* the strike.

Meanwhile, the union misleaders do nothing to counter the violence-baiting, strikebreaking propaganda churned out by the capitalist media—the occasional strike bulletins focus on issues like financial assistance while strikers have been generally kept in the dark. At the same time, the USWA tops promote illusions in the "neutrality" of the police. The cops are racist strikebreakers whose job is to enforce the anti-union laws. One picket gate captain told *Workers Vanguard* how a state cop bluntly warned him: "I am here to monitor you, not the traffic."

Refusing to mobilize the mass pickets needed to shut the shipyard down tight, the USWA bureaucracy plays into the company's efforts to drag out the strike and induce enough workers into scabbing so that production can begin. The company is straining to get the critical cranes operating, causing several accidents in the process. Managers, engineers, painting and sandblasting contractors and Navy inspection personnel have been waltzing into the yard from the start. The Boilermakers union—which does repair work in the yard—is honoring the picket lines, and ILA longshoremen, workers at other shipyards and other unionists have joined the picket lines in solidarity. But IBEW-organized contractors are crossing the picket lines.

WV Photo

Longshoremen in Norfolk, Virginia marched against segregation, for school busing in 1983. For a workers party that champions the cause of all the exploited and oppressed!

Picket lines mean don't cross!

More ominously, a growing number of Local 8888 members have also reportedly started scabbing. A headline in the *Wall Street Journal* (5 May) gloats: "Newport News Strikers Say 25% Are Back at Job." One striker told *WV* that this was little more than an effort to "stampede" the workers. But it is foolhardy and dangerous to dismiss the threat posed by unskilled workers scabbing on the strike, as the union tops do by arguing that production depends on skilled labor. This treacherous line not only alibis scabbing but undermines the very basis of the *industrial union*—bringing together workers from all job categories in the shipyard—which was forged through a bitter, three-month strike in 1979 marked by violent cop attacks on the picket lines.

The organizing of an industrial union also placed in the hands of the workers a potentially powerful weapon to combat management attempts to pit workers against each other, white against black, men against women. In this shipyard widely described as a "plantation," company discrimination against black and women workers is rampant. While blacks and women have long formed a solid core of Local 8888 members, white workers have increasingly joined the union as they feel the lash of company speedup and wage-gouging. One woman union member with over 20 years at Newport News told *WV* that many white workers felt they "had it made until in the last three to five years they have been screwed over so bad that everybody is finally waking up, they are finally realizing that the union is not just there for women and minorities."

The outcome of this strike will have a huge effect on the ongoing battle to organize Louisiana's Avondale shipyard, which had been slated to merge with Newport News. Now Litton Industries, which already owns the Ingalls shipyard in Mississippi, is attempting to buy both outfits and create the country's largest shipbuilding company. Newport News management, which raked in $66 million in profits last year, would like nothing better than to break the strike to sweeten any buyout.

The Newport News strike carries high stakes for workers in the racist, "open shop" South and the labor movement as a whole. The fight to unionize the South requires a class-struggle program and leadership based on the understanding that in racist America labor's struggle can only move forward by taking up the fight against black oppression. As we wrote last issue:

> "What is needed is a political fight inside the unions to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership—one which recognizes that the interests of labor are counterposed to those of the employers, their government and their political parties. Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government!"■

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defend militants who seek to strike at the class enemy in the name of the oppressed masses. On the other hand, the 1975 FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) bombing of Fraunces Tavern in New York City, in which four innocent people were killed, was an indefensible act of indiscriminate terror from the standpoint of the working class, and its perpetrators would be punished accordingly by a workers government.

Almost all of the 15 *independentistas* currently imprisoned were charged with "conspiracy," a sinister government catchall designed to punish "thought crimes." Sentenced to a total of over a thousand years in prison, some have spent many years in "supermax" hellholes where they undergo "white torture"—22 or 23 hours a day in brightly lit, white-painted isolation cells where they are denied any human contact at all. The government vendetta against the Puerto Rican nationalists is of a piece with the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign of assassination and frame-up against the Black Panther Party, in which 38 Panther activists were killed and hundreds more imprisoned. It is notable that José Solís was among the endorsers of the labor-centered mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in Chicago last November to demand freedom for MOVE supporter and former Panther spokesman Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Many of the jailed *independentistas* lived and worked in Chicago, a historic center of the independence movement. With the second-largest Puerto Rican population on the U.S. mainland, Chicago has been the scene of repeated racist cop rampages in the barrios, including one in 1966 which provoked a two-day upheaval of outrage and another in 1977 against a Puerto Rican Day celebration. The Chicago area is also one of the main proletarian concentrations on the North American continent. Puerto Rican workers constitute a significant portion of that labor force, from the factories on the West Side and suburban Chicago to the steel mills in northwestern Indiana. Puerto Rican workers here and on the eastern seaboard are a living bridge between workers in the U.S. and their class brothers and sisters in Puerto Rico. As we wrote in *WV* No. 704:

> "We fight for the release of Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoners as an urgent cause for the North American proletariat. Through such struggles, we work to break the ideological shackles of the chauvinist labor misleaders who tie the workers to their exploiters through the medium of false consciousness such as anti-immigrant racism and job-trusting protectionism....
>
> "Puerto Rico is a society linked directly, economically, to the U.S., and culturally and linguistically to the laboring masses throughout Latin America and much of the Caribbean. The course of Puerto Rican independence from the yoke of Yankee imperialism is not preordained. A revolutionary socialist upheaval in the U.S. would grant independence in a minute, as well as massive amounts of economic aid. The spark can also light the other way, with the militant proletariat in Puerto Rico inspiring struggle on the mainland, including a political battle against U.S. imperialist domination of the island."

The key lies in forging multiracial revolutionary workers parties, Leninist vanguard parties which champion the cause of all the oppressed in leading the fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. and Puerto Rico.

* * *

Send money for legal defense to:

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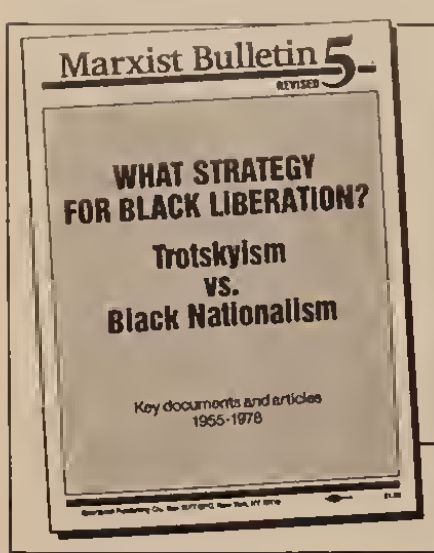

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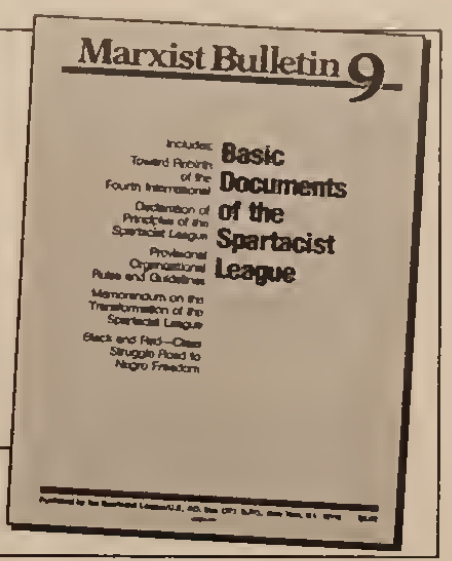

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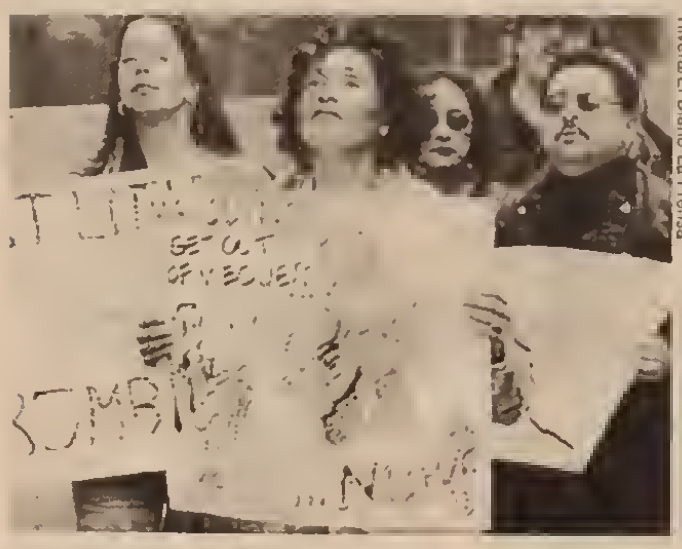
WORKERS VANGUARD

For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico! All U.S. Troops, Bases Out!

Defend Puerto Rican Independence Fighter José Solís!

La Raza

CHICAGO—On March 12, Dr. José Solís Jordán, an outspoken advocate of Puerto Rican independence, was convicted in a transparent frame-up trial for the bombing of a military recruitment office in Chicago in December 1992 in which no one was hurt and neither of the pipe bombs even fully exploded. Solís, a professor at the University of Puerto Rico, has repeatedly insisted on his innocence. Yet he faces up to *55 years* in a federal penitentiary, joining 15 other Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned by the U.S. This is but the latest outrage in the 100-year history of American colonial oppression of Puerto Rico, as the government attempts to smash any opposition to its imperialist rule of the island. It is an attack on all opponents of imperialist oppression, on the entire left and the labor movement. We demand: Free José Solís and all victims of U.S. colonial repression against Puerto Rico! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico!



Rivera/El Diario-La Prensa

April 26 protest in New York City after U.S. war jet training on Puerto Rican island of Vieques dropped 500-pound bomb on civilians, killing one.

In a classic COINTELPRO-style frame-up which followed his refusal to testify against another Puerto Rican nationalist, Solís was charged with the bombing five years after the event—only 13 minutes before the statute of limitations expired! In November 1997, a score of FBI agents outfitted like commandos—including some from the Chicago Domestic Terrorism Squad—invaded the Solís home in suburban San Juan. They handcuffed and strip-searched Solís in front of his terrified children and dragged him off for interrogation. For five hours, the Feds refused his demands to see a lawyer. They then claimed he confessed before the lawyer arrived. But there is no signed confession.

Solís was convicted on the basis of the concocted confession, a parade of lying FBI agents, and the testimony of Rafael Marrero, a paid government provocateur who received $119,000 over a number of years. The only one to admit to planting the bombs, Marrero was granted immunity from prosecution. This fink claimed that Solís, then a professor of education at Chicago's DePaul University, helped him build and plant the bombs. When the prosecutor asked Solís if the FBI, Marrero and another fink were lying about his involvement in the bombing, Solís replied: "It wouldn't be the first time it happened in history. Yes ma'am."

Noting that none of the Chicago jury spoke Spanish and was forced to rely on government translations for portions of the trial, some of Solís' supporters, who packed the courtroom throughout the trial, have stated that he would never have been convicted if the trial had occurred in Puerto Rico before a Spanish-speaking jury. That Solís was denied a jury of his peers in his own country is part and parcel of the frame-up methods of this racist imperialist "justice" system. But it is an illusion to expect justice from the courts of the colonial administration on the island, which along with the cops and the military are at the core of the state apparatus of capitalist-imperialist repression.

Following his arrest, Solís said: "This was not just about intimidating me. It

continued on page 10

Newport News Strike: Key Battle for Labor in "Open Shop" South

**For Mass Pickets!
No Reliance on Capitalist Politicians!**

May 10—The strike at Newport News Shipbuilding by United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888, one of the few integrated, industrial unions in the "open shop" South, is at a critical stage. The workers' determination was seen in an April 28 march on company headquarters by some 2,500 strikers. Production at this key military supplier, which builds and maintains all of the Navy's nuclear-powered aircraft carriers and many of its submarines, remains at a halt.

But the shipyard has stayed open, and as the walkout enters its sixth week, the employers and the local press and radio stations have pulled out the stops in an effort to get workers to scab on the strike. As we wrote last issue, "The picketers' chant of '88, close the gate' must become a reality. The key to winning the strike is *mass, militant, disciplined picket lines that shut the yard down tight*" (*WV* No. 712, 30 April).

Behind Newport News management stands Virginia's "right to work" laws which are wielded throughout the South in order to keep this a low-wage, non-union area. Virginia's statutes effectively ban real picket lines, forbidding "interference...with another person in the exercise of their right to work or enter their place of employment." To prevail against the company and these union-busting laws, the strikers must be armed with a class-struggle perspective aimed at mobilizing labor throughout the Virginia Tidewater area to build the picket

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WV Photo

Mass pickets are needed to shut Newport News down tight. Victory in this strike could open gateway to unionizing the South.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 714 X-423 28 May 1999

Ten Years After Tiananmen

AP

Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

China: Fight Capitalist Restoration! For Workers Political Revolution!

We print below in edited form the first part of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Ray Bishop at an SL forum in Chicago on May 15.

Beljing bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration has created massive unemployment, deepening poverty. In April U.S. visit, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji sought entry into imperialist-dominated World Trade Organization.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

In the past year, just about every major newspaper has had articles about the approach on June 4 of the tenth anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre—the Chinese government's bloody crackdown on mass protests. Beginning with students but increasingly drawing in workers chafing under the impact of pro-capitalist "market reforms," this upheaval threatened the rule of the Beijing regime. The mass outpouring of defiance heralded the beginnings of a proletarian political revolution which would have swept away the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing.

Western bourgeois propaganda has falsely portrayed these protests as outbursts of anti-Communism and of fervor for Western-style "democracy." And the imperialists were hoping that the anniversary would be marked by anti-Communist protests. As you've seen on TV, there certainly have been protests recently—four straight days of students and working people coming out in Beijing, throwing rocks at the U.S. embassy and shouting, "Down with U.S. imperialism!" Not quite what the U.S. had bargained for.

Now, we're not in a position to know, so we can't tell you if the American bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, which is what these people were demonstrating about, was a deliberate

continued on page 6

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Down With U.S./NATO Terror War Against Serbia!

MAY 25—In a step toward a possible ground invasion, the Clinton administration last week pressed its European partners to almost double the U.S./NATO military force on Serbia's borders to a total of 50,000 troops. At the same time, NATO has stepped up the massive bombing campaign against Serbia, which has killed over 1,300 civilians and is destroying the entire infrastructure of the country—factories and office buildings, roads and transportation networks, water and power distribution systems. Despite NATO's ritual "regrets" about "collateral damage"—Pentagon-speak for murder of civilians—the imperialists no longer even seek to obscure the indisputable fact that the whole aim of the onslaught is to inflict mass terror against the Serb population.

Yesterday, NATO planes again attacked electrical transformers throughout Serbia, knocking out power supplies and water pumping stations. With Belgrade's water reserves already reduced

continued on page 10

AP

Belgrade hospital destroyed by U.S./NATO terror bombing, May 20, killing four people.

As New Shipyard Strike Breaks Out in Mississippi

Newport News: Shut It Down Tight!

MAY 24—Newport News Shipbuilding and United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888 are meeting today for the first time since the strike against this major military contractor in the Virginia Tidewater area began almost two months ago. But the company has continued to hardline it against the union's demands for higher wages and improved pensions and medical benefits. The strikers remain determined, but their battle against the racist, profit-bloated Newport News management has been seriously undermined by the union tops, leading to a number of hourly workers scabbing.

Last week, over 7,000 shipyard workers also went out in a strike against Ingalls Shipbuilding in Pascagoula, Mississippi, which is owned by Litton Industries and is the largest private employer in that state. Worker protests are also continuing at Louisiana's Avondale shipyard, where the union is fighting for its first contract. Since Litton wants to buy out both Newport News and Avondale to become the largest shipbuilder in the U.S., the Newport News strike will have a major impact on these labor struggles.

In fact, the Newport News strike poses a battle against the entire racist, "open shop" edifice of the South, where entrenched racist oppression of black workers is used to prevent unionization and drive down the living standards of all workers. Until a few years ago, many white workers at Newport News were not in the union. A black union committeewoman told a *Workers Vanguard* team how one white worker explained to her: "White guys didn't join the union because it was mostly blacks in it. But then the situation got bad, so the only way to protect themselves was to join the union."

A victory in this strike could pave the way for union organizing throughout the South and strike a blow against racial oppression, the cornerstone of American capitalist exploitation of the entire working class. But instead of seeking to mobilize workers from throughout the region—including the ranks of the integrated unions—to join the Newport News picket lines, the pro-capitalist USWA International bureaucracy has pushed reliance on capitalist politicians and the agencies of the capitalist government, from lobbying Congress at a rally in Washington, D.C. last month to recent appeals for intervention by the National Labor Relations Board.

It is significant that in the midst of the U.S. capitalist rulers' war against Serbia, 16,000 shipyard workers in Virginia and Mississippi are striking two major military contractors. As we have warned throughout the Newport News strike, flag-waving appeals by the Steelworkers union tops for support from capitalist politicians based on the "national interest" and "national defense" will backfire when the capitalists use the war as an excuse to break the strike. In ordering the Newport News talks, a spokesman for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service stated that the strike has "national defense implications" and that the navy "needs their boats back."

The way that this strike will be won is with mass picket lines that *stop all scabbing*. Although the workers who are out remain dedicated to the strike, shipyard gates have stayed open throughout the strike and the lines are becoming smaller because of the bureaucrats' treachery. Emboldened cops are intimidating pickets and laughing about their "stick time in '79," when they rampaged against picketers during the three-month strike that established Local 8888. Hundreds upon hundreds of strikers stand in lines at the Freemarket Mall three miles away, seeking promised union financial assistance, while only 20 strikers—and in some cases as few as three—man the picket lines at the gates. The chaos and confusion in how the USWA International tops have been dispensing the meager strike benefits has led to growing bitterness. One grim-faced striker told *WV*, "The company is playing with us and the union is playing with us."

A strike depends on the strength of the workers; it is won or lost on the picket lines. That means solid, mass picket lines outside all the gates which no one dares cross, drawing on the thousands of Tidewater unionists, from ILA longshoremen to Teamsters. This can be done if the union makes it clear that it is fighting a battle on behalf of ***all*** working people in the area—against the "right-to-work" laws, against the "open shop" and also against racist discrimination on and off the job. Newport News management is itself notorious for its racist practices, like discriminatory "merit pay raises" and playing favorites for promotions and apprentice programs.

The experience of *WV* sales teams in the Tidewater area demonstrated the potential for mobilizing other sections of unionized workers: UPS Teamsters, ILA longshoremen and workers at the nearby Norshipco shipyard snapped up copies of *WV* covering the Newport News strike. A black Newport News bus driver in the Amalgamated Transit Union immediately bought *WV* and told us that bus drivers were tooting their horns as they passed the picket lines to support the strikers. The bus company ordered a halt to such displays of solidarity at the demand of Newport News management. One woman bus driver reportedly slammed the door in a scab's face rather than allow such vermin on the bus.

But mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class is sabotaged by the AFL-CIO misleaders who bind the unions to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. What's needed is a political fight inside the unions to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership—one which recognizes that the interests of labor are counterposed to those of the employers. For a workers party that fights for a workers government!■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Stalinist Bureaucracy and Capitalist Counterrevolution

The Chinese bureaucracy's open drive toward capitalist restoration threatens the working masses with a level of devastation and misery that may well surpass what has befallen the working people of the former Soviet Union in the aftermath of counterrevolution there. In 1937, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky insisted that despite the crimes of the Stalin regime, the USSR remained a workers state—albeit degenerated—as long as it was based on collectivized property. At the same time, he warned that unless the bureaucracy was overthrown through proletarian political revolution, its continued rule would necessarily lead to the final undoing of the gains of the October Revolution.

If the workers' state loses its bureaucratization and gradually falls away, this means that its development marches along the road of socialism. On the contrary, if the bureaucracy becomes ever more powerful, authoritative, privileged, and conservative, this means that in the workers' state the bourgeois tendencies grow at the expense of the socialist; in other words, that inner contradiction which ***to a certain degree*** is lodged in the workers' state from the first days of its rise does not diminish, as the "norm" demands, but increases. However, so long as that contradiction has not passed from the sphere of distribution into the sphere of production, and has not blown up nationalized property and planned economy, the state remains a workers' state....

This degeneration, as the present orgy of Bonapartist terror shows, has approached a crucial point. That which was a "bureaucratic deformation" is at the present moment preparing to devour the workers' state, without leaving any remains, and on the ruins of nationalized property to spawn a new propertied class. Such a possibility has drawn extremely near. But all this is only a possibility and we do not intend beforehand to bow before it....

The recognition of the USSR as a workers' state—not a type but a mutilation of a type—does not at all signify a theoretical and political amnesty for the Soviet bureaucracy. On the contrary, its reactionary character is fully revealed only in the light of the contradiction between its antiproletarian politics and the needs of the workers' state. Only by posing the question in this manner does our exposure of the crimes of the Stalinist clique gain full motive force. The defense of the USSR means not only the supreme struggle against imperialism, but a preparation for the overthrow of the Bonapartist bureaucracy.

—Leon Trotsky, "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

WV Photos

Union tops refuse to build mass pickets to shut down shipyard. Meanwhile, miles away strikers stand in long lines for meager strike assistance from the union.

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German Spartacists Detained by Berlin Cops

Support Fund Drive for Yugoslav Workers Under U.S./NATO Attack!

24 MAY—Following the U.S./NATO bombing of the Zastava car factory in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia on April 9, workers at the Alfa Romeo plant in Milano, Italy downed tools in protest and the Alfa Romeo COBAS (Rank-and-File Committee) launched a fund drive for Yugoslav workers. Strikes and workers demonstrations against the war have been steadily escalating in Italy, now ruled by the coalition government headed by Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema's Party of the Democratic Left. On May 13, COBAS led a political general strike around the slogan "Not a life, not a lira for this war!"

Sections of the International Communist League around the world have actively joined in the COBAS-initiated campaign of material aid, which aims to raise a billion lire (some $560,000) for the workers of Zastava and other factories. Despite our political differences with many of the participants in this campaign, including the syndicalist-influenced COBAS, the ICL has participated in the spirit of the united front—march separately, strike together! In doing so, we have been able to make the fund drive an *international* effort, providing a way for workers throughout the world to express class solidarity with Yugoslav workers and opposition to the death and destruction that the U.S./NATO imperialists have been raining down on the people of Serbia for two months now. Indeed, the imperialists' murderous attack on the Zastava plant—killing tens of workers, injuring scores and putting tens of thousands out of work—epitomizes the nature of the U.S./NATO war, which is clearly aimed at terrorizing the Serbian population.

German imperialism, which instigated the counterrevolutionary breakup of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, is now engaged in its first direct military combat since the defeat of the Nazi regime. The coalition government headed by Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Gerhard Schröder has sought to quell growing popular opposition to the war against Serbia, which suffered under Nazi occupation during World War II. On May 18, police detained two *Spartakist* salesmen in front of a Berlin Daimler-Chrysler plant to stop them from collecting for the fund drive. As described in a May 24 protest statement by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD):

> "Our supporters were packed into a police van and held against their will for 45 minutes while astonished Mercedes workers and apprentices streamed out of the factory gate. Worker donations collected before the cops arrived were immediately confiscated along with the collection bucket under the pretext of 'suspicion of fraud.' At the same time, of course, thousands of buckets are being passed for the Kosovo refugees, and that is allowed because it enhances the pretext for this murderous war (while the borders of racist Germany remain tightly shut to the refugees). *This attack by the SPD-led German capitalist state on basic working-class solidarity is meant to intimidate and regiment all workers who dare to demonstrate their opposition to the war of U.S. and German imperialism in the Balkans and must be vigorously fought....*
>
> "It is not an accident that the police were apparently called by the *Werkschutz* [company cops] of Daimler, which as arms manufacturer and pillar of both the Third and Fourth Reichs of German imperialism has its strategic interests in the Balkans, too."

The SpAD statement pointed to the Zastava workers' history of class struggle, including a bitter strike two and a half years ago against the bourgeois-nationalist Milosevic regime, which had fired more than half of the workforce in the wake of capitalist restoration. The statement declared that the "murderous act of NATO terror against them—like the bombing of other key factories that have so far destroyed the workplaces of a half million workers—was intended as a warning to the proletariat throughout the Balkans."

Zastava auto plant following U.S./NATO terror bombing on April 9. Below: Spartakist Workers Party comrades collect donations at Berlin's Humboldt University in fund drive for Yugoslav workers.

Spartakist

no credit

In the imperialist "belly of the beast" in the U.S., our comrades have collected funds from trade unionists outside workplaces and union meetings, including among the heavily black and immigrant New York City transit workforce. In Britain, where Tony Blair's Labour government has distinguished itself as the most bellicose of the NATO powers, shop stewards from the Cowley car plant, workers at Ford Dagenham near London and London Underground transit workers have contributed. So, too, have immigrant workers—in Britain and elsewhere in Europe—who are on the receiving end of racist state repression and the fascist terror it spawns and have not bought into the cynical "humanitarian" pretext for NATO's Balkans war.

In Mexico, subjected to U.S. imperialist plunder, the Grupo Espartaquista was invited to address and pass the hat among 600 delegates of the workers committee at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City, which has been rocked by militant protests against the imposition of tuition. In Japan, at a 50,000-strong protest against revisions to the Japan-U.S. security treaty on May 22, metal workers, medical workers and rail workers reached into their pockets to give to the campaign—as did youth supporters of the Communist Party, despite their leaders' attempts to exclude and silence us. And students from the Chinese deformed workers state studying in the U.S., Canada and Australia have donated to the fund drive, including at protests against NATO's bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade.

While anger and revulsion against the NATO slaughter is widespread, the capitulation of an array of so-called "socialist" outfits to their "own" bourgeoisies, presently served by social-democratic governments in many cases, is apparently without limit. The British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Tony Cliff and its international cothinkers are a case in point. When our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain first collected for the fund drive at a May 8 London antiwar protest, a number of SWPers contributed. But the SWP leadership soon brought a halt to this. At a subsequent protest on May 18, SWP spokesman Julie Waterson became so rabid in trying to thwart the efforts of our comrades that she grabbed a big handful of leaflets out of a collection bucket.

Our participation in the campaign for aid to the workers under NATO's guns necessarily entails a political struggle against the reformists and centrists who have given aid and comfort to their respective bourgeoisies. As Leninists, we understand that opposition to imperialism abroad means class struggle at home—that socialist revolution, requiring the instrumentality of a revolutionary party to lead it, is the only way to put an end to the capitalist system which breeds war.

We urge our readers to donate generously to the Zastava campaign—truly a cause in the interest of the whole of the working people. Contributions can be made out to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "For Yugoslav Workers") and sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

LO Covers for Imperialism's War in the Balkans

Protest LO Gangsterism Against ICL Trotskyists!

We print below a protest statement issued on May 25 by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

This year's Lutte Ouvrière (LO) fête concluded on 24 May with a violent physical assault. Around 6:30 p.m., a 20-man goon squad decked out in leather jackets, black leather gloves and Lutte Ouvrière security squad armbands surrounded International Communist League comrades engaged in political discussion. Our comrades were grabbed by the throat and choked, jumped and brutally dragged out of the fête while being punched by this gang of thugs. Our comrade Xavier Brunoy, editor of our French paper *Le Bolchévik*, was seized and his arm deliberately broken in four places by a leading LO gangster. He was taken from the scene by ambulance and required surgery. ICL comrades quickly regrouped and went back to the many shocked witnesses to mobilize political opposition to this atrocity.

Violence is the recourse of political cowards. Unable to defend its political support to the capitalist Jospin/Gayssot government—a government of imperialist war in the Balkans, racist deportations and strikebreaking on the domestic front—LO substituted the fist for the brain as an "answer" to the revolutionary program of the ICL.

The immediate precedent to LO's violent assault was the ICL's exposure of LO's social-chauvinist support to its own ruling class in the Balkans war. Aping the ruling PS/PCF [Socialist Party/Communist Party] government, which has of course quashed antiwar demonstrations while they bomb Serbia back to the Stone Age, LO too tried to conduct a "Marxist" fête while ignoring that a war is going on! At the LO-LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] debate, no discussion on the war by the public or even LO members was allowed. Finally, the troublesome topic was opened for discussion only on the final day, in the final forum, when most participants had already left. Despite a veneer of opposition to the bombing, LO joins in the imperialists' war cry over "poor little Kosovo" which is the pretext for a terror war against the Yugoslav people and for moving in a massive imperialist army of ground troops disguised as "peacekeepers."

In sharp counterposition to LO, ICL comrades motivated the attitude of proletarian revolutionary internationalists: ***Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against imperialist attack!*** At this time, the right of independence for Kosovo is necessarily subordinated to the fight against NATO imperialism. Against the social-chauvinism and opportunism of LO and the LCR, ICL comrades argued that you can't fight imperialist war without fighting for socialist revolution to overturn the capitalist system which breeds war. LO-LCR's accommodation to the capitalist order is seen in the LCR's explicit call for ground troops to the Balkans and in the platform of the LO-LCR slate for the European Parliament, which doesn't even mention the word "socialism." With "Euro-Socialists" like LO-LCR, who needs the stinking corpse of social democracy which currently rules most of capitalist Europe!

LO is in trouble, and no amount of gangsterism can cover up its political crisis. Recent polls predict the LO-LCR slate won't muster the necessary votes to make it into the European Parliament. For a group which has given up on proletarian revolution in favor of bourgeois parliamentarism, including feeding at the financial trough of the bourgeois state, electoral defeat spells disaster. Thus LO is lurching even further to the right in a desperate scramble for votes. LO has stooped to the campaign style of American bourgeois politicians, trashing even the pretense to political program, hustling caps and T-shirts with no message except "Vote LO-LCR."

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An Exchange

Labor Opportunism, the Democratic Party and the Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal

We reprint the following letter as we received it via the Internet.

7 May 1999

Dear Editor,

Your hit piece hypocritically titled "Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!" (*WV* 16 April, 1999) in anticipation of the powerful April 24 West Coast longshore workers' shutdown in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal reflects a continuing political degeneration of the Spartacist League, exemplified by your abstention from and open hostility to class struggle. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), despite opposition from reactionary elements, took this action in order to mobilize our membership for the April 24 demonstration for Mumia in San Francisco. Your sectarian opposition to the April 24 Mumia mobilization was based on the grounds that one of its demands was for a new trial. The ILWU and other union contingents carried banners calling for freedom for Mumia, implementing the united front slogan: "March separately, strike together".

April 24 was the most significant step to date in the struggle to free Mumia, not so much because it was the largest demonstration, but because longshore workers utilized their power to shutdown all ports on the West Coast to demand 1) Stop the Execution and 2) Free Mumia! Our union resolution specifically states that Mumia can't get a fair trial and demands his freedom. Yet, WV intentionally tries to obfuscate this point by simply disappearing it and minimizes the impact of our work stoppage by falsely reporting it as only two hours. WV must have confused the "two hours" with the work stoppage of the teachers' union in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil on April 23. Both labor actions called for freedom for Mumia and both actions were the result of resolutions presented by critics of your tendency, the International Communist League, ergo your jaundiced reporting.

To not participate now in the April 24 protest in defense of self-proclaimed revolutionary and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, for whom the Partisan Defense Committee had done important, early groundbreaking defense work, is to abstain from the class struggle at a critical time. If Philadelphia longshoremen were to raise a resolution in their union demanding a new trial and shutting down the port to send a strong message to Governor Ridge, the logical extension of the SL's position would be to oppose such a motion for bold labor action because it held illusions in the state. Union militants would warn against illusions of justice in the capitalist courts while critically supporting the motion and trying to build mass mobilizations and spreading that class struggle action to other sections of the working class, especially the heavily black transportation unions in Philadelphia.

Larry Wright and I, both ILWU Local 10 stewards and organizers of the 1984 San Francisco longshore anti-apartheid action, participated in the March 6 University of California, Berkeley Conference to build for the April 24 mobilization. In the first labor workshop at the end of the panelists' presentations, as chair, I asked those who wanted to speak to identify themselves, their union or organization and what they or their supporters had done in the unions to defend Mumia. One SL supporter said he had helped raise money in his union for Mumia's legal defense. Later, another SL supporter made a hypocritical speech calling on longshoremen to shutdown the Coast, but didn't say what action SL supporters in their transportation unions had called for. It would be gratifying to know that they fought for work stoppages in defense of Mumia, but, alas, their silence speaks loudly.

During the 1984 longshore anti-apartheid action the SL at first refused to support it, then in the midst of the 11 day action switched their position to critical support without publicly acknowledging their change. Both Larry Wright and I (amongst others) organized in 1984 to defy the injunction against the anti-apartheid action and had for several years been organizing longshore workers—through the Stewards' Council, the Executive Board, international dockers conferences, membership meetings and finally at the '99 Longshore Caucus for labor action to defend Mumia. The coastwise shutdown to free Mumia didn't just fall from the sky. To organize a successful workers' struggle the sense of isolation must be eliminated and the spirit of solidarity reinforced. That is why I requested in the January 22, 1999 letter from the Rank and File ILWU Committee to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal to the SL-initiated Partisan Defense Committee, "a list of trade unions which have supported Mumia's defense in one way or another, endorsements, letters, resolutions, donations etc." We were attempting to organize solidarity for labor action for Mumia, not knowing in advance the outcome.

Your sectarian refusal was compounded further by WV's absurd and scurrilous charge that my aim was "to go after the reds, in the service of the labor bureaucracy". What is the name of that leading union bureaucrat? ILWU International President Brian McWilliams who spoke at the Longshore Caucus in favor of the resolution to shutdown the Coast for Mumia? Who is prominently pictured in the same WV article speaking at a 1995 PDC rally to stop the execution of Mumia? Who called for Mumia's freedom at the April 24 San Francisco rally? Who, last year, gave instrumental support to union militants organizing to shut down Bay Area ports to fend off a legal witchhunting attack by the employers' association? It is instructive that again, as in the '84 anti-apartheid action, the SL abstained from supporting the international solidarity picket line of labor activists for the Liverpool dockworkers in this Neptune Jade struggle, but begrudgingly backed our legal defense case.

With this kind of slander against class struggle militants who have actually organized workers to take concrete action to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, a step toward freeing the whole of the international working class from the shackles of capitalism, the SL has descended into a deeper, darker political abyss.

For labor action to free Mumia,
Jack Heyman

WV Replies

Jack Heyman's letter, like the letter from the International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) and the polemic by the Internationalist Group (IG) in the April-May issue of its *Internationalist* (see page 5), is intended to cover for the class-collaborationist character of the April 24 "Millions for Mumia" demonstration he supported and built. Our attitude toward that mobilization was informed by the same criteria on which we have based our years-long efforts to free Mumia. We have stressed that the fight to save the life of this outspoken black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman is part and parcel of the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty. We have sought to win workers to the understanding that the bourgeois state, with its cops and courts, is not some "neutral" agency which serves society as a whole but rather exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those they exploit. We have aimed at infusing the multiracial proletariat with the consciousness that the fight against black oppression is central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor itself.

From the time the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee first took up Jamal's cause 12 years ago, we have fought for a class-struggle defense strategy centered on mobilizing the social power of the integrated labor movement, requiring its political independence from the capitalist parties. We have publicized Jamal's cause, raised critically important funds for his legal battles and fought to mobilize the broadest range of social forces in his defense. We recognized from the outset that larger forces than our own would have to be brought into the struggle to free Jamal. And largely as a result of our efforts, larger numbers of liberals and reformists did finally get involved when Mumia was threatened with execution in the summer of 1995. But we also knew that these other forces would be far removed from our Marxist perspective.

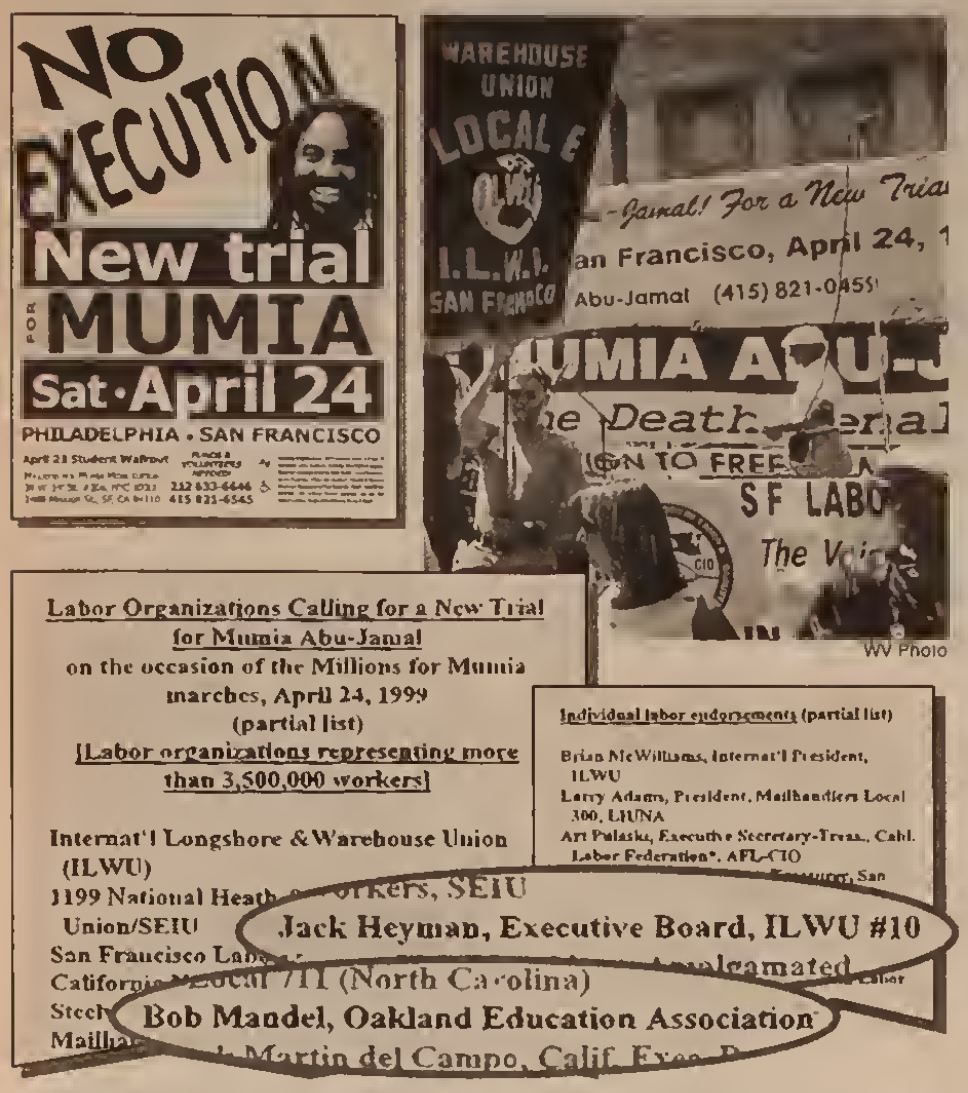
The April 24 demonstrations were dedicated to something we support—the defense of Jamal—but with slogans consciously formulated to spell out something we don't support: the notion that Jamal will get justice in a capitalist society. With the central focus the call for a new trial, the demonstrations were aimed at a bloc with the liberal Democrats who want to clean up the more grotesque and embarrassing aspects of the frame-up trial. They were politically organized along the lines of a classic *popular front*—a class-collaborationist bloc in which the working class is subordinated to the program of a wing of the capitalist ruling class, represented by the Democratic Party.

The social power of the integrated longshore union lies in the ability to shut down the docks, stop the movement of goods and thereby halt the flow of capitalist profit. Although undermined by Heyman's treachery, the ILWU stop-work on April 24 posed the possibility of a major disruption of shipping that would be a giant blow against the capitalist frame-up system. Such a political strike would be more effective in the fight to free Mumia than a thousand demonstrations. It would advance the struggle of longshoremen and all workers against the capitalist employers and be a powerful blow for black freedom—a cause which must be actively championed by labor as part of the fight for workers revolution to sweep away the entire racist, capitalist system in which black oppression is rooted.

When the workers at UPS and GM went on strike, the withdrawal of their labor economically paralyzed two of the biggest corporations in the U.S., costing them billions in lost profits. These are examples—albeit expressed solely on the economic plane—of what we mean by the social power of labor, when we call to "Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!" To be really effective, a political strike must be conducted with

WV Photo

San Francisco: PDC and Spartacist League intervened with class-struggle program against pro-Democratic Party reformism at April 24 "Millions for Mumia" rallies.



ILWU presence at April 24 rally was labor façade for class-collaborationist appeals to Democratic Party. ILWU Local 10 bureaucrat Jack Heyman, joined by longtime IBT supporter, explicitly endorsed call for "new trial," sowing illusions in racist capitalist courts.

complete independence from the bourgeoisie and all its institutions.

Window Dressing for Class Collaboration

Heyman worked on two levels inside and outside the ILWU to create the illusion that this Democratic Party-centered rally was a "labor mobilization" to defend Mumia. As an exec board member of S.F. longshore Local 10, he helped create the impression that the ILWU was engaging in a political strike to shut down the West Coast ports, when in fact what was done was to shift the regular monthly union meetings to coincide with April 24, touting these as "work stoppages." Outside the union, he worked with the IBT, with whom he has a long association, to set up a fake organization called the "Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal" (LAC), whose purpose was to pretend that they were the coordinators of "labor support" to the April 24 demonstration. As we wrote in our article, the LAC "obscures the class nature of the capitalist state, deep-sixes any mention of the Democratic Party and completely obviates the centrality of the fight for black liberation to the cause of the emancipation of all of labor" ("No Illusions in Capitalist Courts! Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!" *WV* No. 711, 16 April).

It is a measure of the fundamental dishonesty of Jack Heyman and the centrist IG of Jan Norden that in nearly identical language they both blatantly attempt to deny what every endorser and most participants knew: that the explicit basis for the April 24 mobilizations was the call for a "new trial." Apparently assuming no one will bother to read union resolutions, Heyman writes: "Our union resolution specifically states that Mumia can't get a fair trial and demands his freedom." Similarly, his apologists in the *Internationalist* write of the ILWU action, "An unaware reader would deduce that the action or its initiators are calling for a new trial. Not so." Thus, these people attempt to conceal the simple fact that, like similar motions passed by dozens of other unions, the ILWU resolution endorsed the April 24 rally and its call for a new trial. Here is what the main part of the resolution actually says, including the key sections omitted by Heyman, the IG and the IBT:

> "WHEREAS: On April 24, 1999, there will be national demonstrations to demand a stop to the execution of and a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal—on the East Coast in Philadelphia and on the West Coast in San Francisco, as well as international demonstrations; and
>
> "WHEREAS: The organized labor movement has the power through action to ensure justice for this principled and courageous freedom fighter, which he can't get in the courts; THEREFORE BE IT "RESOLVED: That the ILWU go on record to:
>
> "1) Support the San Francisco demonstration and mobilize our membership on the coast to participate by coordinating our April stop-work meetings for the 24th to demand: 'Stop the Execution! Free Mumia!'"

So Jack Heyman and his lawyer Jan Norden "disappear" the first WHEREAS above, the ILWU's endorsement of the call for a new trial, in their clumsy attempts to provide a cover for the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy. Heyman shamelessly continues his charade, declaring: "Union militants would warn against illusions of justice in the capitalist courts while critically supporting" a hypothetical motion calling for a new trial in the Philadelphia longshore union. What Heyman doesn't say is that ***he was the author*** of just such a motion, in which he included as window dressing the counterposed statement that Mumia cannot get justice in the bourgeois courts. We learned of Heyman's central role in this bit of deception from the letter by his friends in the IBT, who inform us that the ILWU motion "had been initiated by Jack Heyman, a former SL supporter."

The complete text of the ILWU resolution authored by Heyman is contained in a bulletin-type brochure published by the LAC, along with copies of other union resolutions endorsing the call for a new trial. At the end of this collection of resolutions, the LAC conveniently prints a "partial list" of "Labor Organizations Calling for a New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal" which includes 83 national and international union endorsers and 74 "individual labor endorsements" for April 24. At the top of the list—no surprise whatsoever—is the ILWU. Among the individual endorsers of the call for a new trial we find...Jack Heyman and longtime

continued on page 8

From the IG, IBT Lawyers for Liberalism

We publish below excerpts from an article headlined "WV Blames Victims, Distorts April 24 Shutdown for Mumia" in the Internationalist Group's Internationalist *(April-May 1999).*

...The SL is in fact pursuing a completely unprincipled vendetta. This is underscored by its response to the ILWU's decision to shut down all West Coast ports on April 24 to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal—the first such ***political work stoppage*** in the U.S. in defense of Jamal (see article in this issue). In a long back-page article titled "Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 711 (16 April 1999) makes a passing reference to the work stoppage, grudgingly admitting that "to pull the thousands of longshoremen coastwide off the job, even if only for a few hours, would be a powerful statement of the social power that can and must be mobilized in broader actions—from mass labor-centered protests to political strikes—for Jamal's freedom."...

Meanwhile, the *WV* article willfully misrepresents the ILWU action. It focuses on denouncing calls by Workers World, Socialist Action and others for a "new trial." There can be no "fair trial" for Mumia in the racist capitalist courts that have relentlessly hounded black radicals and him in particular. We demand that Mumia be freed, now! In the middle of its article, *WV* charges the initiators of the ILWU work stoppage with "concealing the true nature of the capitalist state." An unaware reader would deduce that the action or its initiators are calling for a new trial. Not so. *WV* deliberately omits the fact that the motion voted by the delegates to the union's Longshore Caucus on March 26 does *not* call for a new trial—in fact it states that "the organized labor movement has the power through action to ensure justice for this principled and courageous freedom fighter, which he can't get in the courts." And the ILWU work stoppage is explicitly to demand *"Stop the Execution! Free Mumia!"*

The *WV* article never cites that motion and never explains how the ILWU work stoppage came about. Moreover, it misinforms its readers that the action consists of "two-hour stop work meetings," when the union has officially called for shutting down work on all ships "from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. from Bellingham, Wash. to San Diego, Calif." as spelled out in the ILWU newspaper (*The Dispatcher*, March 1999). So *WV* cynically misrepresents both the ***demands*** and the ***nature*** of the union action for Mumia, and it uses the classic technique of the ***amalgam*** to carry out this lying sleight-of-hand....

The *WV* article goes so far as to charge ILWU Local 10 executive board member Jack Heyman, who presented the motion for the stoppage which was approved by the local and the Coast Caucus, with seeking to "go after the reds"! What is the evidence for this outrageous charge of witchhunting? That Heyman asked the Partisan Defense Committee (the defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, which has played a very important role in Mumia's defense for over 12 years) for help in putting together a list of unions and labor officials who have publicly come out in Mumia's defense....

There is a connection here. The SL and International Communist League (ICL) have regularly solicited Heyman in the past for endorsement of various demonstrations. But while not a supporter of the IG/LFI, Heyman won union support (from the ILWU and International Dockers' Conference) for the Brazilian Trotskyist workers facing bourgeois state repression. And he had the gumption to speak out against the ICL's betrayal of the struggle by the LQB to expel cops from the unions in Brazil....

* * *

The following excerpts are from an April 25 letter by the International Bolshevik Tendency.

Comrades:

As we have occasionally pointed out in the past, the Spartacist League/Partisan Defense Committee (SL/PDC) deserves credit for its pioneering work in publicizing the case of Mumia Abu Jamal and organizing for his freedom. Since 1995 Mumia's case has won ever broader support within the left and labor movement internationally. Regrettably you have not seen this as an opportunity to engage in common work and political struggle with activists from other organizations. Instead you have tended to allow petty sectarian organizational considerations to take precedence over principled united-front activity to free Mumia.

The 16 April *Workers Vanguard* (*WV*) commentary on recent events in Mumia's defense campaign is a case in point. The article, headlined "Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!," treats in an extremely cursory manner the exceptionally important work-stoppage by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) on 24 April. *Every port from San Diego to Bellingham Washington was shut down for the day in solidarity with Mumia!*... You claim that it was organized so as "to minimize the cost to the company," but Saturday can be one of the busiest days on the docks. You also mistakenly report that the work stoppage was only for two hours, rather than for the entire day shift.

You grudgingly admit that it was, "a powerful statement of the social power" of labor to win Mumia's freedom....

You reported that "the ILWU" had called for the action, but did not inform your readers that it had been initiated by Jack Heyman, a former SL supporter, who is currently on the executive board of the ILWU's San Francisco local, and is also active in the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia (LAC), along with IBT comrades, former SL trade-union supporters and others....

Brother Heyman is introduced in the *WV* article as someone "who postures as the left wing of the ILWU Local 10 executive Board" and roundly denounced for having the temerity to ask the "non-sectarian" PDC for a list of union endorsements gathered in the past for Mumia....

You prefer the call to "Free Mumia!" So do we. Nonetheless we do not see this as a reason to abstain from participating in national events that are many times larger than any rallies the SL/PDC has been able to organize....

The ILWU contingent, which headed the 24 April demonstration in San Francisco, raised the call to "Free Mumia!" It did not, to my knowledge, call for a "New Trial."

WV approvingly quoted the remarks of a participant in an SL meeting last February who asked:

> "How about somebody telling the truth, that there's no way that Mumia's going to get justice in the courts. It's going to be exactly the same frame-up bullshit that happened the first time."

It is not impossible that a new trial could result in an acquittal. To assert otherwise is fake ultra-leftism. Fake, because the SL doesn't truly believe it. If a new trial can ***only*** result in "exactly the same frame-up bullshit," why is the PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein still participating in Mumia's defense team which has been pursuing every possible legal avenue, including trying to win a retrial?...

Samuel T. for the
International Bolshevik Tendency

China...

(continued from page 1)

provocation or not. The student-centered demonstrations outside U.S. embassies and consulates certainly expressed the outrage of the Chinese people, historically oppressed by Western and Japanese imperialism. At the same time, the Beijing regime was careful to restrict these protests. Reportedly, they banned factory contingents for fear that the workers might voice their own grievances against the regime's drive toward a capitalist market economy.

In the United States, students from China staged their own protests. The Spartacist League participated in these, carrying placards in Chinese reading: "For Workers Revolution to Defeat U.S. Imperialism!", "Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!" and "For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution in China!" Many of the Chinese students were shocked to find communists in the U.S.—the heartland of world capitalism. Underlying this response is the nationalist outlook historically fostered by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which denied the possibility of workers revolution in Japan and the West.

The Spartacist League fights for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and all the imperialist powers raining terror on the Serbs. We do this in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky—the party which led the multinational proletariat of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917. We fight for mobilizing the multiracial American working class in socialist revolution. And from that standpoint, we defend Serbia militarily.

AP

May 8: Thousands of students in Beijing protest U.S. bombing of Chinese embassy in Belgrade.

China on the Brink

When we talk about China, it is from the same standpoint of communists fighting for a socialist society—for new October Revolutions internationally. The 1949 Chinese Revolution led by Mao Zedong expelled Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang bourgeoisie—as well as the imperialists his regime served—from the Chinese mainland. It created a planned economy which laid the basis for huge strides for workers, peasants, women and minorities like the Tibetans. And on that basis we have always, as Trotskyists, given unconditional military defense to China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

But today Mao's heirs are pursuing a drive toward capitalist restoration full speed ahead which would destroy the social gains of that revolution, which are already in fact massively eroded. So after 20-plus years of "market reforms," the same Guomindang bourgeoisie, the same imperialists that were kicked out in 1949 are today exploiting workers in large sections, and growing sections, of China.

The Communist Party regime has now brought China to the brink. Whether the drive toward capitalist counterrevolution succeeds there, or whether the Chinese proletariat acts to stop that disaster by ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy and imposing its own political rule, is a centrally important question for working people and opponents of capitalist exploitation and imperialist depredation everywhere.

To understand what is happening in China today, you have to understand the nature of what happened in 1949. That social revolution, while massively popular, was bureaucratically deformed from its inception. Unlike the October Revolution in Russia, it was not a revolution made by the working class. Instead, it was Mao's peasant-guerrilla army which took power, excluding the proletariat from political power.

China is what we call a bureaucratically deformed workers state, akin to the Soviet Union under Stalin, who stood at the head of a bureaucratic caste which rose to power there in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. The conservative, nationalist outlook of both the Moscow and Beijing bureaucracies was expressed in the dogma of "socialism in one country"—a complete perversion of Marxism. Socialism—the early stage of a classless communist society—requires material abundance. It can only be achieved through a series of proletarian revolutions, especially in the advanced industrial countries. The Stalinists have always and everywhere been virulently opposed to the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution, instead seeking alliances with one or another imperialist bourgeoisie.

Stalinist rule blocks any development toward a socialist society. In China today, it means a galloping drive toward the outright restoration of capitalist enslavement. What is posed in China, very urgently, is what Trotsky called for as early as the 1930s in the Soviet Union: a proletarian political revolution, which means replacing the rule of the parasitic nationalist bureaucracy with the rule of workers soviets—workers councils—committed to reviving and defending the planned economy and committed to the internationalist principles of Lenin and Trotsky's communism.

As Trotskyists, we militarily defended to the last the former Soviet Union—a degenerated workers state—and the deformed workers states of East Europe based on their nationalized and planned economies. We defended them against capitalist counterrevolution—against the imperialists and internal counterrevolutionary forces. Our unconditional military defense of China against imperialism includes, for instance, upholding its right to nuclear weapons. That, in short, is our position on the brouhaha that's still being whipped up over the supposed theft of nuclear secrets in the Los Alamos laboratory. It is the United States which not only has the world's largest nuclear arsenal but is the only country ever to use it, with the incineration of 200,000 Japanese and Koreans living in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The U.S. has threatened repeatedly to unleash nuclear terror against China, for instance during the Korean War of 1950-53. And even as Washington was screaming bloody murder over the so-called spy at Los Alamos, Clinton was proposing an East Asian missile defense system which would tie in Japan, South Korea and possibly Taiwan. That was a direct threat to China.

Now about the stuff about missiles and spies. Let's give an example from history. As communists, we honor the memory of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—heroic people who were executed in 1953 as Soviet "A-bomb spies." We say it was a good thing that the USSR developed its atom bomb, or the U.S. might well have launched further nuclear attacks after 1945—against the Soviet Union, against China and later against Vietnam and Cuba. Despite the nationalist, conciliationist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union acted to constrain the bloody American imperialist rulers.

Conversely, the destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 has made the world a much more dangerous place. The war against Serbia, the biggest war in Europe since World War II, has brought us all a step closer toward a World War III. Like the continued bombings of Iraq, it's all about extension of U.S. power, projecting its military might not only against small, dependent countries like Iraq and Serbia but against America's main imperialist rivals, especially Germany and Japan.

There's a weapon of a different kind in the imperialists' arsenal, especially when they try to promote capitalist counterrevolution. I'll refer you to our sign here: "1950: Hail Chinese PLA in Tibet! 1979: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" That's our position. We vehemently oppose movements like the so-called "Free Tibet" movement, which is simply a creature of the American CIA, which financed, armed and organized the 1959 uprising in Tibet led by the Dalai Lama. This doesn't mean we give Beijing an "A" for interethnic harmony. Not by a long shot. The Beijing bureaucracy, like all Stalinist regimes, is nationalist and chauvinist. In China, that means the chauvinism of the dominant Han people, who make up 90 percent of the population. A China run by workers and peasants councils would defend the rights of all national and ethnic minorities. But as the current war against Serbia all too starkly shows, when the imperialists brandish "human rights," you better watch your head. And in China, the U.S. sponsors a whole range of reactionary movements and so-called "human rights" dissidents and "democrats" who are nothing but tools of imperialism.

"Market Reforms": Road to Counterrevolution

Increased U.S. belligerence toward China is just one facet of American policy. The other is usually called "engagement." These are not really counterposed but complementary policies. They have one goal: to overturn the 1949 Revolution. Now, the best spokesman for this policy lately has been Henry Kissinger. He's been on TV since the bombing of the embassy, really trying to chill things out. He's worried that the tensions between the U.S. and China will upset all the mechanisms by which American imperialism is working to further capitalist restoration there.

Kissinger wrote an interesting piece in the *Washington Post* (27 April) that kind of gives you both sides of American policy. Contrasting China with the Soviet Union, he said: "Beijing, which until 1978 was ideologically even more rigid than Moscow, has since reversed its course. Moving toward a market economy, it is, by classical Marxist standards, hardly a communist country at all but an

WV Photo

ICL sign in Chinese reads: "For Workers Revolution to Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!"

Available in Chinese

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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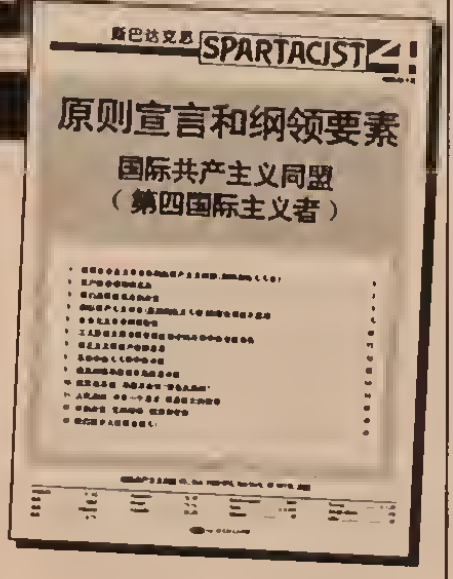

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authoritarian state with a governing party that chooses to call itself communist." And he warns: "A Sino-American Cold War would, in fact, produce a classic no-win situation for both sides." Kissinger was a trailblazer in the U.S.-China "rapprochement," going there in 1970 to cut a deal with the Mao regime directed against the Soviet Union. Kissinger wants to keep the Chinese regime on a pro-Western course moving toward capitalist restoration. And to that end, he is quite prepared to brandish military threats: "A serious American policy will hold China to that undertaking. The American record in two world wars, as well as in the Korean and Gulf wars, should leave no doubt about our seriousness in this regard."

Imperialist spokesmen like Kissinger look to the Stalinist regime to carry out a cold restoration of capitalism—and that's precisely the program of the Stalinists themselves. It's pretty clear that the protests outside the American embassy in Beijing were orchestrated by the Chinese government. In so doing, they tried to present themselves as "anti-imperialist." This is the most enormous hypocrisy. When Chinese premier Zhu Rongji came to the United States in April, he didn't make a peep of protest about U.S. aggression against Serbia, even though that's the official Chinese position. He had more important things on his mind: to strike a deal with Clinton for China's entry into the World Trade Organization. What that would mean, and they're still working at it, is throwing China's domestic market wide open to foreign profiteers.

Clinton backed off from a deal with Zhu, bowing to the anti-China lobby in which the American anti-communist labor bureaucracy is in the forefront. But business leaders started screaming, because they saw a lost opportunity to extend their enormous inroads on the Chinese mainland during the past 20 years. It was really quite a spectacle. You had the *Wall Street Journal* coming out and hailing the premier of what used to be called Red China and denouncing the American president.

The Beijing bureaucracy right now preaches that through free-market measures they can catapult China to become the next century's first new superpower. This is a utopian and reactionary notion. A capitalist China would be an arena of intense imperialist rivalry, with the U.S., Japan and other imperialist powers fighting for the spoils, for who would be the main exploiter of that country. It is worth remembering that the Pacific War between the U.S. and Japan in World War II was fought largely over which imperialist power would control China.

A capitalist China would mean untold misery for the vast working-class and peasant masses. Already, the "iron rice bowl" system of guaranteed jobs, housing and benefits has been shattered. With state industries being privatized, every year several million workers are being thrown out of work, told to fend for themselves in the growing private sector. So side by side with yuppies making money in Shanghai, Beijing and other cities, you have tens of millions of unemployed workers. In the hinterland, it's even grimmer. In 1997, a World Bank study reported that most Chinese peasants live on an income of about $1 per day. With the return of private farming, some 100 million or more people from the countryside have flocked to cities and towns looking for work.

Adding to that situation is the collapse in trade with the capitalist countries of Southeast Asia, because of the economic crisis that still wracks that area. Those taken with the myth of the free market should look at what happened in countries like Indonesia in the last couple of years. With the economic collapse there, you have mass unemployment, starvation, horrific interethnic bloodshed. And that's the kind of future facing the Chinese masses if counterrevolution succeeds.

Peter Turnley

May 1989: Workers contingent arrives in Tiananmen Square. Entry of proletariat into mass student protests heralded incipient political revolution.

Burke/Life

Victorious People's Liberation Army enters Beijing, 1949. Mao Zedong's heirs in Stalinist bureaucracy threaten destruction of remaining gains of the Chinese Revolution.

In his 1936 book *The Revolution Betrayed*, which I encourage everybody here to read, Leon Trotsky posed point-blank: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union." Trotsky's point was confirmed in the negative in the USSR, where after decades of Stalinist misrule, capitalist counterrevolution triumphed. This was a historic defeat for the working class internationally. It threw the working people of the former USSR back to conditions of miserable poverty and hopelessness. It has unleashed nationalist bloodletting throughout the region.

China is much further down the road to capitalist counterrevolution than was the Soviet Union in Trotsky's time. But that does *not* have to be the fate of the Chinese masses. Last year, we published the International Communist League's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program." We wrote: "The essence of 'market reforms' counterrevolution in China is the bureaucracy seeking to become partners in exploitation with capitalist forces and especially the Chinese capitalists who were not destroyed as a class (as were their Russian counterparts after October 1917) but continued to function in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and elsewhere." "This course," we wrote, "cannot be accomplished without breaking the resistance of the militant working class."

And that's the critical question. Capitalist restoration in China would require the consolidation of a new, counterrevolutionary state apparatus, one that is committed to defending private ownership of the means of production. But the force standing in the way of that happening is the Chinese working class. Today, even Chinese government spokesmen admit that strikes, sit-ins, marches and other forms of labor protest have broken out daily throughout the country. The anger of the workers is captured in this statement by a woman who lost her job in a state-owned textile factory in Shanghai: "It's the laid-off workers who are the poor ones, not the factory leaders—their pockets are full." It's become common for protesting workers to carry signs reading simply, "We want to eat." The countryside is also wracked with unrest. In January, thousands of peasants in Hunan province demonstrated against the corruption of government officials. Hundreds of police were called out, killing one protester.

What is needed is the mobilization of the proletariat—at the head of the poor peasants, women and all the oppressed—in a fight for political power to get rid of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy. The beginnings of just such a struggle were seen with the entry of the working class into the Tiananmen protests in May-June 1989. As was underscored by that incipient political revolution, for the proletariat to successfully fight for political power, it needs revolutionary leadership. We seek to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, recruited from the most advanced workers and left-wing intellectuals. To that end, we've translated our documents like the ICL's "Declaration of Principles" into Chinese.

Against both the nationalism fostered by the Stalinist bureaucracy and illusions in Western-style bourgeois democracy, we stress the need for a proletarian-internationalist perspective. As we wrote in "China on the Brink" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997):

> "To smash the threat of capitalist re-enslavement and open the road to a socialist future, Chinese workers must look to the international class struggle. It is by linking their fight for political revolution with the struggle to smash capitalist rule from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan and the U.S. that the Chinese proletariat will form the bridge to the socialist future."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Morris/Far Eastern Economic Review

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Opportunism...

(continued from page 5)

IBT supporters Bob Mandel and Andrew ("Drew") Bonthius, organizers along with Heyman of the LAC. Here we have the truth of the matter: Heyman endorses the call for a new trial while trying to conceal this fact from longshoremen and the readers of *WV*. Thus he and his centrist apologists are revealed as the most despicable swindlers of the working class whose lies only prove that they are not to be trusted.

Despite their long list of endorsements, the only union contingent at the April 24 march was the small ILWU contingent. Marching at the head with its "Free Mumia" banner, this contingent was cynically conceived as camouflage for the rally's real purpose. And the "Labor Contingent" organized by the IBT—which organized virtually no one other than themselves—was their fake-labor façade for this bourgeois-liberal mobilization that obscenely made Mumia a poster boy for the inherent justice of capitalist "democracy."

Tacking the slogan "Free Mumia" onto the call for a "new trial" is not warning the workers about illusions of justice in the capitalist courts, it is ***deceiving the workers*** with such illusions in the service of the Democratic Party. It is just a cover for endorsing a demonstration organized on the basis of ***deliberately opposing*** calls to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty, instead substituting the appeal for a "new trial" in an expression of ***political confidence in the capitalist courts.***

April 24: Reformists Tail Democratic Party

Heyman would have ILWU members and other *WV* readers believe that the rally's call for a "new trial" was simply "one of its demands." In fact, it was the central political focus of the demonstration. This was made clear in an Internet "Report on the Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting for the Mumia Movement," held in New York City on January 23, whose participants included Mandel, Solidarity's Steve Bloom and San Francisco Socialist Action leader Jeff Mackler. A section of that report reads:

> "During the day, there had been a running discussion over what the slogans for Millions for Mumia should be. Some had questioned why Free Mumia or End the Death Penalty wasn't on the call. Clark [Kissinger, Refuse & Resist] had called for uniting all those who had opposed an execution. Both Robert Meeropol and Charlene Mitchell had argued for the importance of 'new trial.' Steve Bloom from Solidarity suggested that the slogan should be 'Justice for Mumia.' Pam [Africa] said that her position as a member of MOVE is that Mumia is innocent and should be freed, but that we also have to look strategically at how to unite with many people. Some people are not yet prepared to say that Mumia is innocent, but they will unite with a call that says 'Stop the Execution, New Trial.'...
> "Another issue that Pam spoke to was whether opposition to the death penalty should be a demand of the movement to save Mumia. She said that while she and MOVE were totally against the death penalty and the International Concerned Family & Friends is primarily anti-death penalty, we cannot require the whole movement to save Mumia to be anti-death penalty."

WV Photos

San Francisco, April 24: Jack Heyman (left) mouths not one iota of criticism of Democratic Party or "new trial" slogan. IG's Jan Norden at rally, peddling centrist apologies for Heyman and class collaboration.

This was the program behind the April 24 mobilization and this is what Heyman, the IBT and the IG are trying to conceal: unity with people who think that Mumia is guilty and who have no problem with his being executed so long as he first gets a "fair trial." This was made disgustingly clear in a column called "What We Can Do to Build the Struggle" accompanying an article by Steve Bloom in *Against the Current* (January/February 1999) which appealed: "Demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal and that no execution take place until after a new trial is held"!

That this program was consciously crafted in pursuit of a bloc with Democratic Party notables like Jesse Jackson and, in the Bay Area, John Burton, Tom Ammiano and San Francisco mayor Willie Brown—all endorsers of the demonstration—was again made crystal clear by one of the chief organizers of the Philadelphia rally, the reformist Workers World Party (WWP). In an interview in *Workers World* (29 April), WWP leader Larry Holmes, after acknowledging that Mumia was framed up and that there should be "no need" for a new trial, continued:

> "Of course, not everyone shares these revolutionary principles. And so we solicit the support of those whose interest in Mumia is based on opposition to the death penalty or the recognition that he simply didn't get a fair trial.
> "It's very significant that many elected officials in New York have spoken out against the police massacre of Amadou Diallo. This has been helpful in turning the tide against Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who's infamous for his racist, police-state strategy when it comes to dealing with oppressed communities.
> "Mumia's case is about police brutality. But it's more difficult for elected officials and liberals to embrace. In Mumia's case, a cop ended up dead. It takes more courage, more resolute resistance to the police, to rise to Mumia's defense."

There you have it in a nutshell. What all this talk of "courage" really means is: since we reformists can't expect respectable liberal Democratic officeholders to openly call for the freedom of a black man convicted of killing a cop, to get them to endorse our rallies and spare them any test of their courage we will simply sacrifice the fact of Mumia's innocence and disappear any call to free him.

In New York, these Democratic Party liberals tried to put themselves at the front of the outrage over the Diallo killing in order to contain it and to preserve the authority of the racist cops and "clean up" their image. In San Francisco, Brown was elected mayor with the support and endorsement of the Police Officers Association, the local equivalent of the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) which howls for Jamal's execution. Democrat Bill Clinton made a point of appearing alongside Maureen Faulkner, the widow of the cop whose killing was used by the Philly police to frame up Jamal, at the June 1995 F.O.P. gathering in Washington, D.C.—at the very time when the governor of Pennsylvania was issuing a warrant for Jamal's execution. And Clinton pushed through the 1996 "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" vastly expanding the legal domain of capital punishment and gutting the right to federal *habeas corpus* appeals, which has made it easier for the state to kill Mumia.

Heyman (echoed by his IBT collaborators) denounces us for "sectarian opposition" to the April 24 demonstration and declares that "to not participate...is to abstain from the class struggle at a critical time." In the mouths of opportunists, "sectarian" is an epithet hurled at the revolutionaries who uphold the Marxist principles of the class struggle. April 24 was not class struggle but its opposite. What Heyman really means is that we did not endorse the program of class collaboration on which the protest was organized—i.e., we will not abandon our Marxist principles and deliberately deceive the working class by endorsing the lie that the road to black freedom and the emancipation of the proletariat from capitalist exploitation lies through support to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. We are revolutionists, not reformists. We seek to ***advance*** the consciousness of the proletariat. Hitching the ILWU work stoppage to the April 24 demonstration, as Heyman openly admits he did, served to reinforce backward consciousness—which is expressed chiefly through political subordination to the Democratic Party—on the most fundamental questions: the class independence of the proletariat and the class nature of the capitalist state.

Heyman dishonestly claims that support to the April 24 rally was based on "implementing the united front slogan: 'March separately, strike together'"—i.e., organizing united working-class action while explaining and warning against the betrayals of the reformists. Heyman marched not separately but in lockstep with the reformist organizers on April 24. In fact, he was one of the organizers and a featured speaker. Yet Heyman uttered ***not one single word of criticism*** of either the call for a "new trial" or the Democratic Party politicians who addressed the crowd as he strutted around the speakers platform. At a "Millions for Mumia" press conference the week before, it was Heyman who sycophantically proclaimed San Francisco Labor Council head Walter Johnson—a pillar of the Democratic Party in the city and a staunch supporter of Willie Brown's re-election as mayor—"our secret weapon." It was Heyman, the IBT and the rest of the LAC who, at the March 6 "Millions for Mumia" conference in Berkeley, led the charge against our revolutionary criticism precisely on the question of the call for a "new trial."

Who "Minimized" ILWU Action for Mumia?

Anyone reading Heyman, the IBT and the IG would think the ILWU ranks had been genuinely mobilized for a political strike on Jamal's behalf. They all squawk over our statement that:

> "Despite the obvious efforts of the ILWU bureaucrats to minimize the cost to the company, to pull the thousands of longshoremen coastwide off the job, even if only for a few hours, would be a powerful statement of the social power that can and must be mobilized in broader actions—from mass labor-centered protests to political strikes—for Jamal's freedom."

The tremendous potential impact of the longshore work stoppage was indeed minimized in every way. It was consciously organized to avoid violating the contract, under which the ILWU bureaucrats have for many years agreed to a no-strike clause for the life of the contract. The bureaucrats are politically dedicated to playing by the bosses' rules—the straitjacket of anti-labor laws that tie the unions to the capitalist state—and the ex-leftist Heyman provides the "militant" cover. Here's how the *San Francisco Chronicle* (24 April) reported the action:

> "The longshore workers' protest isn't an actual strike. Instead, the ILWU rescheduled a regular monthly union meeting provided for in its contract. Normally, the ports stop work on a Thursday evening to accommodate the union meeting, but this month, they will stop work today.
> "Port officials said the work stoppage would have little effect on their business. They said that shipping companies had managed to schedule their arrivals around the action."

And the *San Francisco Examiner* (20 April) reported that a spokesman for the bosses' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) "said the protest was organized about a month ago, giving the shipping companies time to plan ahead."

More importantly, there was no real attempt either before or at the union meetings that day to politically mobilize the membership in Jamal's behalf. At the Local 10 hall that morning, several of the lower seniority "B-men"—whose second-class status denies them a vote in their own union and who met separately from the "A-men"—told *WV* salesmen as they emerged from their meeting that there was nothing said in the meeting about the rally or Jamal's case, only that they couldn't go to work. Far from the "class-struggle action" he claimed, Heyman "organized" what was to a large extent only a symbolic presence meant to express labor's ties to the Democratic Party, a deception perpetrated first of all on the longshoremen who want to defend Mumia.

To facilitate this deception, Heyman went after the PDC which for years has publicized Jamal's case among ILWU members and in the broader labor movement. Heyman, the IBT and the IG all scream bloody murder over our statement that his whole purpose in asking the PDC to hand over the names of union officials who endorsed our previous efforts on Jamal's behalf was to "go after the reds." In its February 10 reply to Heyman, the PDC wrote: "We cannot comply with your request because the names of unions and union officials that have supported Jamal's case (or any other case over the many years of the PDC's existence) are simply not ours to 'give' to anyone.... Surely you must know that each endorsement we have requested and received is for a specific purpose and specific

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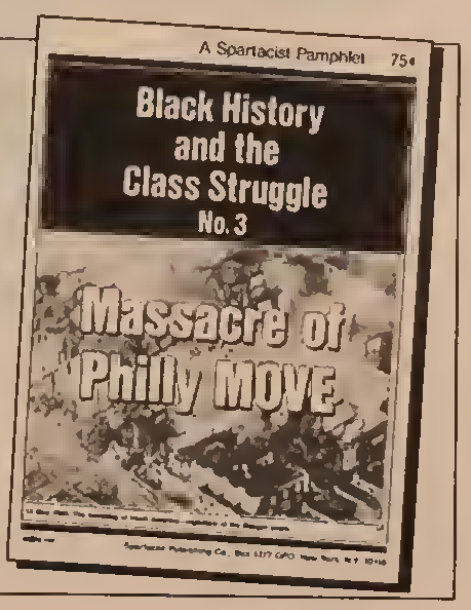


slogans.... These endorsements are not seen either by the PDC or by the union or union official as a standing endorsement for subsequent events and certainly not as a blank check or part of a 'list' to be passed around to any organization upon request."

As shown by the long list of "labor endorsements" pushed by the LAC, Heyman & Co. clearly didn't need the PDC for names of union officials. Heyman's request, made in the name of something called "The Rank-and-File ILWU Committee to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal," was never intended as anything other than a club to bad-mouth the PDC as "sectarian." (Les Friedman had earlier made the same demand to the PDC on behalf of the IBT's "Labor Action Committee.") And that's the only use to which this phony request has ever been put—first at the March 6 Berkeley conference "labor workshop," where Heyman and his friends used it to slander the PDC as an obstacle to Mumia's defense, and in the current contributions by Heyman and his twin tails.

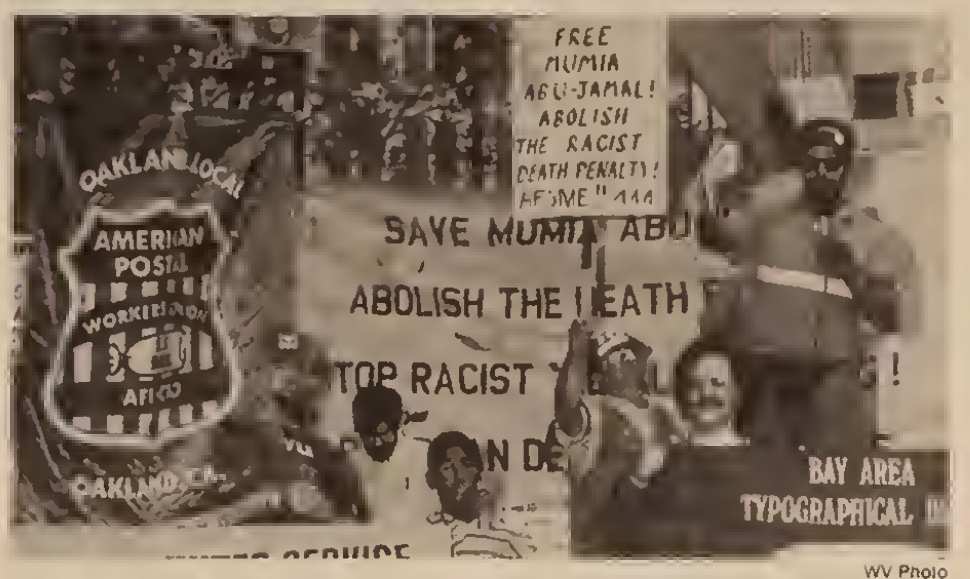
Heyman then tries to cause trouble between the PDC and ILWU International president Brian McWilliams by putting words in our mouths when he challenges in his letter, "What is the name of that leading bureaucrat? ILWU International President Brian McWilliams." No, his name is Jack Heyman. In our eyes, Heyman is a lot worse than McWilliams, because he pretends to be something different, a left-talking friend of the workers who is more radical than McWilliams. McWilliams makes no bones about his politics. He is a Democrat and proud of it. In this he is no worse than the rest of the American labor bureaucracy, and—when it comes to Mumia's defense—better than many others who did not raise their voices against Jamal's threatened execution in 1995, as McWilliams did at a PDC-initiated protest.

For his part, Heyman said nothing on April 24 when McWilliams lauded the ILWU's refusal to load scrap iron to Japan in 1938—a chauvinist act of support for the U.S. bourgeoisie's mobilization for interimperialist war over domination of the Pacific. On the contrary, in building for April 24, Heyman repeatedly invoked the ILWU's "long history of taking stands for social justice" and the image of "progressive unionism" cultivated by the ILWU leadership, explicitly harking back to the days of Harry Bridges. What this means is talking "progressive" as you sell out the workers. During World War II, Bridges, in line with the politics of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), enforced a no-strike pledge as part of his ardent support for U.S. imperialism—painting this imperialist war for plunder and profits as a "war against fascism." The Stalinists also opposed any struggle for black equality during the war.

The "progressive" Bridges continued his services to the capitalists and the shipping companies in later years. He imposed a no-strike clause in the ILWU contract. He enforced speed-up through the "Modernization and Mechanization" contracts—which he called a "beautiful piece of class collaboration"—that eliminated tens of thousands of jobs. He institutionalized the discriminatory division between A-men and B-men, as well as the obstacles that keep thousands of casuals out of the union. This is the tradition Heyman embraces. We oppose the B-list category, which ghettoizes a large segment of the ILWU membership, and fight for full union rights for all longshoremen. Heyman did, too, when he was still animated by the Trotskyist program. But now his loyalties lie elsewhere.

Heyman represents a type familiar in the labor movement since the 1930s: the ex-radical who, because of his own pessimism regarding the revolutionary capacity of the working class, abandons the struggle for workers revolution in favor of a career in the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. He knows how to talk the talk and is thus very useful to the bureaucracy in deceiving the workers. Many in Local 10's heavily black membership identify with Jamal's cause and want the union to take action in his defense. As the house "leftist" in the leadership of Local 10, Heyman makes it his job to keep this impulse within bounds acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

Heyman is well-practiced at this job. When the ILWU leadership wants to do something that will make it look good to its members without violating the no-strike clause or other legal restraints, Heyman and his "leftist" buddies like the IBT will come in and set up an "unofficial picket line"—like with the *Neptune Jade* in September 1997 in solidarity with locked-out dockers in Liverpool, England. Such stunts just reinforce the line foisted on the workers by the pro-capitalist bureaucracy that the union can't break the law—i.e., its no-strike commitment to the bosses. The ILWU leadership's refusal to mobilize union power to picket out the *Neptune Jade* emboldened the PMA bosses, who responded with a sinister witchhunt aimed at the union and its officers (see "Bay Area Longshore Union Under Attack—Defend Supporters of Liverpool Dockers!" [*WV* No. 681, 2 January 1998]).



WV Photo

August 1995 labor-centered Oakland protest for Mumia Abu-Jamal initiated by PDC was part of international campaign which stayed Jamal's execution. Marxists look to social power of integrated labor movement, not to capitalist "justice" system.

A Short Syphilitic Chain

While Heyman openly supports the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy and endorses the call for a "new trial," the IBT and IG cover for Heyman—not a very long edition of what Trotsky referred to as the "syphilitic chain" in which centrists and reformists are key links in tying the working class to the racist, capitalist order. The IBT says it "prefers" the call to free Mumia—as though it were simply a matter of taste—while echoing Heyman's denunciation of our "sectarian opposition" to the "new trial" mobilizations. Norden, in his typically slimy manner, portrays the ILWU work stoppage as independent from the April 24 demonstration by simply "disappearing" the demonstration in the pages of his *Internationalist*. But Norden certainly knew of the demonstration: in San Francisco, he marched shoulder to shoulder with Heyman in this mobilization for capitalist "justice," though he didn't bother to sell the *Internationalist* at the longshore stop-work meetings which he claimed we denigrated.

For *years*, the IBT refused to get anywhere near Mumia's case, taking it up only when the international campaign which stayed Jamal's execution in 1995 made Mumia's cause popular among the reformists and liberals. The IBT's hostility to the fight against black oppression was evident from this group's inception in the early 1980s. After the SL initiated a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped a KKK march in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the IBT's forerunner, the External Tendency, sneered that our black-centered proletarian perspective was a retreat from "the working class" in favor of "community organizing." One of our last fights with ILWU Local 10 member Howard Keylor, before he broke politically with the SL and became a supporter of the External Tendency, was over his association with racist Portland ILWU officials who had for years kept blacks out of their longshore local. This group also denounced the SL for honoring the victims of the 1985 government bombing of the MOVE home in Philadelphia.

Now the IBT's missive comes right out and argues that Mumia *can* get justice from the capitalist courts, stating that "it is not impossible that a new trial could result in an acquittal." They denounce the statement by a spokesman for the Labor Black League quoted in our article that a new trial is "going to be exactly the same frame-up bullshit that happened the first time." Why then is the PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein involved in Mumia's legal defense, they demand. Because while the IBT treated Mumia and MOVE as pariahs, the PDC has fought to pull every legal lever to win his freedom, while stressing—in the words of International Labor Defense founder James P. Cannon—that we place "*all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts.*" Even Jamal's legal papers call for his immediate freedom!

When the handful of SL cadre who formed the IG split from our organization in 1996, they protested indignantly when we called them "the IBT of the Nineties." Yet here they are now joining the IBT in their groveling support to Heyman's treacherous role. The IBT and the IG play the classic role of centrists: directing all their fire against the left in order to alibi the right. As Trotsky put it in his 1934 article "Centrism and the Fourth International": "A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightist groupings and is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to coverup their actions before the workers."

The kind of maneuvering practiced by Heyman to *prevent* mobilizing union power has long been the preserve of the IBT. In 1984, Keylor, then on the Local 10 exec board, helped the bureaucrats scuttle a union boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, a ship carrying South African cargo, which had been called in solidarity with embattled black workers fighting the hated apartheid regime. As editor of *Workers Vanguard*, Norden edited an article on that betrayal headlined: "ILWU Anti-Apartheid Action Sabotaged—Labor Traitors and Their Lackeys" (*WV* No. 374, 8 March 1985). Last year, the IG raised a criticism of the *Neptune Jade* "picket" similar to ours. But now Norden hails this as a "legitimate action of labor solidarity" as he cynically rallies to defend Heyman's "honor" against the SL, praising this labor opportunist for having the "gumption to speak out" against us on Brazil.

In Heyman, Norden sees a kindred spirit. Norden and his clot broke with us when we moved to break fraternal relations with a group in Brazil which proved to be more interested in holding onto union office in a cop-riddled union than in building the revolutionary party. Why shouldn't the IG alibi appeals by trade-union opportunists to the justice of the capitalist courts? The IG has spent much of the last three years trying to cover up for the fact that this Brazilian group which is now its affiliate, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB), has dragged the SFPMVR municipal workers union in Volta Redonda through the capitalist courts three times as part of a squalid fight for control of the union against an equally unprincipled bureaucratic faction. Norden's group has never answered our challenge to publish the documentation of these court suits (court case numbers 30.831, 30.832, 30.833).

Brazil is far enough away that Norden can deny anything because no one except us will take the trouble to go there to prove him a liar, as we have done (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" and "IG's Brazil Cover-up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* Nos. 669 and 671, 30 May and 11 July 1997). But now he has shown his true colors here by making common cause against the revolutionary Spartacist League and the PDC with this labor bureaucrat in leftist clothing, Jack Heyman, who uses the ILWU to further his career as a deceiver of the workers.

Through our propaganda and our labor-centered united-front mobilizations, our class-struggle defense work aims to bring to the proletariat the necessary consciousness of the nature of the capitalist state and of the centrality of the fight for black freedom to socialist revolution in this country. We aim to break illusions in the Democrats and bring home the understanding that the working people need their own class party, a revolutionary workers party. What Heyman and his "left" lawyers do is reinforce the obstacles to mobilizing the social power of the working class on Jamal's behalf, and in every cause of the exploited and oppressed. Their road serves the capitalist masters; ours the fight for a socialist future.■

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Serbia...

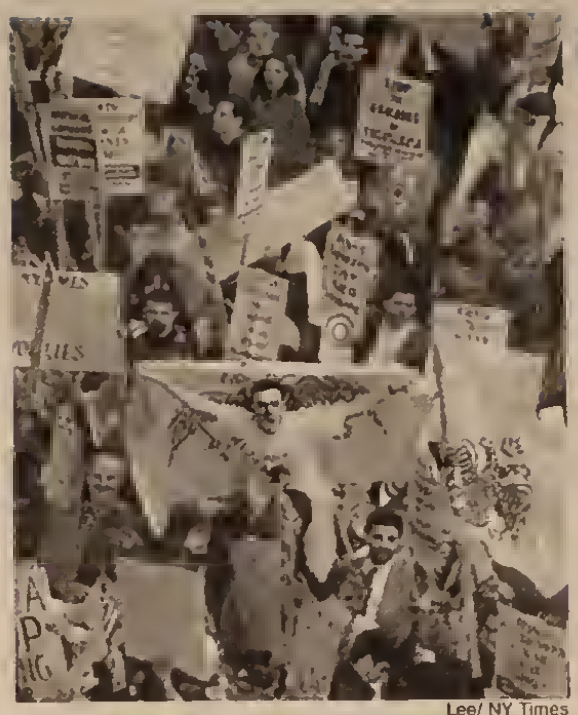
(continued from page 1)

by *90 percent*, the NATO bombing threatens to plunge the Serbian population into epidemics of dysentery and other diseases. Last week, NATO warplanes bombed a prison in Kosovo, which they lyingly claimed was serving as an army barracks, killing 19 people. The previous day, U.S. bombers hit a Belgrade hospital, killing four people. As rescue workers carried wounded women from the maternity ward, one remarked bitterly: "This is of course a military target if you just take the longer view. In 20 years or so, these babies will be soldiers."

For all the boasting about "precision bombing," NATO bombs last week damaged the official residences of the ambassadors to Belgrade from Sweden, Switzerland, India and several other countries, as well as the Libyan and Israeli embassies. A few days later, warplanes blasted a base of the Kosovo Liberation Army auxiliaries of the NATO imperialist forces.

The U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia is no "humanitarian" mission to defend the Albanians of Kosovo, as the imperialists cynically claim. The U.S. rulers are waging a war of aggression against a tiny country to project their military power in the Balkans while maintaining Washington's position as top dog against its imperialist rivals. We seek the *defeat* of U.S. imperialism through the revolutionary mobilization of the American working class. We stand for military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO attack and demand the withdrawal of all imperialist troops from the Balkans. At the same time, we give no political support to the bloody regime of nationalist Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic, and we fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans through proletarian revolutions throughout the region.

As the bombing enters its third month, the *New York Times* (21 May) reports that NATO leaders "feel they have to have a military breakthrough or a diplomatic breakthrough. Everyone is tired of this." Divisions within the capitalist ruling class in this country and among the NATO powers have become increasingly open. In Washington, the House voted early this month that Clinton must seek Congressional approval before sending ground troops into Kosovo and, on a tie vote, rejected a resolution supporting the air strikes against Serbia. At the same time, Democratic Party liberals in particular are increasingly calling to prepare an invasion of Kosovo. A recent editorial in the *Times* (20 May) declared that "if the negotiations falter or fail, NATO should have other options available," and concluded that "preparations for an invasion should move ahead."



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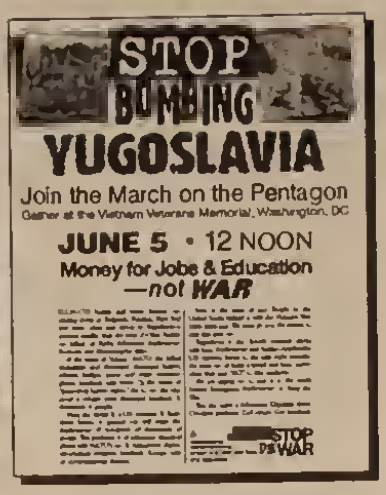

Serbian chauvinist banners at New York "antiwar" rally organized by Workers World. WWP promotes Serbian nationalism while appealing to imperialist rulers for more "humane" policies.

As British Labour prime minister Tony Blair campaigned aggressively for sending ground troops into Kosovo, German Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder declared that "sending in ground troops is unthinkable. This is our position and it won't change in the future." Schröder was reportedly furious that, as a result of the U.S. bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, his trip to Beijing as new chairman of the European Union became an occasion for apologies. Earlier this month, a conference of Schröder's coalition partners, the Greens, narrowly rejected a motion calling for an unconditional end to the bombings, which would have forced them to quit the government. Greece and Italy have defied Washington by calling for a pause in the bombing. Meanwhile, Russia and China insist on a halt to the bombing as a precondition for any UN Security Council vote on an imperialist "peace" deal.

Tensions among the NATO partners have also flared over the question of who would lead an occupation force. Germany and France had earlier pushed for occupation under the banner of the United Nations or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), a European-dominated alliance, as a way of undercutting U.S. influence in the region. The Clinton administration responded by angrily insisting that any military force in Kosovo must be under NATO command. When UN secretary general Kofi Annan appointed two special envoys to participate in negotiations with Belgrade, he was curtly told by U.S. officials that an occupation force in Kosovo will "under no circumstances" be under UN control and that the UN should "be content with its own business, that is, humanitarian questions" (*Le Monde*, 9 May).

Two political advertisements in the West Coast edition of the *New York Times* (13 May) bracket the current spread of bourgeois opinion on the imperialist bombardment of Serbia. One signed by the "Balkan Action Council" proclaims that "Only Ground Troops Will End Ethnic Cleansing in Kosovo" and calls for the "establishment of a NATO-safeguarded international protectorate for Kosovo." Its signatories range from sinister right-wing types like former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski to liberal writer Susan Sontag and rad-chic celeb Bianca Jagger.

The other, titled "10 Reasons to Stop Bombing Yugoslavia," was placed by the "California Peace Action Education Fund," which is composed of the Quakers, the social-democratic Los Angeles Committee of Correspondence and other radical-liberal pacifist types who want a kinder, more gentle imperialism. Complaining about a "double standard," they ask: "Why are we not taking action to stop Turkey's violent repression" of Kurds. Presumably, they favor a single "standard" for imperialist terror bombing. They also complain about the money being "wasted" on missiles and bombs instead of being spent on "humanitarian relief efforts." Echoing the European social democrats, they urge Clinton to "work towards the immediate deployment of non-military peacekeepers" through the OSCE or the UN.

Both these ads start from the standpoint of what is best for U.S. imperialism. This is also the terrain of fake-left groups in this country like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Workers World Party (WWP). Like the rad-lib ad cited above, one of the main reasons the ISO offers for a bombing halt is that it has strengthened Milosevic instead of weakening him. The ISO joins the rad-libs in deploring U.S. "hypocrisy" for not acting against ethnic or communalist massacres in Rwanda, Turkey, etc. The pages of both *Workers World* and the ISO's *Socialist Worker* are full of plaintive calls on the capitalist rulers, such as "Stop the Bombing" and spend "Money for Jobs & Education—Not War."

As Marxists, we understand that imperialism is not a *policy* that can be "reformed" by pressuring a wing of the ruling class. It is a worldwide *system* of exploitation and oppression—capitalism in its highest stage of development—which must be overthrown through international socialist revolution.

ISO/WWP: Left Face of American Liberal Imperialism

Behind the U.S. bourgeoisie's dread of getting into a "quagmire" in the Balkans is the "Vietnam syndrome," the ever-present memory of its humiliating defeat by the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants in the 1960s and early '70s. In parallel fashion, the fake left in this country calls for "No More Vietnams" and harks back to the peace crawls of that period, which were politically dominated by the craven reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

While tens of thousands repeatedly marched against the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C. and other cities, the SWP kept the demonstrations limited to pressure on Democratic Party liberals with "single-issue" slogans like "Out Now!" That demand was an undisguised appeal to imperialist "doves," exemplified by Democratic Senator Vance Hartke, who sat on the steering committee of the SWP-dominated National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). A wing of the capitalist ruling class increasingly realized that, especially after the Sino-Soviet split and the 1965 crushing of the Indonesian Communist Party, an anti-Communist restabilization of Southeast Asia was possible without pursuing the losing Vietnam adventure.

The Spartacists alone fought for a program aimed at mobilizing the *working class* in struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers. We called for the military victory of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front while at the same time warning against the nationalist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Hanoi. Our resolute class solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants and our calls for working-class action—including political strikes—in the U.S. against the war provided the objective bases for uniting radical students, trade unionists and the black population around opposition to U.S. imperialism.

We politically opposed the petty-bourgeois "draft resistance" movement by socially privileged college students. We maintained that, if drafted, antiwar activists should go into the army, to explain to their fellow soldiers that they were being forced to fight and perhaps die in a racist imperialist war and to organize opposition among working-class youth within the military against the capitalist rulers. Toward the end of the war, U.S. troops in Vietnam were in fact becoming semi-mutinous.

In the unions, among antiwar activists, on the campuses, among soldiers, the small forces of the Spartacist League fought for the principled program of class struggle which, if it had become rooted in the working masses, would have given powerful assistance to the Vietnamese Revolution and laid the basis for creating a revolutionary workers party in this country.

Groups like the ISO and WWP today aim to build a new version of NPAC by appealing to liberal bourgeois sentiment. But the imperialists today are not, as they were in the '60s in Vietnam, engaged in a losing war to crush a social revolution. In fact, the liberals are today the chief war hawks. Consequently, much of the left not only refuses to call for the defense of Serbia and the defeat of the U.S./NATO imperialists, but even downplays the call for withdrawal of U.S./NATO troops from the Balkans. Lenin described as "social-chauvinism" just such support to the imperialist aims of the capitalist ruling class under a smokescreen of "socialist" phrasemongering.

When the Cliffite *Socialist Worker* printed a rare call last month for NATO to "get out of the Balkans," we wrote: "What they really mean is that the UN 'international forces' should replace the U.S.-led NATO forces" (*WV* No. 712, 30 April). And that is *exactly* what they meant. Alex Callinicos, a leading spokesman for the British Socialist Workers Party, the ISO's patron, recently joined Noam Chomsky and other liberal academics in signing a statement in the *New Statesman* (10 May) which declares:

> "Nato is not the only or above all the best fulcrum for an agreement. One could find the elements of a multinational police force (embracing nota-

LO Fête...

(continued from page 3)

That's why those looking for a genuine Trotskyist party were interested in the ICL at the LO fête. Immediately prior to LO's despicable thuggery, an Italian ICL comrade urged fête participants to support the campaign of material aid to the workers of the Zastava car plant and other factories bombed by imperialism, a campaign which was initiated by Italian syndicalists. Many participants welcomed the opportunity to concretely express their opposition to their own bourgeoisie and their solidarity with the victims of the U.S./NATO bombing. The last thing NATO wants to see is a revolutionary class struggle by Yugoslav workers against the capitalist butcher Milosevic (indeed the Zastava workers have a history of militant strikes). That, and our proletarian internationalist fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans to put an end to the ethnic bloodletting which capitalist counterrevolution has wrought, are things the imperialists seek to impede. LO howled with the imperialist wolves against the Soviet degenerated workers state and cheered the forces of capitalist counterrevolution across East Europe, which set the stage for the all-sided communalist bloodletting and imperialist war in the Balkans today. Still riding the coattails of its own bourgeoisie, now LO tries to silence the ICL's revolutionary opposition to the war and to the capitalist governments waging the war.

We will not be silenced by LO's goons. The entire workers movement and especially LO members themselves must protest this outrage. At bottom, this violence is a desperate attempt to shield LO members from open political debate and a clash of views which is vital to politically clarify differences within the workers movement. Every year, LO's goons create a new scandal which reveals the disgusting values of these French social-chauvinists. In 1992, the homophobic LO chauvinists denied ACT-UP a stand. For offering our stand to ACT-UP, the ICL has been forever banned from having a stand of our own at the LO fête. In recent years, LO's goons have repeatedly beaten up second-generation youth of North African origin and immigrants who sought admission to the fête. Last year, LO censored the Basque nationalist organization Herri Batasuna. The ICL has exposed and protested each and every one of these atrocities. Don't wait to find out who will be next on LO's hit list. Act now! Stop LO's political gangsterism and thuggery! We urge all workers organizations to publicly condemn this cowardly and despicable violence! ■

bly Serbs and Albanians) in the ranks of the OSCE to enforce a transitional agreement."

This is an open call for military intervention under the auspices of the OSCE, reflecting the particular interests of the West European imperialist powers.

Meanwhile, the WWP has issued a call for a June 5 "Stop Bombing Yugoslavia" demonstration in Washington, D.C. that doesn't even mention the word imperialism. WWP even chose as its starting point for the march the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the bourgeoisie's monument to its dirty, counterrevolutionary war! The featured speaker will be none other than Ramsey Clark, who was attorney general for Democratic president Lyndon Johnson as his administration rained down napalm on the Vietnamese people. As head of the Justice Department, Clark was the boss of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI as it was carrying out its murderous COINTELPRO operation against black radicals.

Logically, the ISO and WWP should find themselves on opposite sides of the war in Kosovo. WWP wallows in Serb chauvinism; its "antiwar" protests feature Serbian monarchist flags and chants of "Kosovo is Serbia." The ISO, although it has retreated from its patently pro-imperialist call of "independence for Kosovo," still presents Milosevic as the greatest evil in the Balkans and echoes NATO war propaganda over the plight of the Kosovo Albanians. Yet the WWP and the ISO share a common policy of pressuring U.S. imperialism, as seen in their amicable coexistence at a May 19 anti-war "teach-in" at the New School in New York City. After an ISO speaker there claimed to "condemn" those on the left who "parrot" the ruling class, a Spartacist League member shot back from the floor:

> "Will you condemn the British Socialist Workers Party which called for a vote for the Labour Party, that was 'over the moon' when Tony Blair was elected prime minister of Britain? And finally, will the ISO condemn the parroting of the imperialists that has been the hallmark of the International Socialist Organization and the Socialist Workers Party, which sided with imperialism for the 50 years of the anti-Soviet Cold War drive that has resulted in counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, which has created this nationalist bloodletting?"

Workers Power: Lawyers for NATO's Albanian Pawns

Our principled Marxist opposition to U.S./NATO imperialism in the Balkans has been the subject of a polemic by the centrist Australian Workers Power (WP) group—affiliated to the British group of the same name—in a pamphlet titled *War in the Balkans*. WP is a classic example of what we have called "NATO socialists." They formally claim to oppose NATO and defend Serbia—"though not in Kosova which they have no right to occupy," according to a British WP statement distributed at a March 30 London meeting. But their support to the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), which is simply a pawn of NATO, is nothing but *support to the imperialists' war aims in the Balkans.*

WV Photo

Spartacist League fights to forge revolutionary workers party. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!

The Australian WP pamphlet cites our statement in "Balkans Trip Wire" (*WV* No. 710, 2 April) that as early as 1976—when Yugoslavia and Albania were still deformed workers states—we had defended the national rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and Macedonia to secede and join Albania. WP says: "And yet today, when ethnic hatreds and nationalism are an even greater threat to proletarian unity in the Balkans, the Spartacists will have no truck with this principle." It is revealing that the pamphlet never cites what we say about this in our article, namely: "With direct U.S./NATO intervention on the side of the Kosovo Albanians in recent months, the question of national self-determination has become subordinated to the defense of Serbia against imperialist attack."

Our position toward Kosovo today is analogous to that of Lenin's Bolsheviks toward self-determination for Poland during the First World War. The right of Poland and other oppressed nations to secede from the Russian tsarist empire had been a central element of the Bolshevik program. However, with the outbreak of the war in 1914, the Polish left petty-bourgeois nationalist Josef Pilsudski organized military units which fought with the Austrian army against Russia under the banner of restoring "Polish independence." In the context of interimperialist war, Lenin rightly argued that calls for Poland's independence only served as a "democratic" cover for German imperialism.

The Workers Power pamphlet asserts in complete seriousness that "under the pressure of opposing imperialist aggression the Spartacist League have abandoned the Kosovars to their fate." WP certainly hasn't given in to the "pressure" of opposing imperialism!

The UCK, continues the pamphlet, "is not yet reduced to merely 'an instrument of NATO'." This is self-evident hogwash. UCK leaders have repeatedly bragged to Western journalists that they are serving in Kosovo as spotters, guiding U.S/NATO warplanes to their targets. Dozens of British and American special forces are fighting alongside the small UCK forces. And the UCK recently named as its leader a former brigadier general in the Croatian army who helped plan—with the support and collusion of Washington—the 1995 "ethnic cleansing" of Serbs in the Krajina region.

WP is well aware that the UCK is today an instrument of NATO. A few weeks ago they co-sponsored a "Peace in the Balkans Committee" meeting in London which featured a Kosovar Albanian spokesman who vociferously proclaimed that "we" support NATO because they are the only ones helping the Albanians. Serbia is the only imperialism I see, she declared to the assembled "anti-imperialists," and if this is contrary to your beliefs, please stay home.

WP's support to the UCK goes to the heart of its centrist politics, which are defined by tailism toward the Labourite social democrats who are today the most rabid war hawks in Europe. In every conflict between opposing petty-bourgeois or bourgeois nationalist forces, Workers Power always searches for a so-called "progressive" side—for example, supporting the imperialist-backed Bosnian Muslim forces in the three-sided communalist fratricide between Croats, Muslims and Serbs in Bosnia. At bottom, WP's methodology is social-democratic, based not on the historic class interests of the proletariat but on "classless" considerations (which camp is more or less "democratic" or "genocidal," which best embodies a mythical "anti-imperialist dynamic," etc.). This was prepared and exemplified by years of support to social-democratic anti-Sovietism.

While nominally abandoning its erstwhile Cliffite "third camp" anti-Soviet line, during the Cold War of the 1980s WP joined with the Cliffites in supporting such reactionary anti-Communist forces as Solidarność in Poland, a movement of rabid nationalists and anti-Semites masquerading as a trade union. And in 1991-92, they cheered on the "democratic" counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin and supported by Washington which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state.

For all the "ethnic cleansing" of Albanians that Milosevic has carried out in Kosovo, he could never dream of equaling the horrors the American ruling class has inflicted on the world—from the bloody rape of the Philippines a century ago to the mass slaughter of Haitians in 1915, from the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the devastation that was wreaked on Vietnam and North Korea in Washington's counterrevolutionary wars to "roll back Communism," from the genocidal massacre of workers and peasants in Central America in the 1980s to the ongoing murder and starvation of well over a million Iraqis. And, as the current trial of the New York City cops who hideously tortured Haitian immigrant Abner Louima testifies, this is the same ruling class that wages a racist war—the so-called "war on crime"—against blacks and other minorities in this country.

The capitalist system, based on the exploitation of the mass of the world's population for the benefit of a handful of filthy rich, necessarily breeds poverty, racism and war. The imperialists' tug-of-war over influence in the Balkans contains the germ of a future world war in which all sides will be armed with nuclear weapons. We seek to build revolutionary workers parties as part of a reforged Fourth International to lead the socialist revolutions which alone can put an end to this inhuman system. ■

NYC Labor...

(continued from page 12)

and enhance their credibility. Thus, Rivera and black Democrat Al Sharpton were key architects of a 10-point program for "police reform" which includes the demand for a pay raise for the cops. Supporting better pay and "working conditions" for the police—echoing the PBA's demand for "No More Zeros" in the next contract— simply emboldens these thugs.

The political character of the May 12 rally was made amply clear by the reformist Communist Party (CP), which waxed ecstatic that it was a continuation of the "all-people's fight to defeat Sen. Alfonse D'Amato and elect Chuck Schumer," an aggressively pro-cop "law and order" Democrat (*People's Weekly World*, 8 May). The CP has been pushing the Democrats as "friends of labor" for more than six decades. But the Democrats are no less a party of capitalism and racism than the Republicans. Former NYC mayor David Dinkins laid off thousands of city workers while putting more cops on the streets. And Clinton has presided over the devastation of welfare, a vast expansion of the death penalty and one after another imperialist military intervention overseas. Demonstrating their craven fealty to the bloody capitalist order, not one of the labor tops at the May 12 rally uttered a peep of criticism of Clinton's imperialist war against Serbia.

The social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO) enthused over the May 12 demonstration. Its *Socialist Worker* (21 May) article had not a word about the presence of Democratic Party pols or the cops. This is no surprise. The ISO supports "organizing" prison guards and backs "rank-and-file" outfits like Teamsters for a Democratic Union and the DC 37 "Committee for Real Change," whose stock in trade is dragging the unions into the bosses courts. Meanwhile, the ISO tails the police whitewash efforts of Sharpton/Rivera by pushing a "Citywide Network Against Police Violence" with its own "10-point program" whose main difference is that it does not call for more pay for the cops.

The police cannot be reformed; they must be swept away through a socialist revolution which smashes the capitalist state and installs a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and place the means of production in the hands of the working class. The Spartacist League fights to break workers and minorities from the Democratic Party in order to build the revolutionary workers party needed to lead the proletariat to the seizure of state power. Working people create the wealth on which the Wall Street moguls gorge. Only when those who labor rule will that wealth be used to provide decent jobs, housing, education and medical care for all. ■

Spartacist Forums

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!
Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

LOS ANGELES — For more information: (213) 380-8239

Saturday, June 5, 4 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church
1226 N. Alvarado St. (Two blocks north of Sunset)

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

Defeat U.S./Canada/NATO Imperialism Through Workers Revolution! Defend Serbia!

TORONTO — For more information: (416) 593-4138

Saturday, June 5, 7:30 p.m. International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (North of College St.)

Ten Years After Tiananmen Square
Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution in China!
For Proletarian Political Revolution!

TORONTO

Saturday, June 12, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity–St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. West (1 blk. w. of Spadina Stn.)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

NEW YORK

Thursday, June 10, 7:30 p.m.
322 W. 48th St., Club Room
(bet. 8th & 9th Aves., take E or C to 50th St.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC Labor Rally: Angry Ranks, Sellout Bureaucrats

Cops, Courts Out of the Unions!

Gribbon/Chief-Leader

Erwitt/NY Daily News

Racist, strikebreaking cops were invited by labor tops to join May 12 rally, where police manhandled union protesters.

NEW YORK—On May 12, up to 50,000 members of New York City trade unions flooded the streets of downtown Manhattan in the biggest labor demonstration seen here in decades. The turnout was fueled by anger over years of wage freezes imposed on municipal workers, over union-busting "workfare" which has meant slashing over 20,000 city jobs and forcing desperate welfare recipients to do the work, over rampant cop terror exemplified by the recent death-squad-style execution of black African Amadou Diallo. But the union bureaucrats organized this rally not as a display of labor's social power against the city rulers but as a political mobilization for the capitalist Democratic Party.

The class-collaborationist aims of the union tops were reflected not only in the presence of numerous Democratic Party mayoral hopefuls on the speaker's platform but in the invitation to the police "unions" to be an official part of this labor rally. This was a slap in the face to every unionist who has seen the business end of a billy club while picketing, and especially to the black and Hispanic workers who make up the bulk of the municipal unions' membership and know that any one of them could have been in Amadou Diallo's shoes when he was gunned down in a hail of 41 bullets. Especially coming amid the trial of the five cops who brutalized Haitian immigrant Abner Louima two years ago, the labor tops' embrace of the police as "union brothers" is aimed at deflecting outrage over cop terror. While Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) chief James Savage was presented as part of the "team," groups of protesters jeered when he spoke. "I know his team. His team are killers," yelled one Teamsters member.

Welcoming the capitalist rulers' hired thugs into this demonstration was an obscene display of the union misleaders' class loyalties. For years, they have been in the hip pocket of Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani, positively bragging at the rally how they had shoved through a wage freeze, not to mention massive job cuts, "workfare" and other attacks on living standards and union conditions. Willie James, head of Transport Workers Union Local 100, whose 35,000 members keep the city running, imposed a "workfare" provision in the union contract. Virtually every major union official in New York supported Giuliani's reelection in 1997; even Service Employees (SEIU) Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera, a former leader of the state Democratic Party machine, remained formally "neutral" in the election while appearing alongside Giuliani at a press conference. With Wall Street booming and thanks to the sellout contracts enforced by the union tops, the city and state governments are rolling in a $5 billion surplus. But when the bureaucrats, with contract talks coming up, asked for "A Fair Share for Working Families" after years of enforcing "sacrifice," Giuliani told them to drop dead.

In the last year, a spate of government anti-union "corruption" investigations has led to the ouster of a layer of Giuliani allies from the NYC labor officialdom. SEIU Local 32B-32J janitors' head Gus Bevona, AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill and school cafeteria workers' union president Charles Hughes were plenty crooked—and arch-sellouts—but the aim of government intervention is not to "clean up" the unions but to weaken them and place them even more firmly under the thumb of the capitalist state. We say: Labor must clean its own house! Government hands off the unions! Cops out of the labor movement!

Now with the despised Giuliani's term in City Hall coming to an end, the labor tops are out to refurbish their image, and the pro-Democratic Party wing of the NYC labor bureaucracy is intent on reasserting the whip hand. The chief organizers of the May 12 rally were Rivera, the AFSCME International bureaucracy which has taken control of DC 37 and the teachers union; in fact, it was United Federation of Teachers president Randi Weingarten who was instrumental in bringing the cops in.

There was a palpable divide at the rally between predominantly minority unions like DC 37 and Local 1199 hospital workers, who mobilized heavily, and the largely white skilled trades. Even before the demonstration, representatives of the building trades unions like current Central Labor Council chief Brian McLaughlin argued against any explicit criticism of Giuliani and Republican governor George Pataki. But Giuliani's police-state methods—attacking everyone from cab drivers to sidewalk hot dog vendors—have infuriated even many white New Yorkers, especially when cops started confiscating the cars of drivers who have had as little as one drink.

Even as cop spokesmen addressed the rally, the police engaged in repeated provocations against union members, penning them in and sealing off entire streets to pedestrians, including those trying to join the demonstration. When the cops waded into the crowd at the corner of Warren and Broadway, shoving and manhandling protesters, the labor bureaucrats' cozy unity with the police "unions" was almost shattered amid outrage by minority and white workers alike. As workers shoved back, shouting "Union! Union!" in the face of the police, it brought to mind the 40,000-strong construction workers march last year which erupted in running battles between trade unionists and retreating cops. *The cops are not workers* but an integral part of the capitalist state apparatus which exists to repress the working class. The role of the police "unions" is to further their bonapartist appetites against any constraints on their murderous terror. How this plays out was seen in the violent, racist cop riot against former mayor David Dinkins in 1992, which catapulted Giuliani into City Hall.

Rivera and other liberal union officials marched at the head of an April 15 protest against police brutality in the wake of the Diallo killing. There is no contradiction here with their joining with the cop "unions" on May 12. As we warned throughout the wave of Diallo protests, the role of the Democratic Party liberals and their labor bureaucrat allies was to place themselves at the head of the outrage in order to deflect it into schemes to "clean up" the cops' image

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1199 News

Local 1199 chief Dennis Rivera (far left) joins with Hillary Clinton in election rally for Democratic Senatorial candidate Charles Schumer last year.

Break with the Democrats! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 715 | 11 June 1999

Down With Imperialist Occupation of Kosovo!

All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!

AP

S. Pikula

U.S. occupation force for Kosovo massed in Albania. Imperialists forced Serbia into submission through terror bombing: Belgrade hospital devastated by NATO May 20.

Down With U.S. Imperialism! For Workers Revolution!

JUNE 8—With their customary vindictiveness, America's capitalist rulers are gloating that the world's mightiest imperialist powers succeeded in bringing Serbia—a small, dependent country barely the size of Ohio—to its knees through ruthless, relentless terror. Under the U.S./NATO "peace" diktat, Kosovo will be turned into a NATO protectorate with 50,000 occupation troops for an indefinite period. This was NATO's goal from the beginning, not its cynical talk of protecting the Kosovo Albanians. As proletarian internationalists who called forthrightly for the defeat of our "own" bourgeoisie, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, denounces this predatory "peace" dictated by the world's bloodiest mass murderers. *Down with U.S. imperialism! For workers revolution!*

This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people and the oppressed the world over. It will place the Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region. It will fuel the rapacity of the American bourgeoisie at home and abroad. It will sharpen the conflicting appetites of the major capitalist powers, accelerating the drive to an even bloodier war in the future.

After 73 days and a staggering *33,000* bombing sorties, the Democratic Clinton administration and its NATO partners—crucially assisted by the "soft cop" role played by Boris Yeltsin's capitalist Russia—got what they wanted by showing just how ruthless they could be in killing defenseless civilians. In just two days last week, U.S./NATO bombers killed more than 40 civilians and wounded dozens more as bombs and missiles destroyed a sanatorium, a retirement home and a crowded bridge in the middle of market day. Even after Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic accepted NATO's "peace" diktat, the imperialists continued to rain death and destruction on the Serbian people, vowing yesterday to step up the bombing because NATO did not get instant agreement to every last detail of its ultimatum for a Serb troop withdrawal from Kosovo.

As in the one-sided 1991 war against Iraq, the imperialists systematically went after the infrastructure necessary for the civilian population to survive: electrical generators and distribution grids, water purification plants, citywide central heating plants, communications systems. Factories, hospitals, nursing homes and apartment complexes were blown to smithereens. Serbian working people face a looming catastrophe of unemployment, food shortages, disease and a winter without heat. Enormous quantities of toxic chemicals have been released into the air and waterways by the bombing of petrochemical plants and fuel refineries and the Pentagon's use of shells made of depleted uranium, a radioactive waste product. Now the imperialists are engaging in outright blackmail, threatening not to invest a penny in Serbia to undo the ruin they caused until Milosevic—who the NATO terror bombers have the gall to indict as a "war criminal"—is ousted as president.

Nearly eight years of economic sanctions against Serbia had already set back this relatively industrialized country by decades. Now the "democratic" U.S./NATO imperialists have wreaked more devastation in Serbia than did German imperialism under Hitler's Nazis in World War II. A half century of economic progress made possible by the post-World War II overturn of capitalism in Yugoslavia—which was reversed through imperialist-instigated counterrevolution in the early 1990s—has been wiped away. This is the true face of "humanitarian" imperialism.

A War of Imperialist Domination

The several hundred thousand Serbian inhabitants of Kosovo now rightly fear that they will be driven from their homes.

continued on page 12

Ten Years After Tiananmen

China: Fight Capitalist Restoration! For Workers Political Revolution!

See Page 8

NYC Transit

Reinstate Victimized New Directions Supporter! Down With New Directions Anti-Union Court Suit!

A recent series of demonstrations by New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 members and other unionists in front of Transit Authority (TA) headquarters have demanded the immediate reinstatement of Roger Toussaint, chairman of the local's 1,800-strong Track Division, who was fired in April. The TA's firing of Toussaint is a vicious attack against the entire union and must be fought: Reinstate Toussaint immediately with full back pay and full benefits!

But in attempting to get his job back, Toussaint—a leader of the New Directions group of bureaucratic rivals to the Willie James leadership of the local—is pursuing a treacherous strategy which seriously threatens the union. Outrageously, the union executive board under James voted in April to side with management by throwing Toussaint out of the union and his elected post as chairman of the Track Division. However, Toussaint then appealed to the class enemy, the capitalist state, by filing a lawsuit *against the union* seeking, as a New Directions leaflet reported, "an injunction to overturn the Executive Board's action."

This is an open invitation to government union-busting. The courts are not some "neutral" body but, along with the cops and prisons, are at the core of the repressive state apparatus whose entire purpose is to protect the property and profits of the capitalist ruling class. Bringing the courts into union affairs can only have one outcome—to *destroy* the union's ability to combat management attacks. Local 100 has experienced firsthand the union-busting role of the courts, which invoked the anti-labor Taylor Law to heavily fine TWU members after the 1980 NYC transit strike was sold out. Conversely, the TWU won its 1966 strike through *defiance* of the strikebreaking Condon-Wadlin Act.

The TA's "reason" for the firing of Toussaint, which was backed up by anti-labor arbitrators, was that his union rep had missed the deadline for filing an appeal in the grievance procedure after management had brought him up on disciplinary charges. One of the charges was that he had ridden in an "unauthorized" vehicle while conducting union business on company property. In its effort to harass workers, management has placed an array of restrictions—from the pettiest to the most severe—on union reps to make it nearly impossible for them to assist workers, especially in remote locations. Toussaint was also charged with failure to notify the snoops in TA "Sick Control" of his whereabouts during sick leave!

The victimization of Toussaint is an attack on the union with the clear intent of trying to stop all TWU members from defending themselves against management attacks. Track Division vice chairman Joel Fredericson and other union reps have also recently faced TA disciplinary actions. The track department is notorious for being the most dangerous department to work in. Workers have to constantly perform heavy work in filthy, deteriorating, unsafe conditions under constant pressure of speedup and management harassment. Toussaint was one of the union reps to investigate the death of track worker Thomas DeStefano last July, who slipped in a wet subway tunnel and fell against the electrified third rail. Last year alone there were seven third-rail accidents, and since 1991 ten subway workers have been killed on the job.

There is a history of victimization of union members who stand up to TA management. Militants opposed to the union-busting "workfare" scheme, which Willie James wrote into the last contract, have been targeted for harassment by management, as have those seeking to mobilize the power of the union to protest racist cop terror in the city. Union members fighting against unsafe working conditions have been arrested for "criminal trespass." But far from waging any kind of fight to defend jobs and enforce safety conditions, the James leadership has colluded with TA management, even dismissing Earl Kelly as a union safety officer last September after a transit supervisor called the cops to arrest him for protesting safety violations.

Hundreds of transit workers have signed petitions to the Local 100 leadership demanding Toussaint's reinstatement in his union post and that the union pay his salary. Yet even though a majority of the local executive board recently voted in favor of giving Toussaint his union post back, James continues to oppose this.

Holding nearly half the seats on the union's executive board, New Directions poses as an opposition to the James "old guard." But both share a policy of reliance on the class enemy. New Directions has recently hooked up with Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the Committee for Real Change (CRC)—a grouping in the AFSCME DC 37 city workers union—in an outfit called "City Workers for Real Change." Using the capitalist state against the unions is the stock in trade of all these "reform" bureaucratic lash-ups. Both the TDU and CRC have filed suits against their unions under the notorious Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), long the feds' weapon of choice in going after the labor movement. We say: *Government hands off the unions! Labor must clean its own house!*

The unions were not built through looking to the courts and "labor boards" of the capitalist government but through hard-fought battles on the picket lines against company goons, scabs and cops. With the TWU contract expiring this December, even James has been feeling the heat from members fed up with givebacks in the face of the TA's surplus of nearly $400 million. While James murmurs about a possible strike, he is quick to point out, "I don't want to use a strike—it would be horrible" (*New York Times*, 15 May). New Directions, meanwhile, also postures with talk of the need to "prepare for a strike."

With their ability to bring the financial capital of U.S. imperialism to its knees, transit workers are a potential powerhouse of NYC labor and could play a key role in fighting to reverse the bourgeoisie's attacks on living standards, health care and social programs. This power can also provide the focal point for mobilizing the black and Hispanic masses in integrated labor-centered protest against racist cop terror—the death-squad-style execution of Amadou Diallo by the notorious NYPD Street Crime Unit, the cop torture of Abner Louima, and most recently the shooting in the Bronx of unarmed 16-year-old Dantae Johnson, again by the Street Crime Unit.

But both the James and New Directions wings of the bureaucracy act to undermine the capacity of this union to struggle by chaining it to the capitalist courts and political parties. Long a toady of racist, anti-labor mayor Giuliani, James is now jumping back on the Democrats' bandwagon along with other NYC labor sellouts. But the Democratic Party, which is constantly pushed as a "friend of labor," is no less a party of capital than the openly anti-labor Republicans. Meanwhile, the TWU "organizes" security guards and foremen, who are agents of the bosses. Security guards, foremen out of the TWU!

The fundamental precondition for any real struggle by the unions against the bosses is the *complete independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state*. To break the ties which shackle labor to the parties and agencies of the enemy class means fighting to build a new leadership of the unions—one based on the politics of class struggle as opposed to the class collaborationism of the labor bureaucrats. Working people need their own party, a multiracial revolutionary workers party, that can mobilize the social power of labor in the struggle to end this system of capitalist exploitation and oppression through a victorious socialist revolution. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Imperialism Breeds War—For International Socialist Revolution!

As demonstrated by the "peace" diktat now being imposed, the U.S./NATO war against Serbia is a war of imperialist domination against a small, dependent country. This one-sided slaughter underscores the essence of the imperialist system, capitalism in its decline, which breeds ever more catastrophic wars. Writing in the 1930s, as fascism engulfed much of capitalist Europe and competing blocs of imperialist powers prepared for World War II, Leon Trotsky stressed that the only way to end imperialist war is through the revolutionary seizure of state power by the proletariat.

Inside the individual countries, the historic blind alley of capitalism expresses itself in chronic unemployment, in the lowering of the living standards of the workers, in the ruination of the peasantry and the town petty bourgeoisie, in the decomposition and decay of the parliamentary state, in the monstrous poisoning of the people by "social" and "national" demagogy in face of an actual liquidation of social reforms, of the pushing aside and replacement of old ruling parties by a naked military-police apparatus (*Bonapartism*, of capitalist decline), in the growth of fascism, in its conquering power and smashing of each and every proletarian organization.

On the world arena, the same processes are washing away the last remnants of stability in international relations, driving every conflict between the states to the very edge of the knife, laying bare the futility of pacifist attempts, giving rise to the growth of armaments on a new and higher technical basis and thus leading to a new imperialist war. Fascism is its most consistent artificer and organizer.

On the other hand, the exposure of the thoroughly reactionary, putrified and robber nature of modern capitalism, the destruction of democracy, reformism and pacifism, the urgent and burning need of the proletariat to find a safe path away from imminent disaster put the international revolution on the agenda with renewed force. Only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the insurgent proletariat can save humanity from a new, devastating slaughter of the peoples.

—Leon Trotsky, "War and the Fourth International" (June 1934)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Spartacist Forum

Ten Years After Tiananmen Square

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement

BOSTON

Thursday, June 17, 7:30 p.m.

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Teamsters Tops Nix Car Haulers Strike, Push Vile Anti-Mexican Protectionism

As nearly 13,000 truckers prepared to strike against the major car-hauling companies at midnight on May 31, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) tops postponed the walkout with an announcement headlined: "Hoffa, Teamsters Beat Back Management Demands to Transfer Work to Mexican-Owned Trucking Companies." Two days later, newly elected IBT president James Hoffa Jr. agreed to a four-year contract that won the praise of the *Wall Street Journal*. While management did not get the outright two-tier wage system it had sought, the contract opens the door to this by allowing some newly hired mechanics to work weekends without overtime pay. The contract also calls for a miserly wage increase and changes in work rules that will allow the hauling companies to keep raking in enormous profits.

The IBT tops' actions are a stark indication of how chauvinist protectionism is *counterposed* to class struggle. With auto makers approaching a hot sales season as they churn out record numbers of cars and trucks, 96 percent of Teamster car haulers had voted to authorize a strike. The Big Three auto companies were trembling at the prospect of a strike, which would have interrupted their flow of profits and could have set the pace for upcoming contract negotiations with the United Auto Workers (UAW). Instead of unleashing Teamster power *against the bosses*, the Hoffa bureaucracy howled over the supposed "dangerous threat" posed by Mexican workers.

AFL-CIO president John Sweeney rushed to congratulate Hoffa for "an important victory by beating back the demand...to use drivers from Mexico," ranting how "America's highways will be safer now that Mexican trucking is off the car haul negotiating table." Hoffa is a spokesman for the IBT "old guard," while Sweeney was allied with former Teamsters president Ron Carey, who was hailed by the reformist left as a "progressive." But all wings of the labor bureaucracy are united in their support to the interests of the U.S. capitalists, not least through their "America first" protectionist chauvinism.

In 1995, the Carey IBT leadership organized union protests against Mexican drivers in response to a provision in the NAFTA "free trade" agreement allowing cross-border trucking in the U.S. Southwest. These vile protests played straight into the racist frenzy surrounding the passage of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 a year before. And when the heavily Latino truckers struck the Los Angeles ports in 1993 to demand representation by the Teamsters, the Carey bureaucracy stabbed them in the back, as Teamsters scandalously scabbed on the strike. Now the IBT tops are gearing up for another chauvinist campaign against a NAFTA provision that will allow Mexican trucking operators to haul goods throughout the U.S. beginning on January 1.

Against the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO tops, the Spartacist League denounces NAFTA as a "free trade rape of Mexico" aimed at strengthening U.S. neocolonial domination of that country. We call for international labor solidarity—linking U.S. and Mexican workers in common struggle against the capitalist exploiters. Realizing this perspective requires a political struggle within the unions to oust the pro-capitalist labor misleaders and forge a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement.

AP

Teamsters leadership under Carey organized chauvinist protest in San Diego against Mexican truckers, December 1995. Protectionism is poison to class struggle.

When the Big Three were laying off tens of thousands of auto workers in the 1970s and '80s, the UAW bureaucracy refused to organize the needed strikes and plant occupations, instead diverting workers' anger into Japan-bashing bigotry. Currently, the United Steelworkers (USWA) bureaucracy has joined the American steel corporations in strident demands that Clinton clamp down on foreign steel imports. The USWA "Stand Up for Steel" campaign harkens back to the protectionist tariffs aimed at the Japanese "trade menace," which directly paved the way to World War II in the Pacific, as Japanese and American workers were sent to the slaughter to further the aims of the competing imperialist rulers. Trade wars lead to shooting wars, the ultimate means for rival capitalist states to secure a monopoly of foreign markets and spheres of exploitation.

The chauvinist protectionism pushed by Hoffa, Sweeney & Co. also fuels anti-immigrant and anti-black racism in the U.S. While railing against "cheap labor" abroad, the AFL-CIO tops refuse to launch the sort of militant organizing drive needed to unionize the non-union operations which they themselves allowed U.S. corporations to open up across the country, especially in the South where the companies are bolstered by a whole legal apparatus of "right to work" laws. To unionize the South will require an entirely new union leadership, one that's willing to defy the bourgeois state and wage a real fight against the racist oppression of black people which is at the core of American capitalism and is used by the employers to drive down the wages of all workers. In the same way, the capitalists use the vulnerable legal status of immigrant workers to ward off unionization efforts and maintain a pool of low-wage labor. To organize such workers, it is necessary to demand *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*.

The AFL-CIO tops' support to the interests of U.S. corporations against their foreign competitors is part and parcel of their class-collaborationist program, which is politically expressed through their support to the dual parties of capitalism, chiefly the Democrats (or, in the case of types like Hoffa, the Republicans). In this way, the union bureaucrats act to chain the workers organizations to the political representatives of the capitalist class and its state. Both Carey and Hoffa were installed as IBT president through elections run by the federal government, which effectively took control of the Teamsters in 1989. This culminated a decades-long union-busting vendetta by the Feds, particularly by Democrat Robert Kennedy, against the Teamsters and especially against James Hoffa Sr.

The 1989 government takeover was aided and abetted by the self-styled "reformers" of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), who are in turn championed by a host of reformist leftists, from the International Socialist Organization to Solidarity and Socialist Action. As Marxists, the Spartacist League has always opposed on principle any intervention into the labor movement by the bosses' government. We say: Labor must clean its own house! Government hands off the Teamsters! Feds and finks out!

The Feds' aim in going after the Teamsters was not to eliminate corruption, as the fake lefts would have it, but to cripple this powerful union. That power was seen in the solid and widely popular 1997 strike against UPS, after which the government escalated its anti-union crusade, forcing Carey out of the presidency and the union. Despite growing competition from railroads and non-union trucking companies, Teamster car haulers still have plenty of clout. While the railways have boosted their proportion of long-distance car deliveries to 71 percent in recent years, union truckers still account for 90 percent of all deliveries of new vehicles to auto dealers.

To unleash the power of the Teamsters and the rest of the labor movement requires a leadership committed to a program of class struggle, not class collaboration. As we wrote in an exchange with an official of the International Association of Machinists at the time of the 1995 Boeing strike (*WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995):

> "In today's post-Soviet world of heightened imperialist rivalry, the road of the labor bureaucracy leads inexorably toward World War III. The struggle for the political independence of the unions from the capitalist state—itself a recognition of the counterposed interests of capital and labor—requires a *political* expression. That means a workers party based on the theory of the class struggle, a party whose purpose is not to provide an electoral shill for the Democrats but to give conscious leadership to the struggle of the workers, not only to improve their present conditions but to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. This must be an *international* fight. Our watchword is not the deadly dangerous trap of 'defending American jobs' against foreign competition but the words which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner nearly 150 years ago: 'Workers of the world, unite'." ■

Drop Charges Against PL Anti-Kazan Protester!

The following protest letter, dated May 30, was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to the Los Angeles city attorney.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that all charges against Michael Rindge, a supporter of Progressive Labor Party, be dropped. Michael was arrested while protesting the Academy Award ceremony which presented an Oscar to the anti-communist rat Elia Kazan. Kazan, a loyal servant of racist U.S. imperialism, turned over the names of eight of his former comrades of the Communist Party to the notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in 1952. Kazan's career then flourished while those he fingered were hounded from the entertainment industry.

At the Oscar protest, police situated the anti-communist and sinister Jewish Defense League (JDL) and other assorted right-wingers adjacent to anti-Kazan protesters. Michael was arrested when he protested the provocative, pro-Kazan JDL.

Every social class reveals its morality and standards through those whom it glorifies. Hollywood's salute to Kazan brings to mind what Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said at the time of the HUAC hearings, speaking of the even viler fink Whittaker Chambers: "American capitalism, turning rotten before it got fully ripe, acclaims the stool pigeons and informers, who squeal and enrich themselves, as the embodiments of the highest good they know. By their heroes ye shall know them."

The honoring of the witchhunters while vilifying the victims is part of the racist ruling-class drive to send a message to a new generation of youth that any interest in communism is forbidden. We are proud that we joined the protest against Kazan and again demand that all charges against Michael Rindge be dropped!

WV Photo

March 21 protest against Cold War fink Kazan outside Academy Awards.

IG on China

Looking for a Few Good Stalinist Bureaucrats

For more than two years after its formation in August 1996 by a handful of defectors from our Trotskyist program, the so-called Internationalist Group (IG) of Jan Norden wrote barely a sentence or two on one of the most burning questions facing proletarian internationalists today: the fight against capitalist counterrevolution in China. As Trotskyists, we call for unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. At the same time, we fight to forge a Trotskyist party to lead a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and usher in a regime based on workers (soviet) democracy and proletarian internationalism. Underscoring the urgency of this task, we warn that the main force leading the drive for capitalist restoration today is the Stalinist regime itself. Not so the IG.

In his last years in the International Communist League, Norden waged an increasingly bitter, though never openly declared, factional war against the Trotskyist program of the ICL. Too weak, too incoherent and too cowardly to form a faction, Norden & Co. engineered their expulsion from our party. Opportunistically tailing a wing of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), remnants of the former East German (DDR) Stalinist bureaucracy, Norden endowed the geriatric Stalinist has-beens with some kind of instinctive revolutionary appetites based on supposed continuing "attachments" to a DDR workers state which no longer existed and which the Stalinists themselves had sold down the river.

Finally breaking their silence on China in their *Internationalist* (November-December 1998), the Nordenites now apply this tailist position to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which *openly* proclaims that it is intent on introducing a full-fledged "market economy," i.e., capitalism. While acknowledging that "the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has gone further than the government of any other deformed workers state in fostering market reforms that fuel capitalist forces," the IG adamantly maintains that the Stalinist bureaucrats cannot lead the drive to restore capitalism. To back up its claim, the IG cites no less an authority than CCP leader Jiang Zemin professing that China "must keep public ownership as the foundation of its socialist economic system." Jiang made his proclamation just as the CCP 15th National Congress in September 1997 had voted to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry.

In the typical manner of centrists—revolutionary in words and opportunist in deeds—the Nordenites *talk* of proletarian political revolution. But in practice, the IG promotes the illusion that a wing of the Beijing bureaucracy will itself take up the fight against capitalist counterrevolution. Thus, the IG goes into a frenzy over our straightforward assertion that the CCP bureaucracy is intent on restoring capitalism, denouncing this as a repudiation of Trotsky's understanding of the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Trotsky's understanding of the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy was premised on the fact that this parasitic caste derived its privileges from its position atop the collectivized economy of the Soviet workers state while simultaneously serving as a transmission belt for imperialism. Trotsky's book *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936) was devoted to showing how the Soviet bureaucracy's increasingly bourgeois outlook and aspirations fueled the tendency toward capitalist restoration. He wrote: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union." And in his 1937 article "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" Trotsky again stressed:

> "That which was a 'bureaucratic deformation' is at the present moment preparing to devour the workers' state, without leaving any remains, and on the ruins of nationalized property to spawn a new propertied class. Such a possibility has drawn extremely near ...
>
> "The recognition of the USSR as a workers' state—not a type but a mutilation of a type—does not at all signify a theoretical and political amnesty for the Soviet bureaucracy. On the contrary, its reactionary character is fully revealed only in the light of the contradiction between its antiproletarian politics and the needs of the workers' state. Only by posing the question in this manner does our exposure of the crimes of the Stalinist clique gain full motive force. The defense of the USSR means not only the supreme struggle against imperialism, but a preparation for the overthrow of the Bonapartist bureaucracy."

When Trotsky wrote this, everything of any significance in Stalin's Soviet Union was state-owned. In China today, whole swathes of the economy have been handed over to private capital, while leading elements of the CCP bureaucracy are themselves running major capitalist enterprises. And it is to this bureaucracy that the IG grants a theoretical and political amnesty.

Pablo/Norden vs. Trotskyism

There is an old saying in China: "A brothel needs a virtuous shop sign to sell well." To more effectively peddle its revisionist wares, the IG sprinkles some ritual references to Trotskyist orthodoxy through its article. But its line comes straight from the liquidationist politics of Michel Pablo which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. Impressionistically seizing on the Stalinists' creation of deformed workers states in East Europe after World War II, the Pabloites argued that the Stalinist bureaucracy could outline a "roughly revolutionary" course, denying the necessity for an independent Trotskyist vanguard.

The social revolutions which took place in East Europe after World War II, and also in China, North Korea and later Cuba and Vietnam, were historic defeats for imperialism. The 1949 Chinese Revolution led by Mao's CCP culminated years of civil war against the imperialist-backed Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek. By expropriating the bourgeoisie, the revolution laid the basis for a planned economy, resulting in huge strides for the workers and peasant masses. From the beginning, Mao's regime was faced with defending the revolution against the imperialists, such as in the 1950-53 Korean War.

But what issued out of the 1949 Revolution was a bureaucratically deformed workers state, ruled by a nationalist regime committed to the reactionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." As we noted in the 1966 SL/U.S. Declaration of Principles:

> "Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of the Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry. Only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat can the colonial and semi-colonial countries obtain the complete and genuine solution to their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation."

Today, the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution is increasingly urgent as Mao's heirs openly sell out the gains of the 1949 Revolution.

The position today embraced by the IG was rebutted by James P. Cannon's then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the 1953 fight against Pablo ism. The Spartacist League's forerunner, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in the SWP, fought against the SWP leadership's subsequent embrace of Pablo ism, manifested in uncritical enthusing over Cuba's Castro, and upheld the Trotskyist perspective of political revolution. In its key 1962 document "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 1), the RT quoted the following statement from a 1953 document against Pablo:

> "The proposition that no significant segment of the bureaucracy will align itself with the masses against its own material interests does not mean that the bureaucracy would not manifest deep cleavages under the impact of an uprising.... But the function of a revolutionary policy is to organize, mobilize and help lead the masses in their struggle, not to look for, even less to bank upon any real break in the bureaucracy."

During the Tiananmen events in China in 1989, for example, a number of senior People's Liberation Army (PLA) commanders broke ranks and refused to fire on the protesters. But this does not mean that Trotskyists look to, much less bank upon, a wing of the CCP/PLA bureaucracy. Yet that is explicitly the line of the IG. "We seek where possible to split sections of the bureaucracy," proclaims the *Internationalist*, railing that the ICL's line makes it "theoretically false and practically foolhardy to look for splits in the PLA officer corps, for example, which is a key component of the bureaucracy."

Tellingly, the IG's position parallels that of the Stalinoid Workers World Party, which claims that the CCP and PLA "stand as barriers to full-scale counterrevolution and imperialist takeover" (*Workers World*, 1 April). And old-time Maoist William Hinton, while denouncing the "capitalist roaders" in the Chinese regime in his book *The Great Reversal: The Privatization of China, 1978-1989* (1990), similarly argues that chief among the "internal barriers to capitalist road development in China" are the "bureaucrats in office at all levels in the state system." Hinton looks to "dedicated communists in the Chinese Communist Party and also in the army" to stop the drive to capitalism, "perhaps through an army coup led by radical officers who can rally all the revolutionary elements in the army, in the party, and in society."

Hinton calls for a revival of Maoism. The IG claims to be for a Trotskyist party. This is, as Mao would say, a

Richard Drew

Reuters

Chinese premier Zhu Rongji (above left) at New York stock market during April visit. Chinese officials join Pratt & Whitney CEOs in breaking ground for new capitalist enterprise in Chengdu. IG maintains Stalinist bureaucracy cannot lead drive for capitalist restoration!

"secondary contradiction" between Hinton and Norden, who both look to a wing of the CCP/PLA bureaucracy as a substitute for mobilizing the Chinese proletariat to stop the galloping drive toward capitalist restoration.

IG's Stalinist Fantasyland

Reporting on the CCP's 1997 decision to sell off state-owned industry, we warned: "*If implemented, this proposal would mean the liquidation of what remains of the planned, collectivized economy and the restoration of capitalism in China*" (*WV* No. 675, 3 October 1997). We stressed that to implement its plans the Beijing regime would have to crush growing working-class resistance expressed in "a rising tide of workers struggles against the effects of 'free market' measures." This poses pointblank the need to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead that resistance in a fight for proletarian political power.

Demonstrating its touching faith in Jiang Zemin's CCP, the IG simply denied the reports of the privatization plan as "the wishful thinking of the bourgeoisie and its commentators." The *Internationalist* asks, "Had the Communist Party voted to liquidate the economic foundations of the workers state, threatening its own existence?" The answer, a resounding "No." Repeatedly dismissing any notion that the regime is intent on the wholesale reintroduction of capitalism, the IG article stresses that the government's plan is "not all-out privatization but mass layoffs." Triumphantly, the IG writes of "the privatization that never happened." Rather more credibly, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (18 February) reports "the largest transfer of industrial property since Mao Zedong nationalized industry in the 1950s" and crows: "China has entered its most ambitious and pragmatic reform phase yet. It is paring down and restructuring the state sector in ways unimaginable only a few years ago."

Further embellishing the Chinese Stalinists' anti-capitalist credentials, the IG points to the fact that the regime has occasionally staged well-publicized clampdowns on some of the most blatantly corrupt officials, moved to shore up some state-owned factories and ordered the PLA to divest *some* of its massive business holdings. Even the Western bourgeois press has noted that such actions by the Beijing regime are motivated by fear that the growing number of workers' strikes and protests could explode into a full-scale upheaval. As Trotsky noted of Stalin's regime in *The Revolution Betrayed*, "It continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat."

The *Internationalist* seizes on a misformulation on Tibet in our article "China on the Brink" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997). In stressing the need "to defend the rights of national minorities against Han chauvinism," we called for "the right of independence for a Tibetan *soviet* republic." In correcting this in *WV* No. 695 (28 August 1998), we pointed out that there is no material basis for hideously backward Tibet to exist as an independent state except as a counterrevolutionary wedge against China. Months *after* our correction, the *Internationalist* intones against our original formulation as a "capitulation to the anti-Communist 'Free Tibet' campaign pushed by U.S. imperialism." This is rather remarkable given that our *Spartacist* article denounced "imperialist-sponsored 'independence' movements" and specifically attacked the imperialist-backed campaign for "independence for Tibet as a battering ram against the Chinese deformed workers state." The cheapness of the IG's demagogy is revealed by *its* favorable citation of a similar formulation in *WV* No. 635 (15 December 1995)—when Norden was still editor—that "a China of workers and peasants councils would recognize the right of independence for Soviet republics in Tibet and other minority regions."

The IG is fond of screaming how we have changed our line on every question under the sun ever since Norden departed our ranks. Now the *Internationalist* denounces our supposedly "anti-Marxist perspective of a *cold counterrevolution by decree*" as yet another revision [emphasis by the IG]. A counterrevolution cannot simply be "decreed," but that is the aim of the CCP bureaucracy. In seeking to deny this, it is the IG that's doing the revising. The SL/U.S. Ninth National Conference document, adopted unanimously at a time when Norden was on our Central Committee, declares: "The Chinese Stalinists, with the support of Japanese and significant sections of American imperialism, are moving to attempt a cold restoration of capitalism from above" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 51, Autumn 1994).

Because we warn that the CCP is intent on restoring capitalism, the IG accuses the ICL of "directly reflecting the pressure and views of 'its own' imperialist bourgeoisie"! Actually, it *is* the view of a significant wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie that the Beijing bureaucracy is a battering ram for capitalist restoration. In fact, the greatest danger to imperialist designs is a working-class challenge to the Chinese regime. In masking the role of the Beijing Stalinists, the IG serves to disarm and divert the Chinese proletariat from its historic mission and thereby aids and abets the forces of counterrevolution.

Stalinism: Gravedigger of Revolution

The IG's central theoretical argument is that because the Stalinist bureaucracy is a "contradictory, parasitic layer," and not a social class, it cannot lead the counterrevolution. Norden has long fumed over our statement that the East German Stalinists led the counterrevolution there. Now the IG writes:

> "The leading force for bourgeois counterrevolution *in* China today is the *bourgeoisie* and powerful capitalist-restorationist forces inside and around the bureaucracy who are allied with it. Likewise, it was the German bourgeoisie of the Fourth Reich and its social-democratic running dogs who led the drive for capitalist reunification that obliterated the DDR in 1990" [emphasis in original].

What bourgeoisie *in* China? Despite massive inroads by Taiwanese and Hong Kong capital on the mainland, it is the CCP bureaucracy which holds the reins of state power in Beijing. And Jiang Zemin & Co. have made no secret of their intention to lead a forced march to "free market" exploitation, from privatization of state industries—the backbone of a planned economy—to undermining the state monopoly of foreign trade through their pursuit of membership in the World Trade Organization. Indicative of the Stalinists' aims is their maintenance of capitalism in Hong Kong after regaining control of the island from British colonialism.

And what of the Soviet Union, where there was no bourgeoisie before the counterrevolution? It was Mikhail Gorbachev, then head of the Soviet Communist Party, who in 1990 introduced the "500-Day Plan" for capitalist restoration. And it was Gorbachev's erstwhile ally in the Soviet bureaucracy, Boris Yeltsin, who pushed through the counterrevolution.

In Germany, the bourgeoisie already held state power in two-thirds of the country before the counterrevolutionary annexation of the DDR. As the East German Stalinist regime began to fall apart in the latter half of 1989, this opened up an unfolding political revolution, exemplified by the 250,000-strong Treptow anti-fascist mobilization initiated by the ICL—and then taken up by the East German ruling party—in January 1990 in Berlin. Particularly as the ICL's Trotskyist program gained a hearing among ever wider layers of East German workers and soldiers, West German imperialism and its Social Democratic Trojan Horse quickly moved in to thwart any threat to capitalist reunification, getting a green light from Gorbachev. The Stalinist bureaucracy in Berlin wielded its remaining power at the head of the East German state to *ram through capitalist restoration*. As we noted in a September 1990 document by comrade Albert St. John (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91):

> "In the DDR, the Stalinist regime collapsed, caught between Gorbachev and public outrage, and its remnants, rather than see the proletariat in power, delivered up the East German deformed workers state to German imperialism. They not only opened the gates, but above all sought to avoid 'chaos' (read: resistance from the workers) as they co-administered the liquidation of the planned economy and the restoration of capitalism."

And in the main document adopted at the ICL's Second International Conference in 1992 (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 47-48, Winter 1992-93), we summarized our intervention into the unfolding political revolution in the DDR as follows:

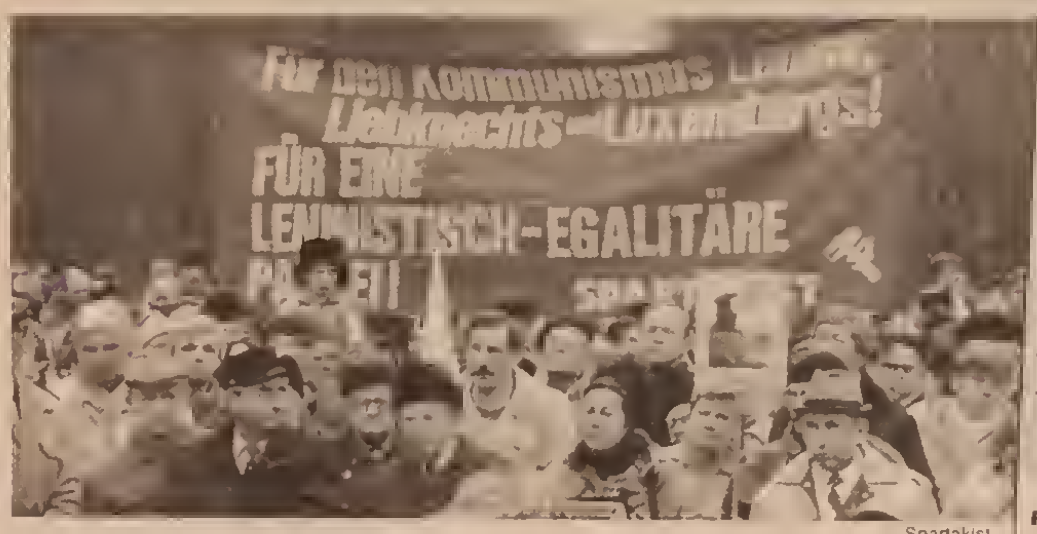
> "As Treptow later showed, from the beginning we were in a political struggle with the abdicating Stalinist regime over the future of the DDR. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection by demobilizing all army units that had formed soldiers councils as a result of our early propaganda. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution."

Norden voted for this document. But his opportunist appetites came into ever more open collision with the ICL's Trotskyist program. Desperately looking to the social-democratic remnants of the former East German Stalinist SED ruling party to lead after-the-fact "resistance" to the ravages of the very counterrevolution the Stalinists had pushed through, Norden embarked on an opportunist pursuit of the Communist Platform (KPF) wing of the PDS. Norden gave public expression to this opportunist appetite in a January 1995 speech at Berlin's Humboldt

continued on page 6

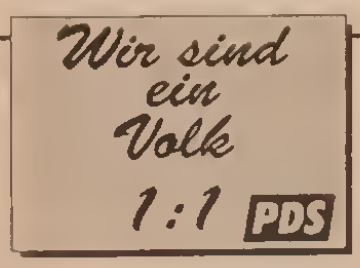
Basil Blackwell Inc.

Trotskyist Left Oppositionists exiled to Siberia by Stalin demonstrate on anniversary of October Revolution, 1928.



Spartakist

ICL fought to forge Leninist-egalitarian party to lead proletarian political revolution during upheaval in East Germany 1989-90. In March 1990 election, Spartakists raised call: "No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Germany of Workers Councils!"



AP

DDR prime minister Modrow with Soviet president Gorbachev, who gave green light for counterrevolution. Modrow's PDS declared, "We Are One People," supporting capitalist reunification.

IG on China...

(continued from page 5)

University aimed at a KPF audience. Denying the ICL's role as the conscious vanguard in the unfolding political revolution in the DDR in 1989-90, Norden repeatedly intoned that "the key element was missing, the revolutionary leadership." Norden put forward that the "SED tops" had simply been "paralyzed" during the events, that none of them "could even conceive" of a political revolution. In fact, Norden's "comrades" of the KPF could not only conceive of political revolution, they had done everything they could to suppress one: they knew full well that they would have been its targets!

As a rationale for his orientation toward the KPF, Norden argued at a 1995 meeting of the ICL International Secretariat:

> "There's I think a tendency to simply collapse Stalinism and social democracy in some of the discussion, which ignores Trotsky's point, which was that if you abandon attachments to the Soviet degenerated workers state, then Stalinism and social democracy become indistinguishable. But the fact of the matter is that precisely those attachments present us some of the opportunities and contradictions that we have to exploit, for example with the Communist Platform."

The Stalinist bureaucracy was "attached" to the degenerated workers state as a parasite is to a host. Norden raises this "attachment" to the sphere of metaphysics, attributing to the class traitors of the KPF nostalgic "attachments" to a workers state which ***no longer existed***. By the time Norden embarked on his opportunist "regroupment" perspective, the PDS was a thoroughly social-democratic party loyal to the German imperialist order. When Stalin's Comintern passed over to reformism under the banner of the "People's Front," Trotsky wrote of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries: "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats except the traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn" ("The Comintern's Liquidation Congress," August 1935).

Stalinism and Capitalist Restoration

At bottom, the IG rejects the understanding of the Stalinist bureaucracy upon which Trotsky based his call for political revolution. In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky noted:

> "Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class."

The Stalinist bureaucracy derives its privileges as a ruling caste by appropriating a hefty chunk of the social surplus generated by the state economy. This fuels the aspirations of the upper layers of the Stalinist bureaucracy to become outright capitalists.

The Nordenites argue that the bureaucracy is inherently wedded to the workers state on which it parasitically rests. As shown by the experience of the Soviet Union and East Europe, this is demonstrably false. Significant elements of the former bureaucratic apparatus were able not only to preserve but substantially enhance their economic status as a result of capitalist restoration. To give but one example, former Soviet apparatchik Viktor Chernomyrdin went on to become one of the wealthiest men in Russia as head of the natural gas monopoly. In the case of China, there is already a high level of integration and overlap between large sections of the bureaucratic apparatus and private capitalists.

A factory manager or top PLA officer who came over to the side of the workers in a political revolution would do so only out of ideological conviction. Their former material privileges would be ripped away. Trotsky made this clear in *The Revolution Betrayed* in laying out the alternatives of political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution for the Soviet Union:

> "Let us assume first that the Soviet bureaucracy is overthrown by a revolutionary party having all the attributes of the old Bolshevism, enriched moreover by the world experience of the recent period. Such a party would begin with the restoration of democracy in the trade unions and the Soviets. It would be able to, and would have to, restore freedom of Soviet parties. Together with the masses, and at their head, it would carry out a ruthless purgation of the state apparatus. It would abolish ranks and decorations, all kinds of privileges, and would limit inequality in the payment of labor to the life necessities of the economy and the state apparatus....
>
> "If—to adopt a second hypothesis—a bourgeois party were to overthrow the ruling Soviet caste, it would find no small number of ready servants among the present bureaucrats, administrators, technicians, directors, party secretaries and privileged upper circles in general. A purgation of the state apparatus would, of course, be necessary in this case too. But a bourgeois restoration would probably have to clean out fewer people than a revolutionary party."

Vladimir Kibalchich

Heroic Soviet spy Ignace Reiss issued declaration in favor of Fourth International, printed in *Bulletin of the Opposition* No. 58-59, September-October 1937.

On the Dual Nature of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

In his 1995 Humboldt speech, Norden claimed that a "Reiss faction" could have emerged within the Stalinist SED in 1989-90. In a subsequent internal document, Norden claimed that in this way he was illustrating "Trotsky's point that the bureaucracy, due to its dual nature, will split under the impact of a political revolution."

Ignace Poretsky (Reiss), a longtime Polish Communist, was a senior member of the Soviet intelligence services who openly denounced Stalinism and proclaimed his adherence to the Fourth International in 1937. Shortly thereafter he was murdered in Switzerland by Stalin's agents. Trotsky saw Reiss as representing a potential for a communist opposition to Stalin within the cadres of the Soviet state apparatus. Unlike the Stalinist sellouts of the KPF whom Norden was trying to flatter at Humboldt, Reiss was genuinely attached to the Soviet workers state and the Bolshevik Revolution which had brought it about. In his 1937 statement, Reiss declared:

> "What is needed today is a fight without mercy against Stalinism! The class struggle and not the popular front, workers' intervention in the Spanish revolution as opposed to the action of the committees.
>
> "Down with the lie of socialism in one country! Return to Lenin's international!"
>
> —quoted in Elisabeth K. Poretsky, *Our Own People* (1969)

Against Norden's confusionist talk of a "Reiss faction" in the present-day Stalinist regimes, comrade Joseph Seymour wrote in a December 1995 internal polemic: "First, such a formation is ***not at all synonymous*** with those elements of a Stalinist bureaucracy who go over to the side of an unfolding political revolution.... Furthermore, Trotsky was *not* describing any and every current within the bureaucracy to the left of Stalin. A Reiss faction meant a genuinely communist opposition made up of seasoned cadres who understood and adhered to the principles of Bolshevism."

A significant section of the Soviet bureaucracy in the 1930s had experience in the pre-1917 revolutionary movement or had joined the Communist Party under Lenin and Trotsky. Many of them had been involved in various oppositional groupings within the CPSU in the 1920s. While they had for various reasons capitulated to Stalin, these former left oppositionists constituted a distinct layer within the upper reaches of the Soviet political order. A major aim of Stalin's Great Purges was to eliminate the potential for the crystallization of a Trotskyist faction among such cadres by physically exterminating them. And he succeeded in doing so.

In positing the emergence of a Reiss faction from within the contemporary Stalinist bureaucracies because of their contradictory character, Norden invests Stalinism with a revolutionary potential. As Trotsky stressed in his analogy between the Soviet degenerated workers state and the trade unions in capitalist countries, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy also has a contradictory character, and some trade-union officials will move leftward in response to a workers upsurge. But nobody would conceive of anything akin to a Reiss faction spontaneously emerging from the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Anticipating Norden's political trajectory, Seymour concluded:

> "During Cold War II it was necessary for us to emphasize the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the pseudo-Trotskyist advocates of the 'bourgeois-democratic revolution' in the Soviet sphere. But that contradiction must be understood *dialectically* not statically. As is now obvious, the Soviet and affiliated bureaucracies were *not* committed to maintaining the status quo by carefully balancing between left and right. The ***historical tendency*** of all Stalinist bureaucracies is to bring about capitalist restoration by one means or another. The Transitional Program thus describes the bureaucracy 'becoming ***ever more*** the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers state' [emphasis added].
>
> "This tendency is not linear but is punctuated by ***generational change***. It is no accident that the rapid rightward slide of the Soviet bureaucracy culminating in capitalist counterrevolution occurred when the Brezhnev/Andropov generation was replaced by the postwar generation of Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Shevardnadze. Nor is it an accident that one of Deng Xiaoping's sons is a big-time real estate operator with direct ties to a Hong Kong billionaire. The Chinese masses call the children of the top officials 'the princelings.' This expresses a popular understanding that these are people born to positions of social privilege, political influence and increasingly Western levels of wealth. And being determines consciousness.
>
> "To search for a 'Reiss faction' in the present-day Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucracies would be futile and totally disoriented."

IG: "Death of Communism" Centrists

This is precisely the IG's perspective today. Behind its whitewash of the Stalinist bureaucracy lies its profound defeatism in the capacity of the proletariat to fight in its own interests and in the Trotskyist program which can uniquely lead the working class to sweep away

continued on page 11

AFP

WV Photo

Out of the bowels of the former Stalinist bureaucracy: anti-Semitic Russian general Makashov, whose bourgeois-nationalist "Communist Party" pushes vile Great Russian chauvinism at November 1998 Moscow demonstration.

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Young Spartacus

Hands Off Ethnic Studies Protesters!

We reprint below a May 6 leaflet by the Spartacus Youth Club addressed at student protests against administration attacks on the Ethnic Studies program at the Berkeley campus of the University of California (UC). On April 14, nearly 50 students led by the "Third World Liberation Front" (TWLF) took over Barrows Hall, which houses the Ethnic Studies Department, sealed the building and canceled classes. The protesters raised limited demands, calling for more money and faculty to offset the effects of years of budgetary attrition. After ten hours of student occupation, the UC cops dragged off demonstrators in chokeholds and by the cars and arrested 46.

The organizers' liberal strategy of morally shaming and pressuring the capitalist administration necessarily accepts the race and class bias of capitalist higher education, seeking merely to finagle with the details. The protesters' initial demands explicitly accepted future "standard" budget cuts and didn't say a word about the elimination of affirmative action. The present Berkeley chancellor, Robert Berdahl, was hired specifically to oversee the dismantling of affirmative action, as he had done earlier at the University of Texas. We do not tailor our program to what is acceptable to the racist capitalist rulers. Fight for open admissions with no tuition—free quality integrated education for all!

On April 29, the TWLF staged a last-ditch hunger strike and vigil in front of the chancellor's office at California Hall. The administration agreed to negotiate over pared-down demands and worked up a tentative agreement with the Ethnic Studies faculty. When students didn't immediately accept this deal, the campus cops attacked the vigil at 3 a.m. on May 4 and arrested 83 demonstrators, including five of the six hunger strikers. The next day, hundreds of students rallied to protest the arrests. The SYC demanded: "Hands off campus protesters—drop all charges!"

Within two days, the TWLF had accepted substantially the same tentative agreement the administration had proposed: promises for a research center, a mural and eight (instead of 20) new professors. Having already initiated a racist purge of the campus and whittled down Ethnic Studies, the administration in the end simply promised to delay *further* cutbacks for a few years. The initial demand for guaranteed admission slots for Ethnic Studies (a backdoor effort to get around the ban on affirmative action) was dropped in favor of an "outreach" program. And to keep it clear who's the boss, eight of the arrested protesters still face university disciplinary charges.

With the building occupation taking place in the midst of the U.S. terror bombing of Serbia, it's no accident that the administration clamped down hard on student protest. To the extent that anybody in the "Third World Liberation Front" alluded to the war, it was to demand "Stop the ethnic cleansing in Berkeley," echoing the "humanitarian" rhetoric of U.S. imperialism. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks out youth who are interested in what is going on beyond the hallowed halls of Berkeley, who oppose U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.

Some students thought that a few token gains under capitalism were enough, but many others simply accepted the organizers' lie that this was the first step in a larger struggle. In fact, it was the same losing strategy of liberal pressure politics that *demobilized* the struggle against Proposition 209—which outlawed affirmative action throughout the state—through the dead-end of Democratic Party electoralism.

Berkeley SYC Leaflet

During the protests, the TWLF organizers tried to exclude us on the grounds of "spiritual disrespect." Nonetheless, we continued to talk and sell to those who wanted to do more about oppression than just study it. Students have every right to more Ethnic Studies classes. But as Marx said, the point is to change the world, not just interpret it.

* * *

The vicious cop sweeps and repeated arrests at the Ethnic Studies sit-ins are meant to intimidate all who would dare protest in defiance of the administration. Hands off campus protesters—drop all the charges! The racist attack on Ethnic Studies comes on the heels of Prop. 187, Prop. 209 and the elimination of affirmative action, part of a broader capitalist assault on blacks, minorities, immigrants and workers. The *only* function of the UC administration is to maintain the university as a bastion of race and class privilege which trains future leaders and ideologues for U.S. imperialism. We communists say: Abolish the administration—for worker/student/teacher control of the university! Fight for open admissions—free higher education for all!

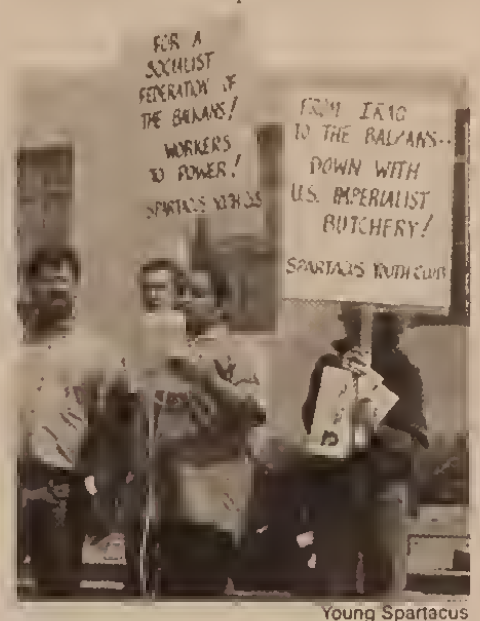
The Spartacus Youth Club defends Ethnic Studies against racist attack, but students should understand that these sit-ins and hunger strikes are a liberal-led rearguard action in the wake of the capitalists' bipartisan racist purge of higher education. This is a class-divided society in which the rich capitalist rulers rely on racism to keep themselves in power by pitting those they oppress and exploit against each other along race lines. Just as the fight against Prop. 209 was undermined by impotent liberal appeals to capitalist Democratic Party politicians to "do the right thing," these protests push "moral persuasion" to pressure the capitalist campus administration to redress racism in the university.

Students who oppose this racist system had better understand that the repression against the Ethnic Studies protests, whose demands don't even begin to challenge capitalism, serves a larger purpose. There is an *imperialist slaughter* going on in the Balkans! The American government is calling up 30,000 reserves, and ground troops are on the agenda. The campus administration wants to squash any student protest now, no matter how limited its aim, to head off potentially more serious student opposition to U.S. imperialism's bloody terror in the Balkans.

Those who talk about "Third World Liberation" on the Berkeley campus should start by opposing their own "First World" imperialist bourgeoisie (led by the Democrats) which is right now raining bombs on Serbia, a small country the size and population of Ohio. This U.S./NATO war of aggression has absolutely nothing to do with the Albanian Kosovars, and everything to do with U.S. imperialism's longstanding aim to insert an American combat force in Serbia, which has been an obstacle to U.S. military and economic ambitions in the region.

Imperialism is not a foreign policy that can be changed through pressure politics, it is an economic system in which the major capitalist powers divide and redivide through war the world's spheres of exploitation. Imperialist intervention and war is for *profit*, not for "humanitarian" aims—and it doesn't matter whether it's done through the U.S.-led NATO alliance or under a UN fig leaf.

NATO was set up by the U.S. 50 years ago as a military alliance aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union, where the working class took power out of the hands of the capitalists in 1917 and established a planned and collectivized economy with full employment, free education, and where production was for human need, not profit. Despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution, the subsequent mismanagement of the economy and the constant appeasement of imperialism by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union served as an impediment to imperialism's bloody ambitions around the world. Now U.S. imperialism thinks it can do anything to anybody—bombing, invading and starving one country after another. They proved it with their bloody *United Nations-sponsored* Persian Gulf War and subsequent starvation blockade of Iraq which has killed over one million people. "State Department" socialists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) who hailed the destruction of the Soviet Union as a victory for "democracy" have now become NATO socialists. They support the demand for Kosovo independence, even though this has become just a cynical pretext for NATO intervention. Just like the Republican Tom DeLay, who wails about "the failed policy of bombing for diplomacy," the ISO pleads with Clinton to "Stop the Bombing" because it only strengthens Milosevic—as if Milosevic, not our own imperialist rulers, was the main enemy. Seeking to appeal to an "antiwar" wing of the American ruling class, the ISO-brokered "Berkeley Coalition to Stop the War in the Balkans" doesn't even oppose the imperialist presence in the Balkans—so long as it is carried out not by NATO, but under the fig leaf of the United Nations!



Young Spartacus

Berkeley SYC protest against U.S./NATO Balkans war, March 29.

Rather than appeal to one section of our racist rulers to "see the light," we counterpose a policy of class struggle, here and in Europe, to drive *all* the imperialists out of the Balkans. If America's capitalist rulers get away with imposing their diktat, it will also strengthen their hand in breaking strikes, busting unions and flooding the ghettos and barrios of America with even more cops. On the other hand, every blow against U.S. imperialism in the Balkans will help to weaken the class enemy, providing an opening for the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Democratic and Republican parties. We are for the military defense of Serbia, without giving the Milosevic regime a shred of political support.

Only the working class—whose labor produces all wealth—has the social power and class interest to sweep away American imperialism. We need to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can lead the working class in a socialist revolution that smashes racist capitalism once and for all. This is the kind of party we in the Spartacus Youth Club seek to build—not just to study imperialism in textbooks, but to write a page of history ourselves and strike a blow for the workers and oppressed of the world. Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack!■

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Ten Years After Tiananmen

China: Fight Capitalist Restoration! For Workers Political Revolution!

We print below in edited form the concluding part of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Ray Bishop at an SL forum in Chicago on May 15. Part One appeared in WV *No. 714 (28 May).*

PART TWO

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

If you were politically conscious in 1989 or have read about the Tiananmen events, you know at least that it had something to do with mass student protests, and that eventually the regime led by Deng Xiaoping moved in troops to crush those protests. At the time, the capitalist media and governments around the world harped on how students had erected a replica of the Statue of Liberty and described these as mass student protests for "democracy." By "democracy," they meant the bourgeois democracy practiced in the U.S. and West Europe. We know this better as murderous police terror in the ghettos, strikebreaking, destruction of social welfare programs. Lenin described bourgeois democracy as a "democratic" mask for the naked dictatorship of the capitalists over the working class.

The Chinese Stalinist regime put out the very same lie as the bourgeois propagandists. They called the protests "counterrevolutionary" and pro-capitalist. Talk about hypocrisy: Deng Xiaoping was the man who engineered the destruction of collectivized agriculture in China, who opened up "special economic zones" for exploitation by foreign capital, whose entire program revolved around making a deal with the U.S. and Japan to further imperialist penetration of China. And he accused the protesters of wanting to bring back capitalism?

So what happened? In mid-April 1989, a group of students bicycled out from a university in Beijing in the middle of the night to Tiananmen Square. At a monument to heroes of the Chinese Revolution in the center of the square, they laid a wreath in honor of a Communist Party official named Hu Yaobang, who had just died. He was regarded as one of the only officials who was not corrupt. The next day, thousands of students came out to the square.

Tiananmen Square is the political center of China. It's where Mao in 1949 declared the foundation of the People's Republic. It's where lots of mass demonstrations have happened. By the time of Hu's funeral a week later, the protests had expanded, not only in Tiananmen but to several other cities. What were the students demanding? For one thing, they were on a fixed income and they didn't like the fact that there was rampant inflation in China for the first time since 1949 because of "market reforms." They didn't like the fact that they were assigned jobs after graduation and couldn't choose their own careers. In general, they were protesting the Stalinists' stultification of social and political life. By and large, these were pretty privileged people, sons and daughters of the bureaucracy. It's true that during the course of the protests they showed plenty of illusions in the U.S. and in bourgeois democracy. At the same time, the student protesters sang the "Internationale," the international workers anthem. That's not exactly counterrevolutionary.

Workers Join Tiananmen Protests

But something else happened with the protests. After Hu's funeral, students from 21 universities in Beijing called for a strike, and they began to leaflet working-class neighborhoods. And then the working class began to respond, at first very timidly. They started coming out to Tiananmen Square. Now, a lot of the students had petty-bourgeois contempt for the workers. They looked down on them as ruffians who were going to cause trouble, and they kept them segregated to one part of the square. But as the days went on, it was the working-class component that grew. And the workers began to raise their own demands, mostly against corruption, inflation, economic insecurity. You have to understand that prior to the 1989 protests, the effects of "market reforms" had led to a real explosion of the kind of strikes and protests we've seen on the increase in the last several years in China.

May 4 was a very important date: the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement of 1919, which was a mass anti-imperialist protest movement out of which emerged the Communist Party as well as the trade-union movement in China. On the day of the anniversary, there was a massive demonstration of 300,000 people in Beijing. There was another huge demonstration two weeks later, and then the regime decided it had had enough and declared martial law. The students called a hunger strike.

The workers had different ideas. They started setting up defense guards. You might have seen pictures of them in newspapers and books. They set up what were called "dare to die" teams after martial law was declared whose specific purpose was to defend student protesters against police crackdowns. One of those was called the "Black Panthers," interestingly enough. Workers were putting out their own leaflets. They set up a loudspeaker in Tiananmen Square that they turned into an impromptu radio station, and every night workers coming in from the factories would read their complaints over the air, etc. A very high level of organization, and it showed some political consciousness. When the martial law edict came down, one of those motorcycle groups drove through the Capital Iron and Steel Works—a massive steel facility right in Beijing—calling for a general strike. And you also had organizations springing up in the working-class neighborhoods.

For two solid weeks, the regime could not enforce its martial law decree. Even the police were joining the demonstrations—that's quite a clear reflection of the difference between a deformed workers state and a capitalist state. One very good book on these events is called *The Legacy of Tiananmen—China in Disarray* by a BBC reporter named James Miles, who was there at the time. He tried for days to call the foreign ministry and other government offices and couldn't get them to even answer the phone. They were not there.

Most importantly, the workers' actions were beginning to polarize the armed forces, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) itself. The first major army unit called in to crush the protesters would not move on them when workers in the neighborhoods came out to meet them. Seven retired senior PLA officers wrote a letter to Deng to protest the use of the People's Army against the people. Eventually, Deng was able to get loyal army units to move on the protesters, and there was a massacre on the night of June 3-4. Now, the bourgeois media lies about this, too. They say it was the students who were slaughtered. That's wrong. The students were allowed to leave Tiananmen Square peacefully. What happened was that before the army units got to Tiananmen Square, they were again met by mass outbursts in the neighborhoods. They turned their guns on the working-class population of Beijing. It was the workers who bore the brunt of repression that night. There's really no way to tell how many people were killed; the estimates vary wildly.

But it's important to understand that it still took weeks for the regime to regain its hold over that society. The June 4 massacre was answered with mass strikes throughout China. There was a display at a military museum after it all died down that pinpointed where the protests had taken place—at least 80 cities were caught up in the turmoil.

Lessons of Tiananmen

As we wrote at the time of the Tiananmen events: "It was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" ("Defend Chinese Workers!" *WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). Through its repression directed against the working

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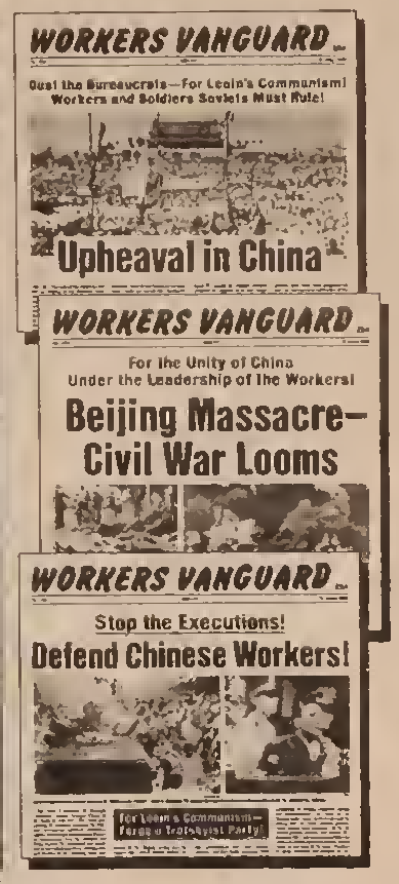

Beijing, May 1989: Workers defended Tiananmen student protesters, opposed effects of pro-capitalist "market reforms." We called for proletarian political revolution to sweep away venal Stalinist regime.

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class, the bureaucracy in its own way showed that it realized that. The Stalinists televised frame-up trials of workers and marched workers through the streets with signs charging things like "instigating social unrest" and "spreading rumors." For that, you could be executed. And they did execute dozens of workers, but not students.

This reveals something critically important to understand about the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is not a possessing class, it is a parasitic caste sitting atop collectivized property forms. Its rule is extremely brittle. Ruling in the name of "the masses" while in fact politically fearing and suppressing the proletariat, the bureaucracy cannot stand the least bit of independent working-class organization.

The events in Tiananmen bear resemblance to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, when workers rose up against the Stalinist regime there and fraternized with the first wave of Soviet troops that were called out to crush the uprising. The pro-socialist Hungarian workers created workers councils, like the soviets that arose in Russia in 1917 and took power there under Bolshevik leadership. Under the impact of the workers revolt in Hungary, the bureaucracy shattered. Many of its elements joined the side of the working class. The Stalinist bureaucrats were finally able to muster fresh Soviet troops to put down the rebellion.

What was missing in both Hungary '56 and China '89 was a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. Even a tiny Bolshevik organization could have had a decisive effect in those events.

I wanted to raise one point that's kind of a postscript on Tiananmen. I've heard from Chinese students—ones who don't like that China is so clearly moving toward capitalism—that it was right for the government to suppress the Tiananmen protests because they would have developed into a counterrevolution. They point to some of the student leaders at the time, who have since become open spokesmen for U.S. imperialism. One of them is a big stockbroker in Taiwan right now.

In fact, there is no evidence of any significant number of openly pro-imperialist elements in the Tiananmen protests. In any case, a Trotskyist group would have sought to expose and politically defeat those tendencies which promoted illusions in parliamentary (i.e., bourgeois) "democracy." Our program is a regime of *workers democracy*, the rule of workers, soldiers and peasants soviets based on defense of collectivized property.

Many Western academics claim that the Chinese workers were trying to emulate Polish Solidarność. This is a lie. Solidarność, which arose in 1980, was a counterrevolutionary fake union totally backed by the CIA and the Vatican. It was the spearhead of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. The workers in Tiananmen had no truck with such forces. Where Solidarność carried photos of Pilsudski—the nationalist dictator of pre-World War II Poland—the workers at Tiananmen carried posters not of prerevolutionary Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-shek but of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, founders of the People's Republic.

That's not to say that the Chinese workers face no danger from anti-Communist reactionaries opposing the Beijing regime. One such is Han Dongfang, a Tiananmen student leader who went on to set up shop in Hong Kong as an organizer of so-called "free trade unions," particularly targeting Southern China. This guy is so openly pro-U.S. he even has a show on the CIA's Radio Free Asia. People like Han are deadly enemies of the proletariat. They want to take full advantage of the unrest in China today to foment a Solidarność-type counterrevolution.

Xinhua

Rural "backyard steel furnaces" of late 1950s. Mao's utopian "Great Leap Forward" led to economic collapse, terrible famine.

Magnum

Mao greets Nixon in 1972 as U.S. rained death and destruction on Vietnam. Stalinist pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism meant betrayal of revolutionary struggle.

Predictably, Han is sponsored by the American AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, who we call the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class. The AFL-CIO tops worked hand in glove with the CIA throughout the anti-Soviet Cold War, setting up anti-Communist "labor" fronts—under the same slogan of "free trade unions"—in order to smash leftist-led and other militant unions in U.S.-backed police states from South Korea to South America and to foment capitalist counterrevolution inside the Soviet bloc. Their support to U.S. imperialism abroad goes hand in hand with chaining workers to their own exploiters at home, mainly through support to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The Collapse of Stalinism In East Europe and the USSR

It is important to look at the Tiananmen events in an international context, particularly the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Five months after the Tiananmen protests were crushed, the Stalinist regime in East Germany began to collapse, signalled by the opening of the Berlin Wall. East Germany at that time was engulfed in a developing political revolution. The impulses of the workers were directed not toward capitalist restoration and reunification with imperialist West Germany but toward building what they considered a decent socialist society on the foundations of East Germany's nationalized economy. That situation created an exceptional opportunity for Trotskyist intervention, and the International Communist League undertook the biggest sustained mobilization in our tendency's history.

We unconditionally opposed the capitalist reunification of Germany. We fought for political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West, for a red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe. The impact of our program was seen in January 1990, when 250,000 turned out in a demonstration initiated by our German comrades and joined by the East German ruling party to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial in Berlin's Treptow Park. At Treptow, for the first time since Trotsky and his followers were expelled from the Soviet Union in the late 1920s, Trotskyists were able to address masses of workers under Stalinist rule. Our comrades denounced the Stalinist bureaucracy and put forward a revolutionary-internationalist program.

The spectre of organized proletarian resistance to capitalist reunification alarmed the West German rulers and their front men of the Social Democratic Party, and they accelerated the drive for capitalist counterrevolution. The Stalinists in the Kremlin and in East Germany gave the green light for reunification.

There was a contest between our program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection. That included demobilizing army units which had formed soldier councils, in large part as a result of our propaganda.

And in the Soviet Union, when Boris Yeltsin made his power grab in August 1991, we put out a call titled "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" This was the first statement widely distributed throughout the Soviet Union opposing Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary power bid. It advanced a program for political revolution against capitalist restoration—for genuine workers soviets as organs of a new proletarian political power.

The Soviet proletariat did not act to stop the counterrevolution. It is important to understand why. More than anything, this had to do with how their consciousness had been poisoned by decades of Stalinist misrule, of Stalinist lies and distortions of revolutionary Marxism. We wrote in our pamphlet "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled": "Who is guilty for the catastrophe? First and foremost it is the Stalinists who bear responsibility." We noted that through "'market reforms' and acquiescence to capitalist restoration throughout East Europe, Gorbachev opened wide the floodgates to a direct counterrevolutionary onslaught by Yeltsin & Co." In the end, it was the Stalinists who led the counterrevolution.

From Mao to Deng

Now, the question of "market socialism" has particular relevance to China. In the former USSR and Yugoslavia, "market reforms" gave enormous impetus to capitalist counterrevolutionary forces which tore those societies apart. This is an important question. We defend the planned economy as the necessary starting point for socialist development. But to operate effectively, a centrally planned economy must be administered by a government of democratically elected workers councils. Or else you have what occurred in the USSR and in China. The Stalinist regimes there are hostile to any expression of workers democracy, and they are die-hard enemies of the program of world socialist revolution. This is the only road to advancing toward socialist society, which requires overcoming scarcity. What the Stalinists do instead is simply decide bureaucratically how everything gets produced and planned. In turn, that creates tremendous imbalances and distortions.

In China, one thinks immediately of the 1950s "Great Leap Forward" under Mao—a harebrained idea that backward China could somehow leap to the status of an advanced industrial power by building "backyard steel furnaces" and getting the worker and peasant masses to work harder and harder. That ended in total disaster. The population was exhausted after a couple of years. The result was, among other things, a horrible famine, one of the worst in history, costing at least 20 million lives.

The only alternative the Stalinists have to such bureaucratic commandism is to introduce capitalist market measures, forcing factories to produce for the market, encouraging private businesses and

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Sipa

Boris Yelstin on Moscow barricades of counterrevolution, August 1991. ICL called for mobilization of Soviet proletariat to defeat counterrevolutionary drive, protested Yeltsin's visit to Wall Street, January 1992.

WV Photo

China...

(continued from page 9)

foreign investment. That's exactly what happened in China under Deng. The prelude to Deng's coming to power was the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—Mao's bid to strike back at his bureaucratic rivals after he almost lost power following the Great Leap Forward. Starting in 1966, for about ten years China was in total turmoil: universities and schools were closed down, factories were disrupted by Mao's bands of young Red Guards storming in and attacking workers.

Deng was brought back into office in 1978, two years after Mao's death, to restore some order. His program of "building socialism with capitalist methods"—"market socialism"—was accelerated after Stalinist rule collapsed in East Europe and the USSR. And it has continued to pick up steam since Deng died in 1997. At its 15th National Congress that October, the Chinese Communist Party announced a plan to privatize the bulk of state industry—some 300,000 industrial concerns. An article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (18 February) describes what this has meant:

> "No one knows exactly how many companies have been sold so far—local governments have under-reported sales lest they be accused of selling too much, too cheaply. But clearly it has been the largest transfer of industrial property since Mao Zedong nationalized industry in the 1950s."

Just this March, the National People's Congress, the putative parliament, amended China's constitution to declare private business "an important component of the socialist market economy." The bourgeois media cheered that such measures were "creating the most favourable environment in the 50 years since the Communist Party came to power" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25 February). Another amendment changed the criminal category that used to be called "counterrevolutionary activities." No longer. Now it's "criminal activities that endanger state security." None of this means that the Chinese state is now capitalist. But it certainly shows the Stalinists' intentions.

"Market socialism" in China, just like in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, has spawned forces inside the bureaucracy, inside the society, who long to be a bourgeois ruling class. In Russia, in fact, a lot of what you can call the new mafia-bourgeois ruling class came straight out of particularly the younger layers of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

However, the Beijing bureaucracy understands that its measures have created tremendous turmoil and that it is sitting atop a social powder keg. How do they deal with that? On the one hand, there's brutal repression; for instance the death penalty, which the Chinese government uses more than any other country. Dropping even the pretense of "socialism," the regime increasingly appeals to Chinese "great power" nationalism. We saw this with the protests over the U.S./NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. There's a story about how someone showed up outside the U.S. embassy in Beijing with a portrait of Mao, and all of a sudden protesters are screaming, "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!" A journalist interviewed one of these people and asked: Why are you saying that? They said: Ah! Because under Mao China was strong, nobody would have messed with us back then. There was no reference to socialism, nothing like that. Just China as a great power.

Museum of the Revolution, Beijing

Chen Duxiu, founder of Communist Party and editor of journal *Youth*, later led Chinese Trotskyist movement. Hong Kong seamen's strike of 1922 demonstrated social power of emerging Chinese proletariat.

Labor Defender

Nationalism is a bourgeois ideology. It acts to subordinate the Chinese working class to the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie and encourages all sorts of social reaction inside China. The bureaucracy today is very busy promoting what it calls "traditional Chinese values." Last month, we saw what that means: 10,000 people outside the Chinese leadership compound in Beijing organized by a reactionary Buddhist society which thinks you can harness supernatural powers through your navel. Newspapers wondered why the bureaucracy didn't clamp down on the protest. Well, the *Wall Street Journal* gave a hint as to why. It wrote that there were a lot of former members of the Stalinist regime in that reactionary Buddhist society.

Speaking of "traditional values," along with the "market economy" you have a market in women in China today: the reemergence of the age-old practice of buying and selling "wives," mainly in the countryside. This vile practice is a direct product of the reversion of farming back to family-operated plots and of other procapitalist measures. Women have been among the biggest losers of "market reforms" in China. They have been disproportionately laid off by factory managers in state industry who want to avoid paying maternity benefits. Among the key tasks of a Trotskyist party in China today would be the defense of the specially oppressed: a workers and peasants government would make short shrift of the scum who traffic in women and would enshrine defense of the rights of homosexuals.

Given what has happened in China, most of the left has written off the country as any kind of workers state, claiming that either it was always a capitalist state or has recently become so. A prime example of the first is the International Socialist Organization, which has always been viscerally hostile to the Chinese Revolution. The founder of that tendency, a man named Tony Cliff, was expelled from the Trotskyist Fourth International because when the Korean War broke out he refused to defend China, North Korea and the Soviet Union against U.S. and British imperialism. For all their talk of a "third camp," they in fact embrace imperialist "democracy." They supported every counterrevolutionary movement against the Soviet Union: Afghan reactionaries, Solidarność, the pro-imperialist Yeltsin forces.

The Socialist Equality Party of David North, a tendency which likewise supported every reactionary force against the Soviet Union during the Cold War of the 1980s, claims that "the Chinese state is not, even in the most distorted sense, an instrument for the defense of the working class" (*Fourth International*, Winter-Spring 1994). Elsewhere, they write: "Under Deng the bureaucracy has largely completed its transformation into a property-owning bourgeois ruling class" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 17 March 1997). While the Beijing bureaucracy has gone much further along that road than even the Soviet Stalinists under Gorbachev, it can't be a "property-owning class" when it cannot legally buy and sell property, when there is no right of inheritance, which is a fundamental mechanism for transmitting property in a capitalist society. And that can only be secured through a counterrevolution establishing a new, bourgeois state apparatus.

Economist

Workers protest in Seoul, South Korea this spring. Chinese proletariat must break with Stalinist nationalism, link their fight against galloping capitalist counterrevolution with struggle for socialist revolution throughout Asia.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Now, there are other leftists who defend "socialism" in China. In its newspaper *Workers World* (1 April), the Workers World Party (WWP) writes: "The commanding heights of the economy are still centrally guided by the Communist Party of China and the People's Liberation Army. Although weakened in their communist elan and their connection to the masses by the market reforms, they still stand as barriers to full-scale counterrevolution and imperialist takeover." Consistent with this position, the WWP denounced the Tiananmen protests, echoing the bureaucracy's line that they were "counterrevolutionary." But through its control of the "commanding heights" of the nationalized economy, the Stalinist bureaucracy is selling it off as fast as it can as it pursues its capitalist-restorationist program.

The notion that somehow the bureaucracy will necessarily defend state property feeds what is probably the deepest illusion among Chinese workers, who look back to Mao as an alternative to today's openly corrupt, openly procapitalist regime. Mao's rule in fact led directly to that of Deng. While Mao was prone to engage in verbal militancy during the early years of the revolution in response to imperialist hostility, he always sought alliances with bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the "Third World," as well as with imperialist powers—the corollary to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." In Indonesia in the 1960s, the Maoist Communist Party—the largest in the capitalist world—told the workers to support the bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno and even joined his government. That disarmed the Indonesian workers and prepared the way for the horrendous bloodbath in 1965 that was ushered in with the CIA-backed military coup by Suharto.

But above all, look at Mao's traitorous anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. In 1969, at a time when Maoism was enormously popular among American radicals, we wrote: "We must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*." And that's exactly what happened. Those who look to Mao as an alternative to people like Zhu Rongji should consider the following: it was pretty grotesque that when Zhu Rongji was in the U.S., he was at banquets toasting Clinton as U.S. bombs were raining down on Serbia. We have another memory: when U.S. president Nixon went to China in 1972, Mao clinked champagne glasses with him while the U.S. was carpet-bombing Vietnam. And Mao's action was far more reprehensible. Where Milosevic's Serbia is a small capitalist country, Mao was

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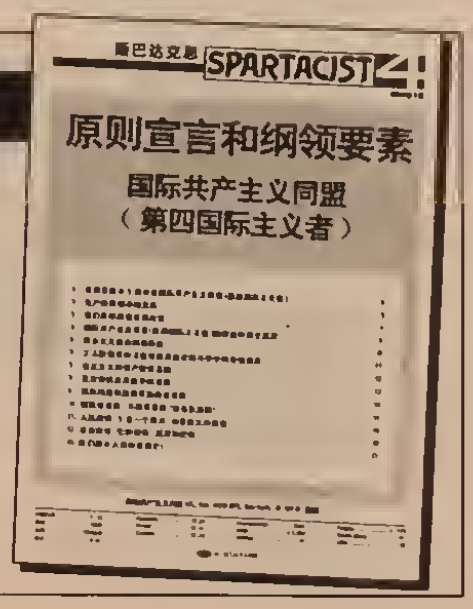

IG on China...

(continued from page 6)

the Stalinist gravediggers of revolution. When Norden & Co. left our ranks, we dubbed them "Pabloites of the second mobilization"—the "death of communism" version of the revisionist current which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. The Pabloites of 1953 threw out Trotskyism in a world where Stalinist-led social overturns had created deformed workers states in East Europe and China. The IG does the same in a world marked by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, a historic defeat which has thrown back proletarian consciousness.

The Pabloites of the first mobilization demonstrated in practice how their line of pressuring the Stalinist bureaucracy was counterposed to Trotskyism. Pablo directed the Chinese Trotskyists to give political support to Mao's CCP—even as Mao's regime was rounding up the Trotskyists for execution or imprisonment—and slandered Trotskyist opponents of Mao as "fugitives from the revolution." When the workers of East Berlin rose up in an incipient political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in 1953, the then-Trotskyist SWP denounced the "counterrevolutionary role" of the Kremlin in suppressing it. The Pabloites, in contrast, responded with a call for "real democratization of the Communist Parties"—i.e., an appeal to the bureaucracy to reform itself. And in the face of a workers' rising in Poland in 1956, the Pabloites promoted "reform" Stalinist Wladyslaw Gomulka, hailing "the leadership role played by the Gomulka tendency...a centrist tendency nonetheless moving to the left" (*Quatrième Internationale*, December 1956). In power, Gomulka conciliated the Catholic church and the peasantry, helping pave the way for the Solidarność-led counterrevolution which was to destroy the Polish deformed workers state in the late 1980s.

Pablo's forces rapidly generalized their liquidationist appetites, carrying out "deep entries" not only into the West European Stalinist parties but into social-democratic parties as well. Over the years, the Pabloites' tailist affections shifted from pro-Moscow Stalinism to Third World guerrillaism to the New Left "student vanguard" of the 1960s, finally embracing anti-Soviet social democracy and promoting the open forces of capitalist counterrevolution from Poland in the 1980s to China today.

For their part, Norden and his co-thinker and companion Stamberg enthused over Castro's Cuba as they chased after ex-Stalinist has-beens in the former DDR. Reporting on a trip to Cuba in 1993, they crowed that "the Cuban Revolution is going to make it"—at the very moment when the Castro regime had just made a huge concession to capitalist forces by reintroducing the American dollar into the economy! Stamberg further asserted that the Cuban working people "are class conscious," denying the poisonous influence of Stalinist nationalism embodied in the dogma of "socialism in one country." In the same vein, in its article on China the *Internationalist* speaks of "the socialist workers of Vietnam and North Korea."

Particularly through the self-serving notion that revolution in advanced capitalist countries is impossible, Stalinism has done everything in its power to ***wipe out*** anything that smacks of socialist consciousness in the working class, which more than any other factor has disarmed the proletariat before the counterrevolutionary onslaught. The "Communist" parties of China, Cuba, et al. are diehard enemies of the only program that can ensure the survival and further development of the planned economies: the struggle for international socialist revolution, extending particularly to the imperialist strongholds of the U.S., Japan and West Europe.

Just as the Pabloites extended their tailist policy toward the Stalinist bureaucracy to all manner of alien class forces, in their brief existence the IGlets have gone on to capitulate to an array of forces hostile to the independent mobilization of the proletariat. Beginning with our publicly available bulletin "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism" (available as International Bulletin No. 38), we have steadily charted the IG's opportunist course.

We have exposed how the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil, affiliate of the IG's fraudulent "League for the Fourth International," *crossed the class line* by dragging the Volta Redonda municipal workers union into the capitalist courts (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" and "Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* Nos. 669 and 671, 30 May and 11 July 1997). We have exposed their pandering to Latin American nationalism (see "For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!", *WV* No. 704, 8 January). And, most recently, the IG made its debut lawyering for trade-union opportunists in the U.S. who promoted a class-collaborationist appeal to Democratic Party politicians based on the lie that Mumia Abu-Jamal can get justice in the capitalist courts (see "Labor Opportunism, the Democratic Party and the Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal," *WV* No. 714, 28 May).

The bottom line for the Pabloites of both the first edition and the pathetic second edition is the search for social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party. We stand with Trotsky, who declared in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International: "The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality, unearth the cause behind the defeats, and consciously prepare for victory."

The fate of the Chinese proletariat—and, indeed, the future of all humanity—hinges on the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. And that struggle includes unmasking centrists like the IG who, despairing of the task of instilling revolutionary consciousness in the proletariat, promote opportunist shortcuts and false hopes in the betrayers of the working class. ■

Le Bolchévik

Humanities Press

Ernest Mandel (far left) and Michel Pablo, IG's liquidationist predecessors. Tailing Stalinism, Pabloites denounced Chinese Trotskyists imprisoned by Mao, like Zheng Chaolin (near right) and Liu Jingzhen.

WV Photos

IG honcho Jan Norden (far left) peddling revisionist wares as he alibis ILWU bureaucrat Jack Heyman's class collaborationism at April 24 "Millions for Mumia" rally, San Francisco.

stabbing in the back a ***social revolution*** in Vietnam. Deng simply took up where Mao left off, invading Vietnam in 1978, three years after the U.S. was driven out by the heroic workers and peasants. Deng's China then supported the Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats who were bankrolled by the CIA to kill Soviet soldiers in the civil war there in the 1980s.

Mao's party was Communist in name only. His peasant-based Stalinism was the product of a historic ***defeat*** of the Chinese proletariat: the failed revolution of 1925-27 and the Shanghai massacre of April '27. That's the point I want to end on. Mao's party was radically different from the early Communist Party. Under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia, a couple of dozen intellectuals who came out of the ferment of the May 4th Movement were won to the proletarian and internationalist program of the Bolsheviks, of world socialist revolution. That's how they fought to liberate China from feudalist bondage, imperialist exploitation, landlord tyranny, all-sided backwardness. By 1924, they had grown to be the mass party of the Chinese proletariat, which though numerically small was strategically placed to carry out a socialist revolution and liberate China from the yoke of imperialism.

But under Stalin's direct orders, the Chinese Communists surrendered their independence, gave up their weapons and membership lists to the Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek. The result was the beheading of the Chinese proletariat when Chiang turned on the Communists beginning in 1926. Mao took over the CCP after that, when the party abandoned the cities, took to the hills and severed its ties to the proletariat. Mao's party became a peasant-nationalist party with a peasant-nationalist program.

But that's not the whole story. Leon Trotsky fought Stalin's betrayal of the Chinese Revolution. Drawing the lessons of this betrayal and pointing to the Russian Revolution, he generalized his program of permanent revolution: that in the epoch of imperialism the only road to achieving tasks like agrarian revolution and national emancipation lies in the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and the extension of socialist revolution to the imperialist centers. Some of the best Communists who survived the horrors of 1927 went on to form a Chinese Trotskyist party. They fought to maintain revolutionary Marxism in the cities, suffering imprisonment under Chiang Kai-shek and later under Mao.

The Chinese Trotskyists were inspired by the internationalism that has to be at the core of any revolutionary perspective for China today. What happens in China is going to have a huge effect beyond its borders. Immediately you can look to Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia, countries which are wracked by crisis but where a militant young proletariat has emerged. Or South Korea, where militant workers are heroically fighting against the police-state repression of the U.S.-backed Kim Dae Jung, a former "human rights" hero. The outcome in China will also have an enormous effect on the remaining deformed workers states—Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba.

At the same time, a political revolution in China today would be the target of tremendous imperialist hostility. As part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party in the U.S., we stand for unconditional military defense of China against the U.S. imperialist rulers. We seek the overthrow of U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution. All of this highlights that the struggle to forge a Chinese Trotskyist party must be part of a fight for a world party of socialist revolution—the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

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Balkans...

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just as some 300,000 Serbs were forced out of Krajina in 1995 by a U.S.-backed Croatian military offensive. The future of the sizable Gypsy (Roma) population is no more secure. Three days ago, a pogromist mob of several thousand ethnic Albanians fired up by Serbia's capitulation to NATO attacked a Gypsy family in the Stankovec refugee camp in Macedonia for supposedly siding with the Serbs. Nor can the Albanians expect much of a future under the NATO occupation which is supposedly being carried out on their behalf. The NATO powers intend to disarm the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), their pawns in the war against Serbia, and explicitly reject the Albanians' right to independence.

As we declared in an April 21 ICL statement (*WV* No. 712, 30 April):

> "NATO's war against Serbia has nothing to do with 'human rights' or defense of the Albanian population of Kosovo against 'ethnic cleansing.' This war is not about the Kosovo Albanians. It is a war of domination aimed at realizing longstanding American plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in Serbia."

Behind the war on Serbia was the drive by U.S. imperialism to assert its "right" to ride roughshod over small, dependent countries and to demonstrate to its imperialist rivals that the enormous American arsenal of mass destruction continues to make it top dog. To drive home this point, the U.S. rulers refused to even countenance the fig leaf of a United Nations "authorization," instead running the war solely under the banner of the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance.

Capitalist Russia subordinated its own regional imperial ambitions to its economic dependence on the West, though the war sharply intensified anti-American sentiment both among the population and within Russia's ruling circles, who already feel threatened by NATO's expansion into East Europe. Having delivered up their Serbian "brothers" to the tender mercies of NATO, the Russians are pushing for a greater role for the UN—where they have a voice—in the occupation of Kosovo. This also plays to growing European resentment of NATO. Even as the imperialist powers celebrate the maintenance of NATO "unity," the ratcheting up of interimperialist rivalry has turned another audible click. While the U.S. called the shots, and Tony Blair's Britain reveled in its role as Washington's attack dog, the European powers are now intent on building up a military force independent of the American imperialists. Right under the *New York Times* (4 June) headline announcing the NATO-imposed "peace" deal was another reading, "European Union Vows to Become Military Power."

War is always a decisive test for revolutionaries. The ICL proclaimed: "Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia!" Our military defense of Serbia implied not an iota of political support to the capitalist Milosevic regime. We gave concrete expression to our proletarian-internationalist line by joining in the campaign initiated by the syndicalist-influenced Italian COBAS trade unions to provide financial assistance to Yugoslav workers whose factories had been bombed by NATO. ***Above all, we stressed the need to forge Leninist vanguard parties to lead the proletariat in overthrowing the imperialist bourgeoisies through socialist revolution.***

Virtually every West European government prosecuting this imperialist war is today administered by social-democratic parties, sometimes in bloc with ex-Stalinists and/or bourgeois parties. In this the social democrats carry out to the hilt the role played by those leaders and parties of the Second International who acted as henchmen for their own bourgeoisies in World War I. On the other hand, the revolutionary social democrats, particularly centered in the Slavic countries and the Balkans—Lenin's Bolsheviks, the Bulgarian "Narrow" Socialists, the Serbian Social Democrats—as well as the Liebknecht/Luxemburg wing of the German Social Democracy and others, called for proletarian opposition to the imperialist slaughter. This polarization laid the basis for the formation of the Third (Communist) International following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. That is our tradition as we fight for proletarian revolution to sweep away the imperialist warmakers today.

In contrast, the reformist and centrist "socialists"—from Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. to the United Secretariat of Alain Krivine and the Workers Power group—follow in the footsteps of the class traitors who voted for imperialist war credits in 1914. Now, under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we have been presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-imperialist war rallies. Virtually to a man, these groups promoted the war aims and war propaganda of the imperialist rulers while declaiming against the NATO bombing. Indeed, it was the liberals and fake socialists who most loudly and assiduously promoted the lie that what was at issue was the plight of the Kosovo Albanians. The few exceptions, like the Workers World Party—whose "antiwar" rallies were orgies of Serb chauvinism—joined in pushing the lie that capitalism could be more "peaceful" and "humane." "Bombs won't bring peace," said the ISO. But the bombing brought the only kind of peace possible under capitalism—a "peace" of imperialist plunder and domination.

This war laid bare the essence of imperialism. It is not a policy which can be changed under mass pressure, as the reformists would have it, but what Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described as "the highest stage of capitalism"—capitalism in its epoch of decay, in which competition among the major powers for markets and spheres of influence inexorably leads to ever more catastrophic wars. War is a continuation of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist profit system, which sucks the lifeblood out of the working people and daily condemns countless numbers to death from poverty.

Capitalism cannot be reformed. It must be overthrown by workers revolution. This is the only way to end war and establish genuine equality among nations. As a March 25 SL/U.S. statement declared at the start of the bombing (reprinted in *WV* No. 710, 2 April):

> "Every blow against U.S. imperialism in the Balkans will help to weaken the class enemy, providing an opening for the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Democratic and Republican parties. We fight to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, forged in the crucible of class struggle, which is the necessary instrument to lead the working class to the overthrow of this entire system based on racism, exploitation and war through a socialist revolution which rips industry and power away from a small handful of filthy rich and creates an egalitarian socialist economy."

Reuters

Workers Hammer

Kosovo Liberation Army, pawns of NATO, embraced by Workers Power centrists, seen here at April 10 London rally.

Big Lies for Imperialist Terror

Despite the lies of the liberals and reformist and centrist leftists who lined up against Milosevic's Serbia with cries of "poor little Kosovo," it is abundantly clear that the mass exodus of refugees was a calculated and anticipated *outcome* of the U.S./NATO attack. The refugees' plight was in turn milked by the capitalist media to whip up support for imperialist intervention and to cover up the *real* reason behind the bombing: the fact that the Serbian regime would not accede to NATO occupation of Kosovo. Now that Serbia has acceded, the U.S. has made it clear that the return of the Albanian refugees will not be allowed to stand in the way of consolidating the NATO occupation. The *New York Times* (7 June) reports that NATO forces may find themselves "in the awkward position of potentially blocking refugees from returning to their country."

U.S. machinations over Kosovo come through in a recent report in the *New York Times* (22 May) which quotes Nick Dowling, a former White House aide for Balkan affairs: "All the analysts felt that Milosevic was unpredictable, but faced with hard resolve he would cut a deal very similar to the deal he made in Bosnia." The report continued: "In Kosovo, *the bombing strategy was not intended to protect Kosovo Albanians* or drive out Serbian forces, Mr. Dowling said" (emphasis added). Following an intense NATO bombing campaign in 1995, Milosevic acceded to an imperialist occupation force in Bosnia under the "Dayton accords." It was when Milosevic refused to similarly give in to NATO's dictates over Kosovo that the imperialists started to again vilify him as a "new Hitler" and rail about supposed Serbian "genocide."

But after the Clinton administration churned out repeated stories about mass rapes and the murder of 100,000 Albanians, the *New York Times* (29 May) reported that "the State Department now puts the death toll at 4,600" and admits that "evidence on the incidence of rape is less complete." To be sure, Milosevic is a nationalist butcher. But who are the imperialist mass murderers to pass judgment on the Serbs, anyway? The French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* (May 1999) ironically noted that key weapons in the Pentagon's arsenal, the Tomahawk cruise missile and the Apache helicopter, hark back to the Native American Indian victims of U.S. genocide. U.S. imperialism's long history of war crimes extends from the slaughter of Filipino freedom fighters at the turn of the century to the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo and the A-bomb incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II to the millions killed in its counterrevolutionary wars to "roll back Communism" in Korea and Vietnam.

To describe as genocide the "ethnic cleansing" carried out by the Serbs and other nationalities in the Balkans is to trivialize the Holocaust and amnesty the deliberate, planned extermination of Jews, Roma and others the Nazis deemed "subhuman." Meanwhile, both Germany and the U.S. arm Turkey, which has been waging a war of annihilation against the oppressed Kurdish minority for decades. And after using the oppression of Kurds in Iraq as a propaganda weapon in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the U.S. has turned a blind eye to repeated Turkish incursions and slaughter in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The killing of Albanians carried out by the Serbs in Kosovo—as the earlier killings of minority ethnic groups in Bosnia and Croatia by Serbian, Croatian and Muslim communalist forces—was intended to terrorize the population into fleeing, not to kill every last person. This was underlined in a recent Internet posting ("The Fatal Flaws Underlying NATO's Intervention in Yugoslavia," 6 April) by Satish Nambiar, the Indian general who headed UN forces in Bosnia in the early 1990s: "We did not witness any genocide beyond killings and massacres on all sides that are typical of such conflict conditions. I believe none of my successors and their forces saw anything on the scale claimed by the media.... Western policies have led to an ethnically pure Greater Croatia, and an ethnically pure Muslim statelet in Bosnia." Such brutal forced population transfers ("ethnic cleansing") were carried out by the Zionists against the Palestinians in 1948 and in numerous other cases of "nation-building" under capitalism.

Depending on what suits its immediate interests, U.S. imperialism has forced interpenetrated peoples to live together or to separate. In the case of Kosovo, the U.S. has talked about both possibilities. In Croatia, it supported the expulsion of the Serbs. In Bosnia, it railed against "ethnic cleansing" of Muslims by Serb forces while heavily backing the Muslim government which was driving Serbs out. While most of the left supported the Bosnian Muslim forces, falling into line behind the "humanitarian" pretensions of their "own" capitalist rulers, we refused to take a side in the interethnic slaughter. And when U.S./NATO bombers launched murderous attacks against the Bosnian Serbs in 1995, we were virtually alone on the left in militarily defending the Serbs against imperialist attack. As we declared in the March 25 SL/U.S. statement quoted above:

> "The all-sided nationalist bloodbath in the Balkans was directly instigated by the imperialists in their drive to destroy the former Yugoslavia through capitalist counterrevolution. Social counterrevolution has once again made the Balkans the

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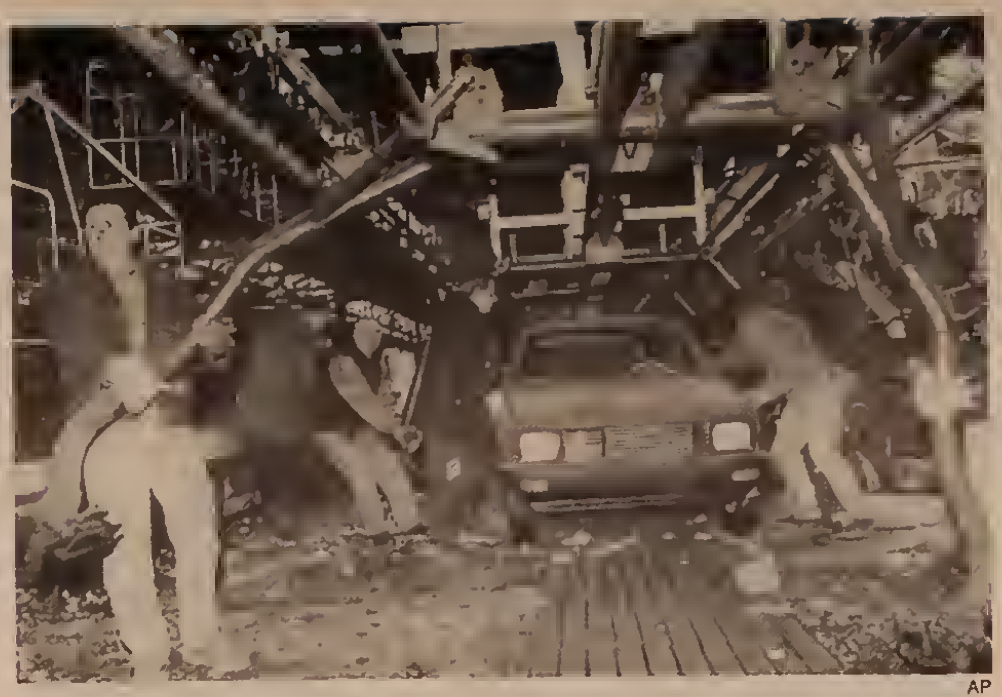
flash point of ancient nationalist hatreds and interimperialist rivalries. Marxists oppose the poison of nationalism and fight for the class unity of the workers of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Kosovo in overthrowing all the bloody nationalist regimes of the region, from Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic to the U.S.-backed fascistic Tudjman in Croatia. *For a socialist federation of the Balkans!*"

"NATO Socialists"

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was formed as an outcome of World War II, when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. The victory of the multinational Partisan forces demonstrated that, despite centuries of ethnic conflict, unity of the South Slav peoples within the borders of Yugoslavia was possible—*but only on the basis of proletarian state power*. At the same time, only the extension of socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans.

However, Yugoslavia under Tito was a deformed workers state ruled by a Stalinist bureaucracy wedded to the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." The regime's pursuit of "market socialism"—which escalated after Tito's death in 1980—increased regional disparities, fueling resurgent nationalism and ultimately paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution. The resulting massacres, forced population transfers and other atrocities are inherent in the drive to form bourgeois nation-states on the ruins of what had been an economically integrated multinational society made up of closely intermingled peoples.

Marxists call for full equality of all nationalities, including opposing a privileged position for any one language. In the case of peoples who share a common language and cultural tradition—like Austrians and Germans—the question of whether they have separate states is not all that significant. But the Albanians speak a different language than the Serbs and have a quite distinct national culture, reflected as well in the fact that the Albanians are Muslim and the Serbs Orthodox Christian.



AP

Zastava car plant in Kragujevac after NATO bombing. ICL joined COBAS-initiated fund drive to aid Yugoslav workers.

Young Spartacus

Reuters

Demonstrations rocked Greece and Cyprus (above) and mass worker protests swept Italy in response to NATO war of domination.

Long before the imperialists and their leftist apologists cynically took up the cause of the Kosovo Albanians, we wrote: "Marxists should, of course, recognize the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to fuse with Albania" ("The National Question in Yugoslavia: Part 2," *WV* No. 110, 21 May 1976). We called for proletarian political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies in Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria and for the formation of a socialist federation of the Balkans. Today, we fight for socialist revolution throughout this region. We continue to support the right of the Kosovo Albanians to secede—a democratic question which has been subordinated to the need to militarily defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack.

The separatist UCK was plenty unsavory to begin with, engaging in indiscriminate terror against Serb civilians. But with the U.S./NATO intervention against Serbia earlier this year, the UCK became simply a pawn of the imperialists. The fake socialists who continued to clamor for "independence for Kosovo" and support to the UCK did so only as a cover for their support to the war aims of the imperialists. This was clear when Workers Power and a number of other Lahourite "socialist" groups sponsored a May 11 meeting in London whose main speaker was a rabidly pro-NATO Albanian nationalist.

In classic centrist doubletalk, in a statement distributed at a March 30 public meeting in London, Workers Power claimed to "support the Serbian forces' self-defence against NATO attack"—although, it added, "not in Kosova which they have no right to occupy"—and specifically called for "the right of the Kosovars to acquire arms and supplies from whoever is willing to give them." Thus, WP promoted the obscene lie that self-determination would be brought to the Albanians on NATO bayonets! And in 1995, WP explicitly refused to defend the Serbs against NATO imperialist attack with the line that "each side's strategic goals are reactionary" (5 September 1995 statement).

Throughout the current war, WP stubbornly denied that the UCK had been subordinated to the NATO imperialists. In an Australian WP pamphlet titled *War in the Balkans*, these centrists insist that the UCK "is the only independent force resisting the massacres and ethnic cleansing of Kosova" and "is clearly not yet reduced to merely 'an instrument of NATO'." This is cynical eyewash. The *New York Times* (5 June) reported bluntly:

> "The Kosovo Liberation Army, for example, emerged as an important element of NATO's strategy. The Serbs initially frustrated NATO by hiding, hunkering down and trying to ride out the air war.
>
> "The Albanian partisans changed that by trying to infiltrate Kosovo from their bases in Albania about two weeks ago. The light-armed insurgents were a poor match for the heavily equipped Serbian military, which had tanks, armored personnel carriers and artillery, and the offensive fizzled.
>
> "But Serbs had to mass in the open to take on the guerrillas, making them vulnerable to allied attacks from the air. In recent weeks, Serbian forces near the Albania-Kosovo border have taken a heavy pounding."

From the start of the war, the UCK repeatedly called for a NATO ground invasion and *boasted* about how it was spotting targets for NATO jets and otherwise aiding the imperialists. To give but one example, a UCK commander told the Parisian daily *Le Monde* (9 April): "The UCK gives NATO information about targets! On Tuesday, I sent information about a bridge and a road used by the Serbs. The bridge was bombed and destroyed Wednesday morning." UCK leader Hashim Thaci, asked by *Le Monde* (29 May) what kind of government he envisaged in Kosovo after a NATO victory, vaguely referred to "free elections," concluding: "And provisionally, why not a protectorate?" The question of military defense of the Kosovo separatists against U.S./NATO forces might well be posed in the event of armed clashes if the imperialist occupation troops move to disarm the UCK. But in the U.S./NATO war against Serbia, the UCK was exactly what we said they were—a pawn of NATO.

In a polemic against the ICL in its pamphlet, the Australian WP declared: "Any group that will not support the Kosovars' right to self-determination is left with no solution to the crisis in the Balkans, because no mass force has independently taken up the slogan of a socialist federation." This is quintessential centrism, the opportunist search for a "mass force" to tail as a substitute for the independent mobilization of the proletariat on the basis of a revolutionary program. In fact, WP found its "mass force" for "Albanian self-determination"—NATO missiles, warplanes and 50,000 occupation troops! Tailing behind Blair's Labour Party, which was the most belligerent government in the war against Serbia, WP was in turn one of the most vociferous promoters of NATO's UCK puppets.

Similarly, Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the United Secretariat, capitulated to the popular-front government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, which tried to undermine U.S. dominance of a Kosovo occupation force. Thus, the LCR pushed the UN or the European-dominated Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as an alternative to NATO. The LCR's *Rouge* (1 April) published a "Call by Public Figures" signed by LCR leader Daniel Bensaïd which proclaimed:

> "NATO was not the only, and above all not the best, linchpin for an accord. The conditions for a multinational police force (particularly composed of Serbs and Albanians) could be found under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord."

This was an open call for imperialist intervention in Kosovo—in a form more suited to the specific interests of French imperialism!

The fake lefts' ideological prostration before their capitalist rulers over Kosovo reflects their many years of support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy" and "human rights." During the anti-Soviet Cold War of the 1980s, WP et al. avidly backed counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet Union and East Europe, from Polish Solidarność in the early 1980s to Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist "democrats" in 1991. Thus, in their own small way, they made a political contribution to the post-Soviet world of nationalist fratricide and increasing imperialist terror.

The pseudo-radical "anti-NATO" posture of the European left in fact reflects the heightened *nationalism* pushed by their respective bourgeoisies as the ideological accompaniment to increased economic competition. Having done their utmost to persuade the proletariat of their respective countries that capitalist

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Balkans...

(continued from page 13)

"democracy" is superior to "Stalinist totalitarianism" (thus binding the workers to their class enemies) and having renounced any pretense to workers revolution, these "socialists" now look to imperialism as the guarantor of "democratic rights."

Opportunism is nationally defined. While Workers Power is in the tow of Blair's NATO-loyal Labour Party, across the channel the European centrists' support for a UN/OSCE occupation force reflects growing anti-American nationalism. Their common starting point is utter prostration to imperialism in this regional aggression, portending a larger capitulation with the inevitable outbreak of a new interimperialist war—inevitable if the proletariat does not seize power first. In acting *ogoinst* a proletarian revolutionary perspective, the centrists help to increase the possibility of wider wars.

Balkans Cockpit for Imperialist Intrigues

What lay behind U.S. hostility to Milosevic's Serbia and the recent war was Washington's need to find a new purpose for maintaining NATO, set up as an anti-Soviet alliance, following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. In an article in *New Left Review* (July/August 1996), James Petras and Steve Vieux wrote:

> "The disintegration of the Yugoslav confederation and the subsequent emergence of warring ethnic mini-states formed the background for the revitalization of NATO and the re-emergence of US hegemony in Europe. At the cost of tens of thousands of lives, the US blocked European peace initiatives in order to safeguard its political 'leadership' on the continent via NATO."

In 1991, newly reunified German imperialism—seeking to reassert its traditional sphere of influence in East Europe and the Balkans—pushed for an independent Slovenia and Croatia, instigating the all-sided nationalist bloodbath which ripped apart the multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state. At the same time, Germany was moving toward a strengthened political bloc with France through the Maastricht Treaty and floating the idea of building a joint military force, the so-called "Euro-Corps," outside the NATO framework.

The Petras/Vieux article quotes a 1992 policy paper by the U.S. National Security Council which stressed: "While the United States supports the goal of European integration, we must seek to prevent the emergence of Europe-only security arrangements which would undermine NATO, particularly the alliance's integrated command structure." U.S. domination of NATO, based on its overwhelming military power, is also institutionalized in the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty which set up the alliance. The treaty specified that no European power could pull out of NATO for 20 years, and even then only after giving a one-year "notice of denunciation...to the Government of the United States." In response to Germany's actions in the early 1990s, Washington moved to assert its leading role, pressing Bosnia to declare independence and instigating a communal bloodbath there. This finally led to the 1995 U.S./NATO bombing aimed at forcing Milosevic to accept an occupation force in Bosnia.

Novosti

End imperialist war through workers revolution! Revolutionary soldiers march through Moscow under the banner of Communism, 1917.

In early 1998, the UCK launched its first major offensive in Kosovo, as an eruption of domestic chaos in Albania eliminated effective policing of the border with Kosovo. Now the U.S. sought to head off the contagion of Albanian nationalism and the possibility of a Greater Albania. In another article in *New Left Review* (March/April 1999), Peter Gowan wrote of the subsequent shifts in U.S. policy:

> "It would, in effect, involve an alliance between the US and the person whom the Americans had built up as the Saddam Hussein of the Balkans: Slobodan Milosevic. From March to September 1998, the Clinton Administration nevertheless pursued this strategy, combining rhetoric and cosmetic actions against Milosevic with effective acquiescence in the autonomy plus counter-insurgency approach....
>
> "The signal for this tactic was given when the US Ambassador in Yugoslavia publicly branded the KLA [UCK] a terrorist organisation. According to the BBC, this was the specific go-ahead for Milosevic to launch his counter-insurgency in March, along with his offer of provincial autonomy....
>
> "But sometime in October, Madeleine Albright changed tack. The change involved instructing [Clinton administration aide Christopher] Hill to produce a new document that would form the basis for peace negotiations between the parties in Kosovo. And this new document contained the key change: Milosevic was to have to accept a de facto NATO protectorate over Kosovo.... Albright would have known that no Serbian politician could dare to accept such a diktat from NATO."

According to Gowan, this latest shift was again explained by Washington's great-power interests vis-à-vis its European NATO partners:

> "A military attack on Yugoslavia by the whole NATO alliance would, of course, have enormous pan-European political consequences, far more important for the state interests of all the great powers than the fate of the Kosovo Albanians. Success would decisively consolidate US leadership in Europe. Success outside the framework of UN Security Council permission would ensure no collective security in Europe by the UN back door of a Russian veto. And it would seal the unity of the alliance against a background where the launch of the Euro—an event potentially of global *political* significance—could pull it apart."

Notably, the value of the Euro has fallen substantially since the start of the war. Far from sealing NATO unity, the war has only highlighted the divergent interests of the imperialist powers, and the end of the war will bring them further to the fore. While Germany and France jockeyed to undercut U.S. dominance over the occupation force in Kosovo, Greece and Italy openly broke ranks and called for a pause in the bombing. And behind these differences lay conflicting economic interests. Commenting on a series of recent trade disputes, the London *Economist* (8 May) warned: "Trade relations between America and Europe have rarely been so bad." The cost of the war was hard felt by the already sluggish European economies, raising fears that they could be plunged into recession. Now West Europe has been saddled by Clinton with the total bill for rebuilding areas devastated by the bombing. Meanwhile, historic tensions between Germany and France have also resurfaced. A flurry of books have been published recently in France with titles like *Germany Is Worrisome* and even *The Coming War with Germany*.

Tensions among the imperialist powers were compounded by deep differences on their domestic political terrain. In Germany, social-democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder's coalition partners, the Greens, almost split over the question of the bombing, posing a threat to the continued existence of the government. With Green leader Joschka Fischer serving as foreign minister in Schröder's government, these petty-bourgeois yuppie ecoradicals and erstwhile "pacifists" played a key role in the first war prosecuted by the German bourgeoisie since 1945. In fact, this was simply the logic of their earlier opposition to NATO from the standpoint of resurgent German nationalism. Fissures appeared even within Schröder's party, as key leader Oskar Lafontaine pulled out of the cabinet over Germany's subordination to the U.S.-led NATO. In France, Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin's coalition partners, the Communist Party and the bourgeois Movement of Citizens, openly opposed the bombing.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Meanwhile, in Germany and particularly in Europe's southern tier, there was massive popular opposition to NATO's bombing of Serbia. Greece was swept by repeated demonstrations against the war. And in Italy, the working class made its social power felt in a series of strikes and protests against the war. On May 13, more than a million workers in transportation, public services and the industrial sector joined in a one-day political strike initiated by COBAS around the slogan "Not a life, not a lira for this war!" The popular-front regime headed by Party of the Democratic Left prime minister Massimo D'Alema responded by seizing on the assassination of a government official to launch a witchhunt particularly directed against COBAS.

What is desperately needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party which links the struggle against imperialist war to the proletarian struggle against the capitalist exploitation and oppression and imbues the working class with the consciousness that it must seize state power and expropriate the bourgeoisie. In "War and the Fourth International" (1934), Trotsky wrote of the imperialist epoch:

> "The catastrophic commercial, industrial, agrarian and financial crisis, the break in international economic ties, the decline of the productive forces of humanity, the unbearable sharpening of class and international contradictions mark the twilight of capitalism and fully confirm the Leninist characterization of our epoch as one of *wars and revolutions*."

He concluded: "***The struggle against war means now the struggle for the Fourth International!***"

In the U.S., where the proletariat is shackled by its pro-capitalist misleaders to the Democratic Party of racism and war, there was no working-class protest against the war. But there is plenty of social tinder at the base of this society. The bloodstained U.S. imperialists who led the air war against Serbia are the same racist rulers who carry out a relentless war at home against workers, blacks, immigrants and other minorities. Competing with its imperialist rivals in a ruthless drive for profits, the strikebreaking ruling class has driven down the living standards of millions of working people and deprived them of decent, affordable housing, education and health care. The "humanitarian" pretensions of Washington are belied by the vicious racial oppression enforced by the American ruling class. The axing of welfare has condemned millions to homelessness, disease and starvation. About one in twelve black men now sits behind bars as the prison population soars to over 1.8 million people. Combined with the speedup on death row, this is a reminder that a whole layer of the ghetto population has become expendable—a surplus population to be intimidated and repressed.

The victory of the U.S. government —which serves to defend the interests of the filthy rich capitalists—against tiny Serbia will only strengthen the ability of the ruling class to plunder the world. The rapacious U.S. rulers must be swept away through workers revolution. The Spartacist League is committed to forging the multiracial revolutionary workers party needed to lead that struggle to victory in the bastion of world imperialism.■

International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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NYPD...

(continued from page 16)

Volpe is being made into the new poster boy for capitalism's judiciary: the system worked, we are told, this monster is no longer among us. The reformist Workers World Party plays into this liberal illusion, exulting that "the unity of the masses...forced the capitalist state to put its own agents of class terror and repression on trial" (*Workers World*, 10 June). In fact, Volpe is one of the few killer cops who have ever even been tried. And his confession came after two years of solid stonewalling. Volpe had threatened to kill Louima if he ever talked about how he'd been beaten in a cop car and taken to a Brooklyn station house where the cops ripped open his rectum and bladder with a broom handle, which was then shoved into his mouth, breaking his teeth. It's something of a miracle that Louima lived, and that he had the incredible courage to tell his story to a nurse in the emergency room.

How many thousands of others are routinely beaten and humiliated into silence, or forced into false confessions, or just killed outright? What gets into the court system is only the tip of the iceberg. Volpe copped a plea—with not even a hint of remorse for what he had done to Louima—only when he concluded that the powers-that-be had decided he had to go as a sop to defuse deep popular fury.

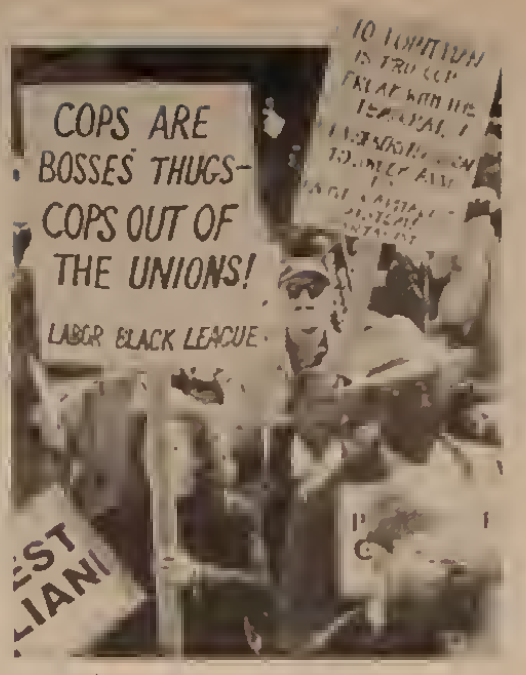
The courts, like the cops, are instruments of capitalist class rule, designed to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie, not those they exploit. A telling instance of the deep cruelty of this system occurred in New York City in the midst of the Louima trial in late May. Tabitha Walrond was relentlessly persecuted and finally convicted of "criminally negligent homicide" in the tragic death of her newborn son. She was poor and black, and she never had a chance. She had tried to breast-feed her son, unaware that her surgically reduced breasts weren't producing sufficient milk. She was repeatedly turned away by the health care system as she tried desperately to get help for her son—because he didn't have a Medicaid card. And so the child slowly slipped into starvation and died. Having lost her baby to vicious official indifference, 19-year-old Tabitha Walrond now faces up to four years in prison. This is the true face of capitalist "justice."

Black Demagogues and Labor Bureaucrats Defuse Outrage

For months, New Yorkers have seethed in outrage as one vicious cop assault follows another and the arrogant Giuliani administration treats the entire citizenry as a bunch of perps who just haven't been caught yet. Desperate to head off a social explosion following the Diallo killing, black liberals like Al Sharpton and "new generation" labor bureaucrats like hospital workers' Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera worked overtime to keep the outrage confined to safe channels with blowing-off-steam ploys like the token arrests of prominent pols and celebrities for absurd "civil disobedience" stunts at Police Plaza. To refurbish the image of the cops, they push a "10-Point Plan" to reform the NYPD—by, among other things, adding a few more black and Hispanic faces—including a demand for better pay for the cops! So now the NYPD has added a few dozen minority cops to the Street Crime Unit death squads, and promoted the whole unit—except for the handful facing charges—to detective status, with a hefty raise in pay.

Speaking at a hearing on NYC police brutality called by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission—whose purpose, in the words of its own chairman, is "to be a safety valve"—Sharpton declaimed, "Just like the federal government had to go into the South 30 years ago to protect citizens, I argue the federal government needs to come into New York" (*Daily News*, 27 May). From Little Rock 1957 to Birmingham 1963, federal troops were sent in only when the capitalist rulers sought to *suppress* militant black struggle, fearing moves toward armed black self-defense or that desegregation protests would otherwise break out of the confines of electoral pressure politics. Then again, Sharpton, who wore a wire as an FBI fink in days past, has never had a problem with the Feds.

WV Photos



New York, April 15: Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera (far left) joins fellow Democrats Al Sharpton and ex-mayor David Dinkins in pushing whitewash schemes to "clean up" racist cops. Spartacists call for mass labor-centered protest against cop terror.

Likewise today, Sharpton and Rivera's efforts are aimed at *quelling* militant protest against cop terror. In his *Daily News* (16 April) column, Juan Gonzalez reported Rivera's assurances that "the 10 demands put forth by the coalition are meant to reform the Police Department, to bring both order and justice to the city." What Rivera meant was seen a few weeks later when he and the rest of the NYC labor bureaucracy invited the cop "unions" to be an official part of the huge May 12 labor rally. Having for years enforced Republican Giuliani's job cuts and wage freezes, the pro-capitalist labor misleaders now try to refurbish their credentials by promoting their traditional Democratic Party allies (see "NYC Labor Rally: Angry Ranks, Sellout Bureaucrats," *WV* No. 714, 28 May). At the same time, the union tops sought to deflect burning anger over the rampage of cop terror through their obscene display of unity with the cops. Cops are not workers! Cops, courts out of the labor movement!

Lending credence to the efforts of the labor tops is the International Socialist Organization (ISO)—"socialists" who embrace the very institution of class repression designed to maintain the capitalist order. The ISO and its Campaign to End the Death Penalty are signatories to a "Call For a Citywide Network Against Police Violence" which puts forward its own ten-point program to clean up the cops. Aside from not calling for a police pay raise, the ISO-backed program is virtually indistinguishable in its demands—and even much of its language—from Sharpton/Rivera's, pushing an "independent Civilian Complaint Review Board" and a change in "the racial and ethnic composition" of the NYPD. At bottom, the ISO shares the perspective of Rivera & Co., fostering the reformist illusion that the capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of workers and minorities.

Ironically, the argument that more black cops will create a "fair" police force is likely to be least appreciated by Abner Louima and the family of Amadou Diallo, since in their native countries, Haiti and Guinea, the cops *are* black. In Haiti especially, the murderous terror of the police force, an instrument of neocolonial repression, is widely evident. In the U.S., the police force—whatever its racial composition—is inherently racist. Its purpose is to serve and protect a system of capitalist exploitation which is rooted in racist oppression. America's capitalist rulers wield racism to divide the working class and retard its consciousness by obscuring the fundamental *class* division in this society.

At one of the Brooklyn protests following the brutalization of Abner Louima, a Spartacist League speaker declared (*WV* No. 673, 5 September 1997):

> "The problem is not simply Giuliani. Don't forget that under [Democratic Party mayor] Dinkins 6,000 more cops were brought in. Don't forget that it was under the Democrats that U.S. troops invaded Haiti in 1915 and massacred the *cacos* insurgents. The problem here is not just a few 'rotten apples.' The problem is the nature of the cops as guard dogs of the capitalist system.
>
> "The answer is not to simply get a police station closed, to have an inquiry or a civilian review board. What's needed is to mobilize the power of the working class against the capitalist system.... But that requires a fight against the present leaders of the workers movement, who support capitalism. And that means a fight against the very foundations of the capitalist system, a fight by a revolutionary party for socialist revolution!" ■

L.A. Cops...

(continued from page 16)

Parks' diatribes. A *Times* (28 May) editorial warned that Parks "mustn't say or do anything that even hints of an us-versus-them mentality. The LAPD has seen that kind of thinking before, and it's dangerous." After the 1992 upheaval, L.A.'s capitalist rulers replaced notoriously racist police chief Darryl Gates with Willie Williams, a black man. Parks, a former Gates toady, is also black.

But whether under Gates or his successors, the LAPD continues to terrorize the ghettos and barrios and brutally attack picket lines and workers' protests—like during the largely Latino 1990 "Justice for Janitors" rallies and the 1993 Teamsters strike. The cops are an armed force defending the whole system of class exploitation and racial oppression. And perhaps none are more conscious of their mission to defend capitalist property through repression and terror than the cops in this "open shop" city, many of whom are gungho ex-Marines and other military types.

Led by liberal black columnist Earl Ofari Hutchinson and black nationalist Najee Ali of Project Islamic Hope, the protests over the Mitchell killing have pushed illusions in greater "oversight" of the police. In an op-ed piece in the *Black World Today* (26 May), Hutchinson advises Mitchell's killers: "Couldn't the officers have fired a warning shot? Radioed for help? Used non-lethal force such as a stun gun, tasers, rubber bullets, tear gas, pepper spray or bean bags?"

Just as they did in New York City after the killing of Amadou Diallo, black Democrats Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson came to Riverside to clean up the image of the cops. Jackson told a rally protesting the refusal to charge the cops who executed Tyisha Miller, "We must restore the credibility of the police." Another group which came to Riverside was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King III, which held a public hearing as part of a campaign to "Stop Police Misconduct/Brutality" in conjunction with the Congressional Black Caucus. The SCLC emphasizes: "We are not anti-police!"

These liberals loyally uphold the racist bourgeois order. Their repeated calls for more minority cops and civilian review boards do nothing to stop police terror but are aimed rather at making the cops more "credible" in order to better carry out their repression. We Marxists say plainly that the cops cannot be reformed. There will be no end to racist cop terror short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops serve as guard dogs.

From New York City to L.A., the Spartacist League has fought to mobilize mass labor protest against racist cop terror. During the 1992 L.A. upheaval, we called for labor to mobilize its forces in a massive demonstration against the murderous police occupation of South Central L.A., declaring: "The working class must not allow the black population to be isolated—***the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers should organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community***" (*WV* No. 551, 15 May 1992).

Such a perspective is no less urgent today in southern California. Labor in this "open shop" town must break its ties to the Democrats, including newly elected governor Gray Davis, who pushes the racist death penalty and calls for more cops and prisons. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party—which combats racist oppression, demands full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fights to organize the unorganized—as part of the struggle to lead the multiracial working class to power through socialist revolution. ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 9.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

As Cop Confesses to Louima Torture

NYPD Racist Rampage Continues

JUNE 8—No sooner had cop Justin Volpe confessed last week to the horrific torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima two years ago than the damage control operation moved into high gear. Today, a Brooklyn court acquitted three of Volpe's accomplices, while a fourth was slapped with two charges.

From the moment Volpe confessed, the capitalist press and politicians were selling the lie that "justice" was done, that Volpe was an "aberration," that a couple of cops testifying against him had brought down the "blue wall of silence." "It's justice time," exulted black Democrat Al Sharpton outside the courthouse. Cop shootings are rare, NYC's snarling mayor Rudolph Giuliani was reported as saying in the *New York Times* (27 May), which also ran the following headlines: "Officer Critically Wounds Unarmed Youth After a Struggle," "Guards Charged in Fatal Beating Of Inmate at Nassau County Jail," "New Jersey Ends 24 Cases After Troopers Are Indicted." Something is aberrant here, but it sure isn't cop terror.

Amid the liberals' cheering on May 26, an unarmed black teenager was shot in the Bronx by the NYPD Street Crime Unit which executed black African Amadou Diallo with 41 bullets outside his Bronx apartment in February. As 16-year-old Dantae Johnson lay hospitalized in critical condition with a bullet wound in his abdomen, Police Commissioner Howard Safir indicted the *victim*. What were Johnson and a friend doing out on the street at 12:30 at night, bellowed Safir, why did they run for home when police ordered them to freeze? Why? "We ran because we were scared. We didn't know why they were trying to arrest us," said Dantae's friend Kyle Thompson.

Two nights after the Bronx shooting, 16-year-old Jamel Nixon was shot in the arm by a plainclothes housing cop in Brooklyn as he ran for home. Predictably, cops later claimed they found a gun on the young man. But eyewitnesses heard Jamel Nixon screaming as the police dragged him away, "I don't have anything, I've been shot."

Monaster/NY Daily News

New York Times

NY Daily News

Abner Louima in hospital after 1997 brutalization by NYPD. Right: Jamel Nixon (top) and Dantae Johnson, shot by NYC cops.

It's not just New York or the inner cities. On the New Jersey highways, a black man was killed in a hail of 27 police bullets on June 2, as cops spotted him with a white woman passenger and chased him down I-80. Even the state authorities finally admit that "racial profiling" is endemic among the NJ state troopers. Meanwhile, the top cop responsible for overseeing and covering up this systematic racist harassment and terror, Attorney General Peter Verniero, has now been *promoted* with an appointment to the state Supreme Court. In L.A., a 54-year-old black homeless woman was gunned down in front of horrified witnesses, only months after cops in nearby Riverside pumped 27 bullets into 19-year-old Tyisha Miller as she sat unconscious in her car awaiting "911" emergency assistance. Her killers weren't even charged, much less brought to trial.

Dantae Johnson's aunt, Deborah James, told a simple truth about this racist society: "This is a black neighborhood. When you see white cops coming after you, you are afraid." It is this daily, deadly fear of the cops in the city's ghettos and barrios which turned into mass outrage in the wake of the Diallo killing. While the Democratic Party politicians and their allies in the NYC labor bureaucracy tried to get in front of the seething anger in order to quell it, to channel it into schemes to "reform" the police and into the "lesser evil" electoral farce, the Spartacist League campaigned for the heavily black and Hispanic unions to organize a powerful mass protest against racist cop terror. As we wrote in "Beware Democratic Party Hustlers—Enemies of Labor, Blacks" (*WV* No. 710, 2 April):

> "The mass outrage against the cops *does* need an organized political expression. Not one aimed at strengthening the hand of the Democrats, the political tool of the very capitalist rulers whose interests the cops 'serve and protect,' but one which provides a proletarian class axis that can weld the social power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the inner city through mass labor-centered protest against cop terror."

The Democrats, no less than the Republicans, are a party of capital and enemies of working people. Their role is to front for and politically administer this economic system of exploitation and its state apparatus of repression on behalf of the tiny handful who control all the wealth, the capitalists, while trying to palm off the lie that workers, minorities and the poor have "democracy" because they can cast a ballot every once in a while for one or the other wing of the same property party.

Capitalist Courts—Racist Injustice

The big lie being pushed now is that if you're patient, you can expect justice from this court system. Sadistic torturer

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Police Killers of Tyisha Miller Walk

L.A. Cops Gun Down Homeless Woman

Margaret LaVerne Mitchell, a 54-year-old homeless black woman, was shot dead in broad daylight by a Los Angeles cop on May 21. By the LAPD's account, bicycle patrol cop Edward Larrigan and his partner stopped Mitchell to determine if her shopping cart, holding all her personal possessions, was "stolen." When a passerby intervened, Mitchell moved on, only to be chased by Larrigan. The burly cop claims he pumped a bullet into her chest because he felt "threatened" when the 100-pound Mitchell purportedly lunged at him with a screwdriver.

The city administration of Mayor Riordan has engaged in a flagrant cover-up attempt. At least two witnesses say they saw nothing in Mitchell's hand and that she never threatened the cop. James Terrell, a lawyer for Mitchell's family, reports that the coroner's office ghoulishly removed those portions of her body where the bullet entered and exited and that the autopsy report conspicuously omits any indication of how far away the cop was when he shot her.

Mitchell's killing came just two weeks after the Riverside County District Attorney announced that the cops who killed Tyisha Miller last December would not face charges. Miller, a 19-year-old black woman, was killed in a hail of 27 bullets as she sat unconscious in her car. The outrageous whitewash of the cops undoubtedly bolstered the bloodthirsty LAPD cop's belief they he could gun down a homeless black woman with impunity.

Trying to pin the blame for this cold-blooded killing on the victim and her family, LAPD chief Bernard Parks disgustingly accused Mitchell's family of neglect because they didn't get her medical treatment for her depression. In fact, Richard Mitchell had tried to get help for his mother from government agencies for years, to no avail. Over the past 20 years, California—the cutback state—has rolled back many mental health and social service programs, spending more now on prisons than education. Mitchell, a former bank worker who had managed to get a college degree while raising her son, was affectionately known as "Mom" in the wealthy Hancock Park area of L.A. where she stayed after becoming mentally ill and homeless. Ralph Glickman, a retired delicatessen counterman, recalled: "I saw her every day for 18 months. She used to sit on that bench over there. She was a very nice lady."

Parks also denounced daily protests against the Mitchell killing for having an "agenda" and for "stereotyping" the cops as racist! Still haunted by the massive 1992 upheaval following the acquittal of the cops who sadistically beat Rodney King, even the capitalist mouthpieces at the *L.A. Times* are being made nervous by

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Margaret LaVerne Mitchell

WORKERS VANGUARD

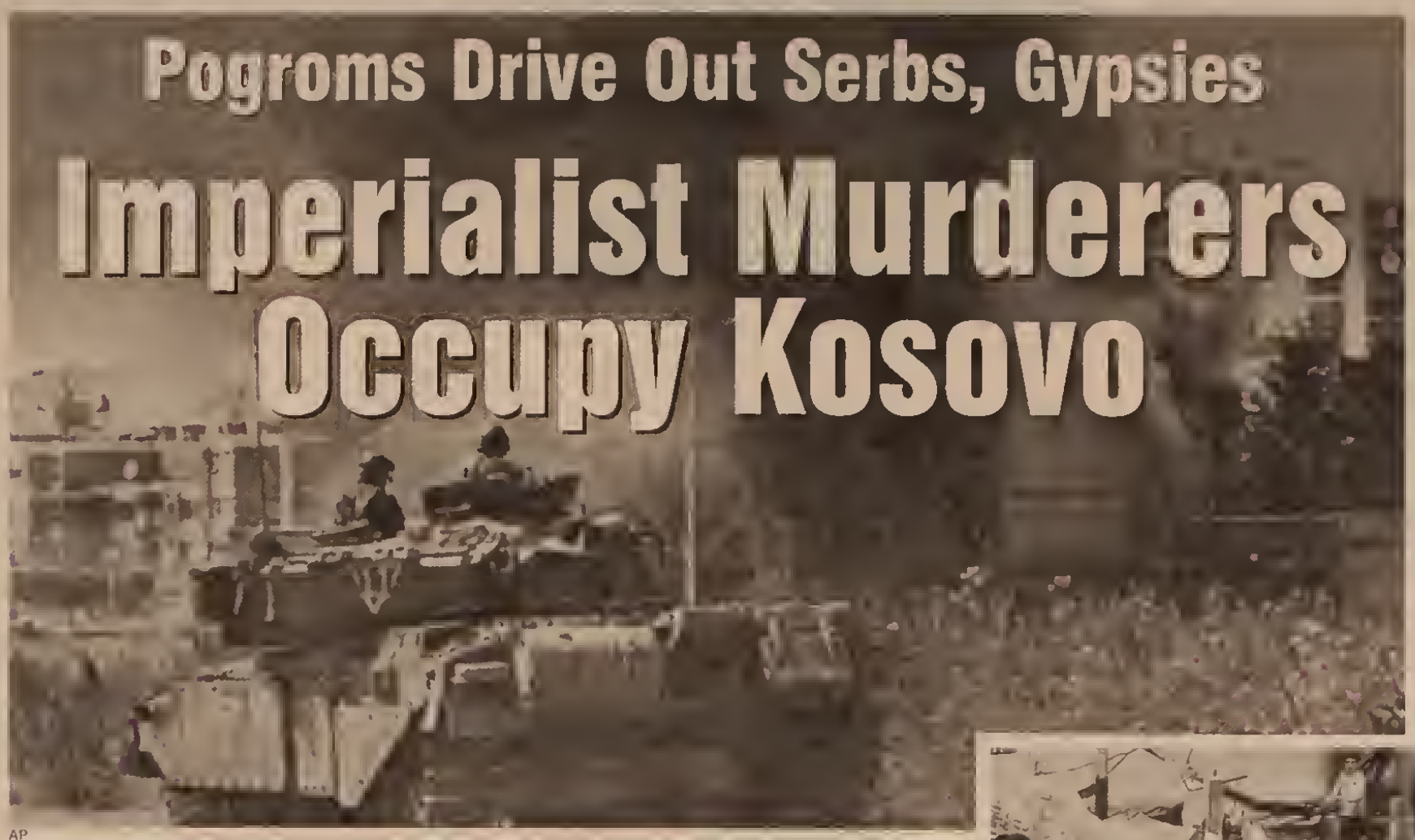
50¢

No. 716

9 July 1999

Pogroms Drive Out Serbs, Gypsies

Imperialist Murderers Occupy Kosovo



AP

All U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out of the Balkans Now!

JULY 5—From the moment U.S./NATO troops began rolling into Kosovo last month, the Serb and Gypsy (Roma) populations have been subjected to violent pogromist attacks aimed at driving them out of the province. In village after village, imperialist "peacekeepers" stood by as armed units of the Albanian nationalist Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) went house to house threatening to kill Serbs if they did not get out, while revenge-seeking mobs looted and torched Serb and Roma shops and homes. Numerous Serbs, from elderly villagers to prominent academics in Pristina, have been abducted and shot or beaten to death. In one week, some 80,000 Serb and Roma residents were forced to flee their homes. Yet not once has *this* forced population transfer been described as "ethnic cleansing" by the Western capitalist media which acted as the U.S./NATO ministry of war propaganda in endlessly retailing the plight of the Kosovo Albanians under Slobodan Milosevic's Serbian regime.

In denouncing the predatory imperialist "peace" dictated by the world's bloodiest mass murderers, we warned last month: "It will place the Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region" (*WV* No. 715, 11 June). This is now amply confirmed in every respect. Three days ago, British troops shot dead two Albanian revelers after one fired his rifle in the air. While the UCK hopes to be a local gendarmerie under the NATO occupation, the imperialists have made it clear that they will be calling the shots in Kosovo. Western spokesmen have begun to take their distance from their wartime pawns, suddenly discovering, for example, that UCK leader Hashim Thaci has been carrying out a "campaign of assassinations" against political rivals (*New York Times*, 25 June). Washington is also viscerally hostile to the UCK's demand for Kosovo independence, fearing it could destabilize the region. Clinton Balkans envoy Christopher Hill declaims, "We spent the 1990's worrying about a Greater Serbia. That's

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AFP

As NATO forces moved into Kosovo, tens of thousands of Serbs were forced to flee as a result of pogromist attacks.

Kurdish Leader Sentenced to Death in Turkey

Free Abdullah Öcalan!

Four months after his abduction and arrest in Kenya by Turkish security forces, Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), was sentenced to death by a kangaroo court in Turkey on June 29. The sentence was a foregone conclusion. Held in strict isolation on a tiny island since his arrest, Öcalan was denied any real legal defense. His lawyers were repeatedly threatened and physically attacked, including in the courtroom. As we did during the wave of international protests which followed Öcalan's arrest in February, contingents of the International Communist League joined in protests against the verdict which have been held in various countries.

The arrest and sentencing of the PKK leader has fueled the forces of right-wing reaction in the Turkish police state, underscoring how anti-Kurdish chauvinism is wielded as a weapon not only against the long-suffering Kurdish masses but against the whole of the working class in Turkey. Öcalan's arrest helped catapult the fascistic Nationalist Action Party—whose paramilitary Grey Wolves have murdered thousands of leftists, working-class militants and Kurdish nationalists—into the coalition government of "Democratic Left" prime minister Bulent Ecevit following elections in April. Öcalan's sentence met with an outpouring of Turkish chauvinism and

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The Fight for Kurdish Liberation

Trotskyism vs. PKK Nationalism ...8

Indonesia: Bloody Assault on PRD Demonstrators

SYDNEY, July 3—On July 1, police and military forces launched a brutal attack on a hundreds-strong protest by the People's Democratic Party (PRD) outside the National Election Commission in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta. The PRD was demanding that the ruling Golkar party headed by B. J. Habibie be disqualified from the June 7 elections for vote-rigging and intimidation. When protesters tried to enter the building, police immediately opened fire. Protesters could not escape as hundreds of riot cops and military personnel fired indiscriminately, using trucks to block side streets. Many were shot in the back. Of the estimated 100 injured, 35 suffered gunshot wounds, some very serious. A young woman PRD leader, Dhyta Caturani, was pulled behind the police lines, shot in the back and beaten savagely. Two were taken to military hospitals, their fate unknown, while 50 were reportedly arrested and remain in custody. Some 160 are missing. Today, the PRD office in Jogjakarta was smashed up by a group of armed thugs, leaving one militant in critical condition. These savage assaults on leftist political protesters must be condemned by the international working class.

Reuters

Jakarta, July 1: Riot cops attack People's Democratic Party demonstration.

The June 7 elections, overseen by some 500 "international monitors" from various imperialist agencies, have been trumpeted as some kind of democratic awakening. That this is a lie and a fraud is underscored by the bloody attack on the PRD and the fact that many PRD and trade-union leaders still rot in the regime's prisons. As we warned last year when the despised Suharto was replaced by Habibie: "*A 'reformed' Indonesian capitalist regime will be just as repressive and bloody as its predecessor and just as determined to force the country's toiling masses to pay for the capitalist crisis*" (*WV* No. 691, 22 May 1998). Free all PRD militants, trade-unionists and East Timorese independence fighters!

The imperialists' talk of democracy in Indonesia is a cover for maintaining a system of brutal exploitation enforced through vicious military repression. There can be no genuine democracy under capitalism in backward, dependent countries such as Indonesia, saddled by imperialist exploitation and grinding poverty. As Leon Trotsky, a leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, explained in *Marxism in Our Time* (1939): "In its expanded manifestation bourgeois democracy became, and continues to remain, a form of government accessible only to the most aristocratic and the most exploitive nations. Ancient democracy was based on slavery, imperialist democracy—on the spoliation of colonies."

The toilers of Indonesia have already experienced the horrendous consequences of looking toward self-proclaimed "democratic" and "progressive" bourgeois forces. Suharto came to power in 1965 through an anti-Communist massacre of over 500,000 carried out by the military and reactionary Islamic gangs with the direct involvement of the American, Australian and other imperialists. This was the bitter fruit of the Maoist Indonesian Communist Party's Menshevik/Stalinist strategy of "two-stage revolution," which repudiated the struggle for workers rule while chaining the proletariat to the national bourgeoisie—represented in this case by the nationalist Sukarno—in the name of a "democratic revolution."

Today it is urgently necessary for the Indonesian working class to emerge as an independent revolutionary factor. This requires the forging of an internationalist vanguard party committed to leading the proletariat to the seizure of state power. The proletariat must take its place at the head of the unemployed poor, the rural masses, women, the brutally oppressed ethnic and national minorities in a struggle for socialist revolution against all wings of the capitalist class. This is the only way to satisfy the aspirations of the masses and break the stranglehold of imperialist exploitation and domination.

In spite of mass arrests and cop violence, recent months have seen a wave of worker protests as the capitalist economic crisis continues to drive tens of millions into destitution. On June 17, 500 workers from the Mayora Indah biscuit factory were arrested for protesting the firing of 1,000 workers. On the outskirts of Jakarta, 600 garment workers on June 21 occupied the Arista Latinindo factory demanding that nine co-workers fired for union activity be rehired. In East Java, 2,000 cigarette workers protested to demand wage increases. Ominously, just days before the attack on the PRD, armed forces Commander in Chief General Wiranto warned there will be "no gatherings of the masses!"

With its militant reputation, the PRD has grown in this volatile situation. Yet despite the great courage of its activists in the face of heavy state repression, the PRD's program of petty-bourgeois nationalism is an obstacle to the needed struggle to mobilize the proletariat in its own class interests. During the elections, the PRD sought to build a "united front" against Golkar through pressuring Megawati Sukarnoputri's bourgeois Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle and the parties of Islamic reaction—Amien Rais' National Mandate Party and Abdurrahman Wahid's National Awakening Party—to fight for "democracy." Far from opposing the capitalists and their state, the PRD accepted election funding of 150 million rupiah ($21,000) from the very government whose cops and military were to bloody their militants.

Consistent with its illusions in the "democratic" credentials of a wing of the Indonesian bourgeoisie, the PRD also pushes illusions in the good offices of the imperialists, calling for a "UN-sponsored referendum" on East Timor. This is a direct appeal for imperialist intervention. Indeed, on July 2 in Darwin the Australian imperialists paraded their largest display of armoured military power since the Vietnam War, a demonstration of their readiness to mount a large-scale military operation to "keep peace" not only in East Timor but in Indonesia, too. Revolutionary Marxists say: UN, all imperialists: Hands off! Independence now for East Timor!

In response to the bloody repression of PRD militants, a class-struggle labor leadership in imperialist countries such as the U.S., Australia, Japan and Germany would organize trade-union boycotts of arms shipments to the blood-drenched Indonesian military and demand freedom for the many leftist and trade-union activists now languishing in jail. But that requires a struggle against the union misleaders and the likes of the Australian Labor Party who embrace the aims of their imperialist masters. The pro-imperialist Australian union bureaucrats are demanding a military force of 5,000 Australian troops to "protect" the East Timorese. The American AFL-CIO tops bleat about "multinational" low-wage sweatshops in Indonesia, but they do so only in order to push protectionist chauvinism and otherwise further the interests of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. labor bureaucracy is notorious for supporting anti-labor regimes from Southeast Asia to Latin America in the name of anti-communism.

Emancipation from the yoke of imperialism and the achievement of national and social justice for all the peoples in what is today Indonesia requires the *proletarian* seizure of power. But to consolidate proletarian rule in the face of hostile imperialism and lay the foundation for socialist economic development in backward Indonesia means a struggle for socialist revolution internationally, in imperialist U.S., Japan and Australia, and throughout the Asian region. That is the perspective of the International Communist League. For workers revolution in Indonesia!■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Vanguard Party, Key to Workers Revolution

Reporting on the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed the key role of the proletarian vanguard party demonstrated by the October Revolution of 1917. Despite numerous revolutionary opportunities—particularly in Germany in 1918-19 and 1923—the young Communist parties of the West proved themselves too weak and inexperienced to lead the proletariat to state power. With the failure of the October Revolution to extend to Europe, the subsequent bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state and the Communist International ushered in decades of Stalinist betrayals, culminating in capitalist counterrevolution and a deep retrogression in proletarian consciousness internationally. This underscores all the more the need to forge Leninist vanguard parties to win the working class to the fight for new October Revolutions around the world.

The working class must be ready for the overturn and capable of accomplishing it. The working class not only must be sufficiently powerful for it, but must be conscious of its power and must be able to apply this power. Today we can and must resolve into its elements and render more precise this subjective factor. During the postwar years, we have observed in the political life of Europe that the working class is ready for the overturn, ready in the sense of striving subjectively toward it, ready in terms of its will, moods, self-sacrifices, but still lacking the necessary organizational leadership. Consequently the mood of the class and its organizational consciousness need not always coincide. Our revolution, thanks to an exceptional combination of historical factors, afforded our backward country the opportunity to effect the transfer of power into the hands of the working class, in a direct alliance with the peasant masses. The role of the party is all too clear to us and, fortunately, it is today already clear to the West European Communist parties. Not to take the role of the party into account is to fall into pseudo-Marxist objectivism which presupposes some sort of purely objective and automatic preparation of the revolution, and thereby postpones the revolution to an indefinite future. Such automatism is alien to us. It is a Menshevik, a Social-Democratic world outlook. We know, we have learned in practice and we are teaching others to comprehend the enormous role of the subjective, the conscious factor that the revolutionary party of the working class represents.

—Leon Trotsky, "Report on the Fourth World Congress" (December 1922)

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"Workers Rearguard"?

We reprint the following letter as we received it via the Internet.

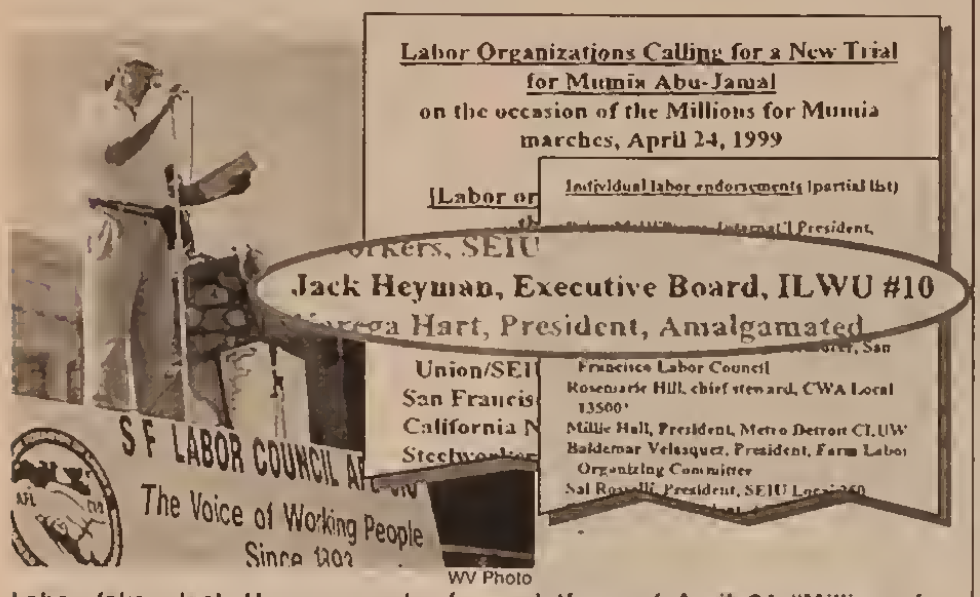
June 14, 1999

Dear Editor:

Your reply (28 May 1999) to my letter re: ILWU's April 24 West Coast shutdown for Mumia (as the ILWU newspaper, The Dispatcher called it) is riveted with distortions and inaccuracies. If intentional, this reflects a deeply-imbedded political cynicism. If unintentional, it indicates just how alienated you are from longshore workers. I'll address only a few of the more egregious distortions.

longshore workers showed solidarity with locked out stevedores in Australia when, in the face of maritime employers railing against "illegal dock actions," longshore workers honored a picket line of labor activists for two weeks against the ship Columbus Canada, refusing to work its scab Aussie cargo.

Another "unofficial and illegal" solidarity action which you disparage, was the 1997 picket of the Neptune Jade in Oakland in support of the Liverpool dockers, considered by them to be one of the highlights of their militant 28 months'



WV Photo

Labor faker Jack Heyman spoke from platform of April 24 "Millions for Mumia" rally, endorsed call for "new trial" aimed at appealing to Democratic Party.

The Spartacist League, to its credit, was an early defender of Mumia Abu-Jamal having covered his case for some 12 years in the pages of Workers Vanguard. You claim to "have fought for a class-struggle defense strategy centered on mobilizing the social power of the integrated labor movement, requiring its political independence from the capitalist parties." What class-struggle actions have SL supporters in transit unions in Chicago and New York called for? In the nearly four pages of the WV reply you never respond to this critical point of my letter. Why? Because SL trade union supporters don't implement the political position published in WV? That's for your readership. Yet, when the ILWU shuts down all West Coast ports in defense of Mumia, WV denies that it was a work stoppage! SL hypocrisy and hot air knows no limits!

What is the source of the SL slanders against the ILWU action? WV admits it came from "a spokesman for the bosses' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA)." PMA boss Joseph Miniace in a letter to the editor of the SF Examiner on April 23, the day before the shutdown falsely claimed the ILWU just shifted its contractually-provided union meeting date, agreed to by PMA companies. Trying to minimize the impact, Miniace preposterously predicted "minimal" disruptions knowing all ports would be shut down for 10 hours! He then sneeringly referred to ILWU's action in defense of "Mumia Abu-Jamal,....convicted of killing a police officer (and is on death row in Pennsylvania)." That a maritime boss would seek to distort and minimize an important labor action for Mumia is understandable, but why would an ostensibly Marxist organization echo him uncritically? The fact is that PMA in Los Angeles, the largest West Coast port with half the cargo, objected vehemently to longshoremen and clerks stopping work on April 24 because they'd already had their monthly stop-work meetings on April 1. Despite PMA objections, the longshore union prevailed and all ports on the West Coast were shut down to demand: 1) Stop the Execution and 2) Free Mumia! Last year, Los Angeles struggle. Although PMA's arbitrator on the second day ordered longshore workers to cross the picket line of labor activists, they refused, initiating an unprecedented solidarity action that followed the Neptune Jade to ports in three countries.

The ILWU shutdown the Coast with stop-work meetings in solidarity with the Liverpool dockers' struggle two times in 1997. These actions were roundly applauded by nearly all in the workers movement internationally, including the SL. In an article cheering the ILWU eight-hour work stoppage, WV #660 24 January 1997, "West Coast Ports Shut Down in Solidarity With Liverpool Dockers" you stated "ILWU members on the day shift attended 'stop-work' meetings rather than loading and unloading some 50 ships at key ports...."

Yet, when on April 24, we took the same action for Mumia, a political prisoner facing state execution, WV refuses to call it a work stoppage. Do you think longshore workers have short memories? It is no wonder that longshore union activists refer to your newspaper as "Workers Rearguard"!

Before our April 24 union meeting, Local 10 stewards, including myself, had to restrain members—angry about WV's distorted coverage of our union's action—from chasing off your salespeople.

Furthermore, you continue to blackout any coverage of the teachers' work stoppage in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, surely an important development in the defense of Mumia internationally. Why? Because this laudatory action was initiated by the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB), your political opponents.

The SL did not march to free Mumia in the April 24 mobilization. You could have carried your own banners criticizing the Democratic Party and the demand for a new trial. Others did. Abstaining from class struggle is surely a sign of political degeneration. I remember a Spartacist League that used to fight against being excluded from anti-Vietnam war demonstrations, even those with capitalist party politicians.

For labor action to free Mumia!
Jack Heyman

Labor Opportunist Squirms

***WV* Replies:**

Jack Heyman totally dodges the central political point we made in replying to his earlier letter in "Labor Opportunism, the Democratic Party and the Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (*WV* No. 714, 28 May): that he worked to provide a labor façade for pro-Democratic Party class-collaborationist politics, centered on appealing to the capitalist state for a "new trial" for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The motion introduced by Heyman in the ILWU called for the union to support the April 24 "Millions for Mumia" mobilization for a new trial, while tacking on the slogan "Free Mumia" as a fig leaf aimed at deceiving the workers about the real purpose of this rally.

Heyman can't deny that both the ILWU leadership and he personally endorsed the call for a new trial, sowing illusions in capitalist "justice." He can't deny that when he spoke from the platform on April 24 he uttered not one word of criticism of this call—the central demand of the rally—nor of the Democratic Party politicians with whom he shared the platform. He can't deny that at a "Millions for Mumia" press conference the week before he hailed San Francisco Labor Council head Walter Johnson—a pillar of the Democratic Party in the city and a staunch supporter of Democratic mayor Willie Brown's re-election bid—as "our secret weapon." He can't deny any of these *facts* documented in our reply. So, instead, he continues his attempt at deception of the *WV* readership and the ILWU Local 10 membership by throwing out a bunch of straw-man arguments and blowing a lot of smoke.

Like the labor bureaucrat he is, Heyman resorts to slimy insinuations about a PMA "source" to deflect our revolutionary criticism. The March issue of the *Dispatcher* itself reported that the stop-work meetings were called "***to discuss the status of the upcoming negotiations***, and to participate in the national actions for Abu-Jamal," noting that "***in effect*** no ships will be worked from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m." (all emphases added). So because the stop-work union meeting was shifted to Saturday, the day shift was killed. But Heyman's attempt to create the illusion that it was a political strike to demand Mumia's freedom is just one more deception. Not only was the ILWU action explicitly tied to the demonstration calling for a "new trial"—a slogan intended to appeal to liberal Democrats—but there was little attempt to politically mobilize the membership behind Jamal's cause at all.

Heyman's claim to the contrary, *WV* never denied that the ILWU action on April 24 was a work stoppage. But, as we wrote:

> "The tremendous potential impact of the longshore work stoppage was indeed minimized in every way. It was consciously organized to avoid violating the contract, under which the ILWU bureaucrats have for many years agreed to a no-strike clause for the life of the contract....
> "More importantly, there was no real attempt either before or at the union meetings that day to politically mobilize the membership in Jamal's behalf."

As they emerged from the April 24 Local 10 stop-work meeting, several of the lower seniority "B-men"—who have no voice or vote in union meetings and met separately from the "A-men"—told *WV* salesmen that nothing had been said at the meeting about Jamal's case. We don't know about Heyman having to "restrain members angry about WV's distorted coverage," but with 150 or so longshoremen there at the peak of the April 24 stop-work meeting we sold 47 copies of our issue with the article "Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!" (*WV* No. 711, 16 April), where we in fact motivated the need for class-struggle defense of Jamal.

That Heyman doesn't even refer to the division of the union between "A-men" and "B-men" shows just how distant he is from a class-struggle perspective. Way back before he made his peace with capitalism, when he was still animated by the Trotskyist program, Heyman opposed the B-list category, which ghettoizes a large section of the ILWU membership, and fought for full union rights for all longshoremen. But, as we wrote in our exchange, "now his loyalties lie elsewhere."

That seems to be clear to the Local 10 ranks as well. Here's what one of our comrades reported after selling the *WV* with our exchange with Heyman to Local 10 members in May:

> "Jack Heyman doesn't have many friends in Local 10. We saw less than 100 longshoremen, and engaged only with those interested in talking to *WV* salesmen, maybe 40, overwhelmingly black. When we showed them the exchange with Jack Heyman, with one exception everybody said 'I don't like Jack Heyman.' This was not a case of telling us what we wanted to hear; we got into his politics after. Mostly people think he's a phoney and not to be trusted. One man said 'I've known Jack Heyman for many years and I wouldn't let that monkey near my wallet'."

Unable to answer our political criticisms—because he has no defense—Heyman tries to shift the ground with his "recovered memory" of Spartacist League history during the Vietnam anti-war movement. We'll refresh Heyman's memory. In 1965, we walked out of the

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WV Photo

The heritage Heyman distorts: SL fought for revolutionary strategy in Vietnam antiwar movement, opposed popular-frontist coalitions with bourgeois liberals.

USWA Tops Choke Newport News Strike

Local 8888 in Peril

JULY 6—While news of the three-month-old strike by United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888 against Newport News Shipbuilding in the Virginia Tidewater area has been deep-sixed by the capitalist media and played down by the USWA International and AFL-CIO bureaucracy, this is the biggest labor battle in the U.S. today. Even as the U.S. was waging an imperialist war against Serbia, Newport News workers walked out against a shipyard which produces and repairs nuclear aircraft carriers and submarines. The outcome of this strike by an 8,000-strong integrated union local is crucial to the future of organized labor, especially in the racist "open shop" South.

Management is trying to sow divisions within the union by proposing separate pay scales for different job categories, a move aimed at undermining the strong industrial union structure in the yard. But while most strikers are holding firm, the USWA bureaucrats refuse to organize the mass picket lines needed to shut the yard down tight and win the strike. Instead they appeal to the enemies of labor—the capitalist politicians and, most recently, even the shipyard owners. On June 25, a thousand workers were bused to a stockholders meeting in Richmond as part of a "corporate campaign" strategy. Such ridiculous appeals to the capitalists who care only about profits and dividends are a diversion from class struggle.

Strikers are angry that the bureaucracy's mishandling of the strike has led to hundreds of workers scabbing. A 23-year crane operator reported: "I made it known to people higher up in the union that there are three or four thousand people out there at New Market [a mall where workers collect strike assistance] and there aren't any more than four or six people [picketing] at each gate." With reports afoot that federal mediators are leaning on the union leadership to start up negotiations with the company again, this worker is concerned that the strike is in peril: "Shortly after the 4th of July our membership is just going to drop. The only ones who'll be out here are the ones who have been on strike before. We struck to get the union then."

Local 8888 was forged as an integrated industrial union through a bitter three-month strike in 1979 that defied the state's anti-union laws and an army of scabherding cops. Now the USWA bureaucracy is endangering that important victory and subsequent gains made in past contracts. Also posed here is a battle against Virginia's "right-to-work" laws and against racist discrimination by the Newport News bosses. This strike should be a cause throughout the Tidewater area and for the entire U.S. working class. But the union misleaders—from the USWA International bureaucrats in Pittsburgh down to the local officers—have contained this labor action, limiting demands to economic issues and tailoring strike strategy strictly in accordance with laws which were enacted to *defeat* strikes and *prevent* unions. As one rigger with 24 years in the yard told *WV*, "Because of these 'right-to-work' laws, what we need is a union where if you're not in the union *you don't work!*"

UPI

Bitter strike in 1979 against Newport News Shipbuilding forged Local 8888 as integrated industrial union.

in recruiting Newport News workers—including many whites—to the union.

This strike is not only for higher wages, a livable pension and adequate benefits to make up for union concessions

Many Newport News strikers recognize that "the government is in cahoots with the company," as Navy personnel go through the gates to work with scabs while local and state police have been deployed against the picket lines. But it is necessary for strikers to understand that the patriotic sloganeering pushed by the union tops—like "Our ships defend the country"—is no less deadly to labor's cause. Waving the flag lines workers up behind the bosses' government and leaves the union vulnerable to strikebreaking in the name of "national defense." The U.S. military defends *capitalist profits and power*, enforcing brutal exploitation of working people in the "Third World" and protecting the investments and interests of the American bourgeoisie against its German, Japanese and other rivals.

Glorifying the traitorous policies of the pro-capitalist union officials are fake socialists like the Communist Party, whose *People's Weekly World* (26 June promoted the appeal to stockholders while exhorting workers to "call your congressional representative and senators." The Socialist Workers Party cheers whatever the union bureaucrats are doing and has excused scabbing by "non-union contract workers, many of whom face immediate termination if they do not go into work" (*Militant*, 26 April).

In contrast, in *Workers Vanguard* the Spartacist League has advanced a class-struggle strategy and warned against the sellout policies of the labor bureaucrats, who collaborate with the class enemy because they uphold the capitalist profit system. We fight for the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state and the capitalist political parties, the Democrats and Republicans. We fight to forge a workers party which will link the struggle to defend union rights and workers' livelihoods to the fight for socialist revolution to smash the grinding, murderous capitalist system, the basis of racial and women's oppression. ■

North Carolina Textile Mill Organized

Big Win for Unions in "Open Shop" South

No Illusions in the NLRB!

In an area where the unions have failed to make headway for decades despite many bloody struggles, workers at Fieldcrest Cannon in Kannapolis, North Carolina voted in late June for the 5,200 workers at their six-plant textile complex—the largest in the country—to be organized by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE). This is a significant victory for labor throughout the country. The fight to unionize Cannon began *93 years ago*. Kannapolis, located near Charlotte, exemplifies the racist "open shop" South. Built by Cannon Mills as a company town, Kannapolis still has tiny wooden houses originally constructed for its workers which stand adjacent to the huge plant rising out of former cotton fields. And Fieldcrest still runs it like a plantation, with workers getting $100 a month pension after 30 years' service.

But this victory remains fragile and reversible. Workers face a major battle to win a contract from the company, which has already challenged the union recognition vote with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). This is the same government agency that the UNITE leadership has relied on in organizing the Kannapolis complex. Looking to the NLRB—whose very purpose is to bind the unions to the capitalist state—has led to a long, drawn-out organizing effort and will now give the company time to chip away at the workers' hard-won gain. Workers at Fieldcrest Cannon must be vigilant that the UNITE tops do not snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.

What distinguished this latest vote from four previous union representation elections was the role played by the growing number of Hispanic immigrant workers. In the 1970s, coming off the turbulent struggles of the civil rights movement, the company started hiring blacks in what had formerly been a lily-white plant. When the black workers demonstrated a militant, pro-union stance, the company started hiring immigrants—who management believed would be more docile because of their vulnerable legal status. This too backfired, as the Hispanic workers turned out to be no less pro-union.

WV Photo

Spartacist League banner at March 1977 protest outside J.P. Stevens headquarters in NYC. For militant, mass organizing drive throughout the South!

The struggle for union recognition at Kannapolis underlines the need for all of labor to combat anti-immigrant racism and to demand full citizenship rights for anyone who has come to this country. Instead, the chauvinist AFL-CIO bureaucracy has appealed to the racist capitalist government to *attack* immigrant workers, which helps fuel attacks on blacks and all minorities. The seizure of thousands of foreign-born workers in the South by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the 1995 "Operation South PAW" ("Protect American Workers") came after the union tops in Atlanta called for raids against undocumented workers there.

Speaking of a drive by the United Auto Workers to organize a Mercedes plant in Alabama, a Detroit labor academic recently commented: "In a right-to-work state, you have to have a lot of courage to be a union supporter." This was dramatically driven home by a KKK-style cross-burning outside an Alabama processing plant on the eve of a union recognition vote in June 1995.

With their legalistic, pro-Democratic Party policies, the AFL-CIO misleaders are incapable of undertaking the kind of militant, mass organizing drive needed to unionize workers throughout the South, where the racist cops and KKK lynchers have been instrumental in keeping unions out. It is necessary to unleash the social power of the working class, beginning with existing beachheads of integrated union power in the South—from mainly black longshoremen in the Southeastern and Gulf ports to shipyard workers and Teamsters truckers. ■

Steel Workers: Reject Protectionist Pact with Steel Bosses!

For the past year, the United Steelworkers (USWA) leadership has run point for the steel corporations in a chauvinist "Stand Up for Steel" campaign against foreign competition. Negotiations on the union contract expiring July 31, which covers 60,000 workers at five major steel producers, were delayed as the companies and the USWA tops waited to see if the Clinton White House and the Congress would act to curtail steel imports. But after imposing a series of punitive tariffs earlier this year, on June 21 Clinton got the Senate to kill a measure for protectionist quotas passed by the House.

Now, after mobilizing the union's resources behind a class-collaborationist campaign to fatten the profits of American steel bosses, the USWA misleaders are trying to sell steel workers another bill of goods: a rotten contract deal with USX (formerly United States Steel) and Bethlehem which was announced more than a month before the old six-year contract expires and is aimed at setting the pattern for workers at the other three big steel companies. The proposed offer, which is to be voted on by mail ballot later this month, includes a measly $2 an hour raise over five years and weakens the existing no-layoff clause.

Reflecting pressure from union members, the USWA district director for the Chicago area had vowed before the settlement to recommend a strike to keep the no-layoff clause. USWA members at another steel giant, LTV, are bristling over its 50 percent stake in the non-union Trico mill in Decatur, Alahama, and Ispat Inland's new owner is notorious as a corporate "cost cutter." A USX worker in Gary, Indiana told *WV* that most workers in his unit intend to vote against the new offer.

Steel workers should rip up the proposed sellout! But to *fight* the attacks of the steel barons through a solid nationwide strike, the USWA has to be *independent* from the corporations, not working in collusion with them. As one economic analyst remarked of the company-union protectionist campaign, "The last thing you wanted was a strike at a time you are trying to get quotas on imports" (*Wall Street Journal*, 28 June).

The labor bureaucracy's protectionist appeals promote the lie that workers in the U.S. share common interests with their "own" exploiters against the American capitalists' foreign rivals—and against workers in other countries. Yet while railing about jobs going overseas, the USWA officialdom has allowed a proliferation of non-union mills in the U.S. The USWA once represented over 90 percent of all steel workers. Today fewer than half of the country's 170,000 steel workers are unionized. Since 1987, the USWA has lost 100,000 jobs. In the last five years, over 15 million tons of steel-making capacity has come on line, all of it in non-union mini-mills. Even in unionized mills, the companies are literally extracting profits out of steel workers' blood: 52 USWA members have been killed on the job since January 1996. That's more than one industrial murder per month!

But the USWA still has enormous potential power. Steel is at the core of the country's industrial economy—from military hardware to construction and cars. And the capitalists are doubly fearful of a steel strike right now, as the September 1 expiration of the United Auto Workers contract poses the possibility of a shutdown in that strategic industry.

McCloskey/Wheeling Intelligencer

USWA tops run point for steel bosses in chauvinist "Stand Up for Steel" campaign, as in recent West Virginia rally.

Straining to avoid a strike, the USWA leadership offered to engage in early negotiations with any company that accepted two conditions: a common expiration date for all contracts and a new contractual clause holding the major steel outfits to "neutrality" in organizing drives at non-union plants partly owned by them. The way to get a common expiration date is by mobilizing all USWA steel workers to walk out together on the picket lines. That's also what's needed to organize non-union shops: such bold action asserting the power of the union would demonstrate to the tens of thousands of unorganized steel workers what the union can do to fight for their interests. But that would mean stopping scabs through mass, militant pickets and defying the cops and the government's battery of anti-union laws.

A class-struggle fight to defend jobs and organize the unorganized is counterposed to the flag-waving class collaboration and legalism of the union bureaucracy. An April 27 statement of the USWA's Basic Steel Industry Conference complains, "All of the large integrated steel companies have to one degree or another used the extended period of labor peace associated with the most recent contracts to build or buy into non-union operations." But it is the union misleaders themselves who enforced that extended period of "labor peace." Refusing to take on the major steel corporations, the USWA tops have all the more readily abandoned a series of local strikes, turning them into desperate, drawn-out and isolated battles—from the ten-month Wheeling-Pitt walkout in 1996-97 to the strike against Oregon Steel in Pueblo, Colorado, which has dragged on since 1997.

The very notion of company "neutrality" is belied by the history of hard, sometimes bloody class battles it took to build the unions. The 1937 Little Steel strike against Bethlehem and other companies, which laid the basis for the USWA, is a case in point: 18 strikers were killed, scores wounded and hundreds jailed as company thugs, police and the National Guard were mobilized to crush the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Many if not most of the new steel jobs are in the "open shop" South, where pervasive racist terror and "right-to-work" laws have kept wages down and unions out. Here in particular, illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state—whose cops and courts enforce anti-union terror—are deadly dangerous. A serious campaign to organize plants in the South means mobilizing union power not only to win economic demands but to actively defend black rights and stop the KKK nightriders who are murderous enemies of integrated labor struggle.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy's chauvinist protectionism not only poisons the needed international solidarity between workers in the U.S. and their class brothers and sisters abroad but also fuels racism against black and immigrant workers here. The USWA tops refuse to wield the union's power to fight rampant discrimination against young and minority workers. Despite company pledges to end discrimination in skilled jobs following a court-ordered "consent decree" in the 1970s, those who work the coke ovens and other dangerous and back-breaking unskilled jobs at USX in Gary remain heavily black and Hispanic. These workers—who are cut off from most of the extra "incentive" pay that other workers get for tonnage produced—continue to be all but frozen out of skilled trades training, while the company hires skilled workers off the street as helpers at less than top pay. Against such racist discrimination, the USWA must demand union-run recruitment and training programs especially reaching out to minority workers.

The "Stand Up for Steel" campaign is a quintessential expression of the lie preached by the entire AFL-CIO bureaucracy that there is a "partnership" between labor and capital. This class collaboration finds political expression in the labor bureaucracy's support to the capitalist Democratic Party. The fundamental starting point for mobilizing the integrated labor movement in defense of its own class interests and those of blacks, immigrants and other oppressed minorities is the understanding that this society is divided between two classes whose interests are irreconcilably counterposed: workers who are forced to sell their labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom their labor power is sold.

There must be a fight inside the unions to oust the pro-capitalist misleaders and replace them with a new, class-struggle leadership, one committed to the class independence of the proletariat from the capitalists, their government and their political parties. To put an end to unemployment and racism requires seizing industry from the capitalist class and the creation of a planned, socialist economy. Those who labor must rule! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!■

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Capitalist Russia in the "New World Order"

Last month's stand-off at the Pristina airport in Kosovo between 200 Russian paratroopers and a British contingent of the NATO occupation forces provided a snapshot of current relations between Boris Yeltsin's capitalist Russia and the Western imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S. One British soldier said, "They had

PART ONE

been telling us for weeks about the Serbs and Albanians, but nobody explained we had to fight Russia."

In the end, the confrontation was defused through a deal to incorporate Russian troops into the U.S./NATO-led Kosovo occupation force. To drive home who's in charge, the U.S. would only allow further Russian troops into Kosovo after an overall NATO command structure was fully worked out. The Kosovo arrangement is similar to the one which has been in place in Bosnia since 1995. Indeed, the image of Russian troops jointly policing the region alongside and effectively under the command of NATO forces—like that of Yeltsin envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin jetting between Belgrade and Western capitals in an attempt to push through NATO's "peace" diktat—provide yet other, very different, snapshots of Russia's current relations with the imperialist powers.

For years, Yeltsin's Russia has been playing a cynical double game in the Balkans. On the one hand, the Russians have postured as the "great power" protectors of their "little Serb brothers," occasionally denouncing American bellicosity and "superpower" arrogance. At the same time, the Yeltsin regime has acted as a "soft cop" vis-à-vis the Serbs on behalf of the Americans and Germans. As in Bosnia four years ago, Moscow was instrumental in brokering a deal between the NATO powers and Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic over Kosovo. Only a few days before publishing alarmed reports on the Russian military move in Pristina, the *New York Times* (9 June) had lauded Moscow's diplomatic efforts, headlining "Moscow Envoy's Peace Efforts, Praised in West, Are Panned at Home."

Yeltsin/Chernomyrdin's efforts on behalf of the U.S. and NATO were indeed widely reviled in Russia. Nor is Russian hostility to the U.S. limited to traditional anti-Western nationalists like the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and its fascistic bloc partners in the "'red'-brown coalition." In the past, the Russian populace was generally indifferent to the wars precipitated by the counterrevolutionary breakup of Yugoslavia and Moscow's maneuvering in the Balkans. But the terror bombing of Serbia produced a sea change in the political climate in Russia, generating an intense and widespread fear of and hostility toward America. The *New York Times* (12 April) quoted an unemployed truck driver in Moscow: "Now Yugoslavia, next us; that's what I think." Such views were in no way unusual. A supporter of the International Communist League who was in Moscow during the first week of the war reported:

> "There is a great deal of just rage in Russia at NATO bombing. If the 17 August 1998 financial crisis put the final nail in the illusions of many Russians in market capitalism, the Balkan War has convinced them that the U.S. is a truly evil and rapacious power. The problem is that the answer being offered is not Lenin and Trotsky's communism but pan-Slavic militarism."

When Yeltsin, having taken over the Kremlin with U.S. backing, announced the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the American ruling class triumphantly proclaimed victory in the Cold War and the "death of communism." Washington politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties even promised a "peace dividend": a big reduction in military spending to free up money for other government programs and to allow for tax cuts. In a joint statement with U.S. president George Bush in February 1992, Yeltsin declared: "Russia and the United States do not regard each other as potential adversaries. From now on, the relationship will be characterized by friendship and partnership founded on mutual trust and respect and a common commitment to democracy and economic freedom."

Crowley/NY Times

Reuters

Russian troops confront NATO forces outside Pristina in June, after Yeltsin regime helped impose NATO diktat on Serbia. Russian envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin (far left) with German defense minister Rudolf Scharping.

Seven years later, the same Yeltsin thundered: "I told NATO, the Americans, the Germans, don't push us toward military action. Otherwise, there will be a European war for sure, and possibly a world war." At the height of the air war against Serbia—particularly after Washington pushed through a call for a naval blockade of oil shipments, including from Russia—the possibility of a military confrontation between Russia and NATO was being talked about not only by politicians and generals in Moscow and Western capitals but also among the public at large. Tensions between the U.S. and Russia had been ratcheted up to a point that the cover of the London *Economist* (17 April), house organ of Anglo-American financiers, bluntly poses the question: "A New Cold War?" Why is this happening?

From Cold War to Counterrevolution

The origins of the Cold War lay in the October Revolution of 1917. In leading the working class of Russia to the seizure of state power and the consolidation of its own class rule through workers councils (soviets), supported by soviets of poor peasants and soldiers, the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and L.D. Trotsky took the Marxist doctrine of proletarian revolution out of the realm of theory and gave it reality, creating the dictatorship of the proletariat—a society where those who labored ruled. From the outset, the capitalists around the world, aided by their reformist lieutenants within the labor movement, sought to strangle the Soviet workers state, beginning with the bloody 1918-21 Civil War pitting the Red Army against imperialist intervention forces and Russian counterrevolutionaries.

The devastation of the most conscious layer of the proletariat in the Civil War, the pressure of imperialist encirclement on the isolated and economically backward workers state and the failure of the young Communist parties of the West to seize on manifold revolutionary opportunities—particularly in Germany in 1918-19 and 1923—set the stage for a *political* counterrevolution in 1924, as a conservative, nationalist bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin usurped political power. The Stalinist bureaucracy's false dogma of building "socialism in one country" meant in practice an accommodation to imperialism and a betrayal of the proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist program of Bolshevism. That program was carried forward by the International Left Opposition, and later the Fourth International, organized by Trotsky.

Nonetheless, the social foundations of the workers state—embodied in the planned, collectivized economy and the monopoly on foreign trade—remained intact, mandating the need for unconditional military defense of the Soviet workers state, despite its bureaucratic degeneration, against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. This is what the ICL fought for right through to the final undoing of the October Revolution in 1991-92. In contrast, every pseudo-revolutionary tendency on the face of the planet capitulated to the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive of the 1980s.

Trotsky warned in his 1936 book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, that the Stalinist bureaucracy would ultimately devour the workers state if it was not ousted through a proletarian political revolution. From East Germany to the USSR, the ICL sought to mobilize the proletariat against capitalist restoration, stressing the need for political revolution to oust the treacherous nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. Having systematically destroyed the revolutionary-internationalist consciousness of the Soviet proletariat, the Stalinist bureaucracies did finally devour the workers states.

In 1991-92, the American capitalist class and Russia's would-be capitalists, largely drawn from the decomposing Kremlin bureaucracy and the intelligentsia, shared a common interest: the destruction of the Soviet Union and its collectivized economy. However, their subsequent goals and expectations were fundamentally different. Russia's new rulers expected to be showered with money by their new "partners" in Wall Street and Frankfurt. They also expected Washington's support in establishing Russia as a regional imperialist power exercising political-military hegemony in the territory of the former USSR. In 1993, Yeltsin demanded: "The time has come for the relevant international organisations, including the UN, to grant Russia special powers as a guarantor of peace and stability in the former Soviet Union" (quoted in Bruce Clark, *An Empire's New Clothes: The End of Russia's Liberal Dream* [1996]). While the Clinton administration supported Yeltsin's war of suppression against Chechen separatists in the Caucasus, by and large American imperialism not only rejected Russian imperialist ambitions in the region but has actively opposed them.

With the demise of the USSR, the American ruling class saw itself as supreme master of a "one superpower world." Washington disdainfully treated Yeltsin's Russia as if it were an impoverished Third World country. At one point the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF) cited as a precedent for loan conditions to the Russian government the terms it had recently imposed on a loan to Guatemala!

But American ruling circles know perfectly well that Russia is not Guatemala. They expect and fear the re-establishment of a strong Russian state, moreover, one vengeful over its recent humiliation at the hands of the West. In 1994, leading Cold War strategist Zbigniew Brzezinski denounced the policies of the Yeltsin regime as "proto-imperial." To make sure Moscow's imperial aspirations remain "proto," he advocated extending NATO into East Europe, as has recently been done. The U.S./NATO war against Serbia was in part intended to forestall Russia's re-emergence as a major European power with its own client states in the Balkans.

Post-Soviet Russia and the New "Cold War" Propaganda

The increasing tensions between the U.S. and Russia have resulted in a reinterpretation and rewriting of the Cold War by the ideological spokesmen for American imperialism. They used to describe this global conflict as one between "democracy" and "communist totalitarianism," or between "free market" capitalism and a Marxist "command economy." Now, however, the Cold War is

increasingly presented in *national* terms as a conflict between two "great powers": America as "leader" of the Western world and a Russia eternally striving to dominate the Eurasian land mass from eastern Europe to eastern Siberia.

Henry Kissinger, for example, asserts that the ideological doctrines professed by the Kremlin's rulers—whether Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Slavophile nationalism or Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism—were merely legitimation for Russian imperial expansionism. In his 1994 opus, *Diplomacy*, Kissinger quotes the 19th-century Russian Slavophile writer Mikhail Katkov:

> "The Russian tsar is more than the heir of his ancestors; he is the successor of the caesars of Eastern Rome, of the organizers of the church and its councils which established the very creed of the Christian faith. With the fall of Byzantium, Moscow arose and the greatness of Russia began."

Immediately following this quote, Kissinger writes: "After the Revolution, the passionate sense of mission was transferred to the Communist International." So according to this self-styled master of global *realpolitik*, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky was but a secular version of the Eastern Orthodox church!

A variation on the same theme was composed by another prominent American Cold War ideologue, Samuel P. Huntington. According to Huntington, despite the demise of the Soviet Union, Western civilization still confronts a world of potential enemies—the Islamic states of the Near East, "Confucian" China, Eastern Orthodox Russia—based on unalterable and unbridgeable differences in national cultures:

> "The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future."
>
> —"The Clash of Civilizations?"
> *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993

In Europe, Huntington maintains, that fault line is the "eastern boundary of Western Christianity."

Huntington's views—though not, of course, his loyalties—are identical to those of anti-Western Russian Slavophile nationalists who see the U.S./NATO war against Serbia as militant Protestant expansionism. "This is a clash of civilizations," exclaimed Alexei Podherezkin, an influential member of the Russian Duma (parliament). "They offer us an aggressive and virtually Protestant model of democracy—no, they impose it on us. What is happening in Yugoslavia and what is happening in Bosnia and Croatia is an attempt to impose the Western understanding of values" (*New York Times*, 2 May).

The identity of views, and indeed of language, between well-known spokesmen for American imperialism and for nascent Russian imperialism, while ironic, is perfectly understandable. Both oppose, as they must, the universalism and rational humanism of the Enlightenment which underlies the Marxist principles of the Bolshevik-led workers revolution. And, in fact, the present tendency of both American bourgeois and Russian nationalist intellectuals is to deny that Marxist principles had anything to do with the Bolshevik Revolution and instead claim Red October for Great Russian nationalism and imperialism. In the past few years, American and British journalists and academics have been churning out books asserting an essential continuity of the Russian state—tsarist, Communist and post-Soviet—and its antagonism to the West: Bruce Clark's *An Empire's New Clothes: The End of Russia's Liberal Dream*, Jonathan Steele's *Eternal Russia: Yeltsin, Gorbachev, and the Mirage of Democracy*, Robert Donaldson and Joseph Nogee's *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*.

V. Deni and M. Cheremnykh

Gigory Dukor

Soviet cartoon after Bolshevik Revolution shows Lenin sweeping away kings, priests, capitalists. Boris Yeltsin hosts Russian Orthodox Patriarch Alexy II after capitalist counterrevolution.

Jonathan Steele, veteran Moscow correspondent for the London *Guardian*, presents a somewhat different argument for an essential continuity between the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia, claiming that the same old Communists are still running the show, only now they've become capitalists:

> "By comparison with 1917, the Yeltsin 'revolution' was less of a change. Many of his political team, including Yeltsin himself, as well as many of the new entrepreneurs who emerged in the transition to a market economy, were members of the old élite. There was no great redistribution of wealth and power."

The above passage contains an important element of truth, but it obscures an even more important truth. To be sure, many, perhaps even a majority, of Russia's big-time capitalist operators and top government officials were *apparatchiks* during the regime of Leonid Brezhnev in the 1970s. Viktor Chernomyrdin epitomizes the transition from Stalinist bureaucrat to capitalist mogul. When the economy was denationalized following capitalist counterrevolution, Chernomyrdin parlayed his position as minister of gas production to become CEO of Gazprom, one of the largest corporations in the world, and make himself one of the wealthiest individuals in the world. Such developments were anticipated by Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed*. Speaking of the corruption of the Stalinist regime and the appetite of the bureaucrats to ensure their privileged status through legal ownership of the means of production, Trotsky noted that "a bourgeois restoration would probably have to clean out fewer people [in the state apparatus] than a revolutionary party."

But Steele's use of the vague, generic term "elite" to describe both bureaucrats in the former Soviet Union and capitalist entrepreneurs in Russia today serves the same ideological purpose as when right-wing demagogues in the U.S. denounce trade-union officials as labor "bosses," thereby identifying them with capitalist exploiters. In the case of Russia, it serves to minimize the monumental historical fact that a *capitalist counterrevolution* occurred.

Reiser/Bilderberg

Moscow street market. Restoration of capitalism has brought terrible immiseration to the working people.

Steele's argument is paralleled by a host of fake-leftist groups who likewise seek to downplay or deny the significance of capitalist restoration—in order to amnesty their own support to counterrevolution. An example is the British centrist Workers Power group, which cheered on the pro-imperialist "democrats" on Yeltsin's barricades in 1991 and had earlier supported an array of anti-Communist forces from Polish Solidarność to the fascist-infested Lithuanian Sajudis. To this day, Workers Power continues to deny that capitalist counterrevolution has triumphed in the Soviet Union, ludicrously labeling it a "moribund workers state." In any case, this centrist gobbledygook has no programmatic import: Workers Power likewise called Milosevic's Serbia a "moribund workers state" while embracing the U.S./NATO imperialist war cry over "poor little Kosovo."

The reformist tendency headed by Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain, represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), explicitly denies that there has been a capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. The Cliffites described the Soviet Union and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe (and Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam) as "state capitalist" in order to justify their refusal to defend those states against imperialism. Writing of the capitalist counterrevolutions which swept East Europe and the Soviet Union—and which it "celebrated"—the ISO declares: "The revolutions in Eastern Europe were a step sideways—from one form of capitalism to another" (*Socialist Worker*, 23 April). Any worker in the former USSR who was told that he had simply taken a "step sideways" in the last ten years would simply spit in the ISOer's face, or worse.

One-third of the urban labor force in Russia today is effectively unemployed; 75 percent of the population lives below or barely above the subsistence level and 15 million are actually starving. Malnutrition has become the norm among schoolchildren. Some two million children have been abandoned by families who can no longer support them. Life expectancy, especially for men, has fallen sharply, while the overall population has actually declined by two million since 1990.

In the chaotic condition of post-Soviet Russia, the laws of capitalism have resulted in total economic collapse: gross domestic product has fallen at least 50 percent since 1991, capital investment by 90 percent. Statistics alone cannot convey the scale and intensity of immiseration in Russia today. The infrastructures of production, technology, science, transportation, heating and sewage have disintegrated. Once-eradicated diseases are again becoming epidemics.

"State capitalism" is an ignorant, anti-Marxist notion intended only as a flimsy "theoretical" justification for the Cliffites' embrace of social-democratic anti-Communism. An industrial manager in the USSR obeyed fundamentally different economic imperatives than a Russian capitalist today even if they happen to be the same individual. The goal of a capitalist is to maximize profits, i.e., the difference between labor costs and market price. The main goal of a Soviet factory director, on which his future career depended, was maximizing the planned output of goods although often to the detriment of quality and variety. The system thus generated full employment. In fact, Soviet enterprises were typically overmanned. And despite bureaucratic mismanagement and corruption, the planned, collectivized economy provided for universal medical care, housing, education and child care. The working masses of Russia now look back on the Brezhnevite era—for all its inequalities, shortages and drabness—as a "golden age."

Russian Tsarist Reaction and Western Imperialism

The currently fashionable notion of a centuries-old, deeply rooted antagonism between Russia and the West is a historical falsification. In the mid-19th century many Western liberals, among them Abraham Lincoln, detested tsarist Russia as the embodiment of an oppressive tyranny under the sway of medieval

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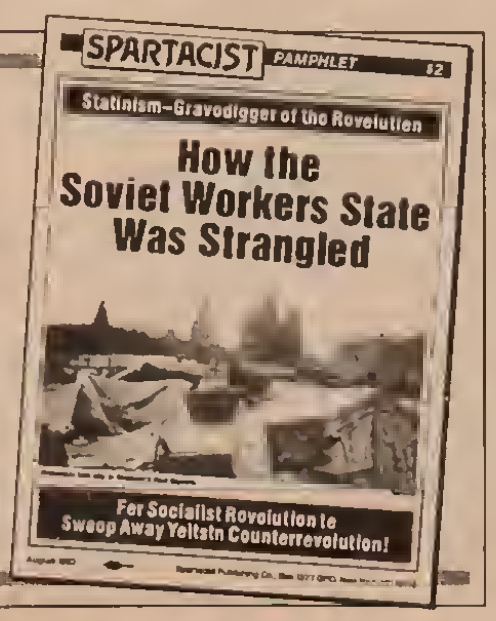


The Fight for Kurdish Liberation

Trotskyism vs. PKK Nationalism

We reprint below a 24 June supplement to Spartakist, *newspaper of our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD).*

For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

The hair-raising image of the chained and humiliated Abdullah Öcalan following his capture by the murderous Turkish state in February highlights the continuing national oppression of the Kurdish people. Hounded from country to country and refused asylum by the social-democratic governments of Britain, France, Italy and Germany, the leader of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) was seized by Turkish elite commandos in Kenya. Incarcerated in the notorious prison island Imrali in the Marmara Sea, Öcalan has now been put on trial by the bloody Turkish regime, which threatens him with the death penalty. We demand: Freedom for Öcalan!

SPARTAKIST

For decades, the Western imperialists have propped up the Turkish state, giving it military and political assistance to suppress the Kurds. The U.S. connived with its Turkish clients to get Öcalan, providing intelligence that led to his abduction. For its part, German imperialism delivers weapons to Turkey and trains Turkish elite troops at the Bundeswehr leadership academy. Fearing instability in the Near East, where they hope to reap fabulous profits from oil and natural gas pipelines, the German capitalists support their Turkish ally's every move against the PKK and the Kurds. And by whipping up a racist anti-immigrant campaign against Kurdish workers, the German bourgeoisie works to divide and weaken the multinational working class at home.

Just weeks after the Turkish regime kidnapped Öcalan, NATO forces, spearheaded by the U.S. and including German warplanes, launched a massive bombing campaign against Serbia in the phony guise of providing "humanitarian" support to the Kosovo Albanians against "ethnic cleansing" by Slobodan Milosevic's Serb forces. Justifying terror bombing in the Balkans in the name of "human rights" is the height of imperialist hypocrisy. Milosevic's despicable nationalism toward the Kosovo Albanians pales in comparison with the barbaric and murderous treatment dished out every day to the Kurds by the Turkish rulers—who are unswervingly backed by German and U.S. imperialism!

After Öcalan's kidnapping, mass arrests of Kurds began in the cities of western Turkey. His arrest sparked street fighting in Diyarbakir [in Kurdish-populated eastern Turkey] and the Gazi Mahallesi slums of Istanbul, where Kurdish demonstrators defended themselves against cop attacks. Across Europe and around the world, tens of thousands of Kurds demonstrated and occupied embassies to protest Öcalan's abduction. In Hamburg, the SPD [Social Democratic Party] headquarters was occupied. In Berlin on February 17, Ahmet Acar, Sema Alp and Mustafa Kurt were gunned down by Israeli security guards who opened fire on Kurdish protesters at the Israeli consulate. Sixteen other demonstrators were injured; one of them, Sinan Karakus, died ten days later.

In cracking down on the Kurds, the SPD/CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Berlin city parliament decreed an emergency situation and banned all demonstrations having to do with the "Kurdish problem." The cops arrested more than a thousand Kurds, while hundreds more were beaten. Hoping to intimidate the Kurdish minority into silence, SPD chancellor Gerhard Schröder and his interior minister, Otto Schily, threatened to use the "full force of the law" to deport Kurds to the Turkish torture chambers. Since 1993, the SPD has backed to the hilt the ban on the PKK, labeling it and other Kurdish organizations as "terrorist."

From Britain and France to Canada and Australia, the International Communist League joined Kurdish demonstrators in demanding Öcalan's freedom. The Spartakist Workers Party protested alongside Kurdish demonstrators in Germany, distributing a declaration in Turkish, German, Italian, French and English that stressed: "German imperialism, along with U.S. imperialism, is the godfather of the Turkish campaign of extermination of the Kurds, arming and training the death squadrons" (see *WV* No. 708, 5 March). It demanded: "*Drop the Charges! Free the Kurdish Prisoners! No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down With the Ban on the PKK and the Kurdish Associations!*"

Reuters photos

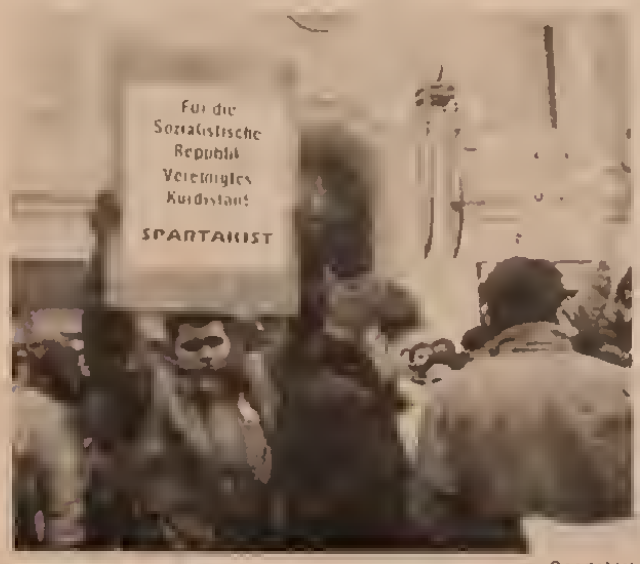
PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan sentenced to death in Turkish court, June 29. Funeral procession in Berlin in February for four Kurdish protesters killed during demonstrations against Öcalan's arrest.

NATO Ally Turkey: Prison House of Peoples

The explosiveness of nationalist enmities in the Near and Middle East is the direct result of imperialist machinations. When the British and French imperialists carved up the Ottoman Empire after World War I, they divided the Kurdish homeland among four bourgeois states: Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. Even the highly truncated Kurdish state mandated by the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres was gutted three years later by the Lausanne Treaty, which created modern Turkey and stipulated that all persons in the country were Turkish except those who belonged to one of the landless religious minorities (Armenians, Greeks or Sephardic Jews).

Soon after its inception, the Turkish state founded by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) sought to destroy the Kurds' national identity. In March 1924, speaking and publishing in the Kurdish language were banned, and the constitution codified the Kemalist doctrine that Turkey was strictly Turkish. Eventually Kurds were forcibly renamed "Mountain Turks." In the early 1960s, the Turkish rulers enacted a law to change Kurdish place names into Turkish ones and proclaimed that no Kurdish nation existed. When major demonstrations broke out in May 1961 in Mardin, Diyarbakir and other cities to protest the wholesale assault on Kurdish rights, the government shot down more than 300 demonstrators.

This policy continued unabated in the 1980s and 1990s. In December 1982, the education minister decreed that since folk songs in east and southeast Anatolia could serve subversive purposes, they could be sung only in Turkish. In October 1983, Law 2932 prohibited the very use of the Kurdish language. David McDowall notes in his book *A Modern History of the Kurds* (1997), "Already



Spartakist

WV Map

Berlin: Spartakists call "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" at February demonstration for Öcalan's freedom.

the term 'Kurdish' was such a bogey that the law found a form of words to make its prohibition explicit without mentioning the offending word." Kurdish names that contradicted the "national culture, morality and traditions" and "insulted the public" were outlawed. By the mid-1980s, almost 3,000 villages in Adiyaman, Gaziantep, Urfa, Mardin, Siirt and Diyarbakir had been renamed.

State repression skyrocketed. Between September 1980 and September 1982, at least 81,000 Kurds were locked away in Turkish prison hellholes. Meanwhile, the army deployed two-thirds of its troops in Kurdistan, increasing the number to 200,000 by the early 1990s. Dead set on destroying the Kurdish nation, the Turkish military destroyed thousands of Kurdish villages, prompting huge forced population transfers and killing tens of thousands. Numbering 25 to 30 million throughout the region, the Kurds are one of the world's largest people without a state of their own. Consisting overwhelmingly of hideously downtrodden peasants and landless sharecroppers, the Kurdish masses in southeastern Turkey have historically been under the heel of the *aghas* (the Kurdish landed gentry), the Sunni clergy and the bloodthirsty Turkish military. Kurdish society itself is highly class-stratified—in the early 1990s, 8 percent of farming families owned over 50 percent of the land, and 38 percent were landless.

Reinforcing economic inequalities between Turks and Kurds is one reason for the Turkish regime's reign of terror in eastern Anatolia. Per capita income in the southeastern Kurdish regions in the early 1990s was 42 percent of the national average and a quarter of that in the Aegean/Marmara region. Literacy in many Kurdish provinces was less than 50 percent compared to the national average of 77 percent because education was conducted in Turkish, a foreign language to most rural Kurds.

Behind the unremitting national oppression suffered by the Kurds is the drive of the bourgeois rulers in the Near East to create nationally homogeneous states by depriving the Kurds of their own nationhood. The very acknowledgment of Kurdish identity threatens the stability of the bourgeois regimes in the region. For this reason, it is unthinkable that the Kurdish people can achieve national self-determination in the framework of the capitalist nation-state system.

As Marxists who forthrightly defend the equality of nations and combat all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, we emphasize that the rights of the Kurdish people can only be guaranteed by proletarian socialist revolutions to smash the capitalist states which oppress them—Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. To achieve this, it is necessary to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties which unite the working people of different national and ethnic backgrounds. Such parties will inscribe on their banner the call for a *Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan*, part of a *socialist federation of the Near East*.

This perspective is a concrete expression of Leon Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, the only road to the emancipation of the masses in the semi-colonial world from pre-capitalist slavery and capitalist exploitation. In countries of belated capitalist development, the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution accomplished long ago in the West cannot be solved by the local bourgeoisies, which are entirely dependent on imperialism and fearful that any move toward social progress will encourage the workers to overthrow them. In these countries, the unsolved tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—such as agrarian revolution, women's rights and national liberation—can only be achieved through the dictatorship of the proletariat at the head of the peasant masses. In order to survive and flourish, socialist revolutions in the backward countries must be extended to the advanced capitalist states of the West and Japan, whose economic, technological, and scientific technique is essential to raise the "Third World" to the economic level of the "First."

AP

In its war of extermination against PKK, Turkish regime has razed over 3,500 Kurdish villages and driven over three million from Kurdish area of southeastern Turkey. Below: Kurds protest police repression in Istanbul, March 21.

Wintel/NY Times

PKK Nationalism: Dead End for Kurds

Defense of the right of self-determination for the Kurdish people is a crucial obligation for would-be communists in Turkey. The Turkish working class must be won to a perspective of upholding the national rights of the Kurds, defending the PKK and other Kurdish organizations against state terror, and championing full and equal rights for the Kurdish language. Only by fighting all manifestations of Turkish chauvinism and national oppression can the road be opened for joint struggle by the Turkish and Kurdish workers against their common capitalist oppressors.

As Lenin stressed, communists in an oppressor country must emphasize opposition to the chauvinism of their "own" bourgeoisie, while communists in the oppressed country must in particular combat petty-bourgeois nationalism, fighting for the unity in struggle of the workers of both nations:

> "People who have not gone into the question thoroughly think that it is 'contradictory' for the Social-Democrats of oppressor nations to insist on the 'freedom to *secede*,' while Social-Democrats of oppressed nations insist on the 'freedom to *integrate*.' However, a little reflection will show that there is not, and cannot be, any *other* road to internationalism and the amalgamation of nations, any other road *from the given* situation to this goal."
>
> —"The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" (July 1916)

Thus, while defending the right of self-determination of the Kurds, communists strongly oppose the petty-bourgeois nationalist program of the PKK. Arising in response to the all-sided oppression of the Kurds, the PKK was formed by Öcalan (nicknamed Apo, or "uncle") in the mid-1970s. The movement that would adopt the name PKK in 1978 claimed to be "Marxist-Leninist," reflecting Öcalan's urbanized roots as a student in Ankara, where he had been a supporter of the leftist youth group Devrimci Genc at a time when Maoism was popular among radicalized youth.

Its "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric notwithstanding, the PKK never had anything to do with genuine Marxism. Rejecting the struggle for a revolutionary Leninist party based on the growing Turkish and Kurdish proletariat, Öcalan, like many Turkish and Kurdish leftists of the late 1960s and early 1970s, embraced Third World guerrillaism. Alienated by the Turkish left's rotten, chauvinist refusal to champion the cause of Kurdish liberation, Öcalan and his supporters retreated to the countryside, abjuring the workers of Istanbul, Ankara, Sivas and Adana. This was doubly criminal, for unlike other Kurdish groups the PKK drew its support from proletarian elements who hated the class domination of the Kurdish *aghas* and merchants.

Although its supporters hate the landlord and feudal hierarchy of the Kurdish village, the PKK itself has engaged in crass clan-based politics, playing one family or village off another in the Anatolian backwater. McDowall writes: "Rather than assaulting the agha class as a whole, the PKK operated with fine calculation, exploiting blood feuds where these existed, helping to create them where they did not." One close associate of Öcalan remarked that whenever the PKK won one person from a family or tribe, "the whole family or tribe came to our side."

To be sure, the petty-bourgeois nationalist PKK has waged a heroic military struggle against the far better equipped Turkish army, winning mass support among the Kurdish people in Turkish Kurdistan, the urban centers of western Turkey and the diaspora in West Europe and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the PKK uses guerrilla war only to fight its way to the bargaining table, where it hopes to compel the Turkish bourgeoisie to grant concessions. At the same time, it seeks to put pressure on the Western imperialists to then pressure their Turkish NATO allies.

The PKK's strategy is in line with that of other petty-bourgeois nationalist movements like the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and African National Congress (ANC). Since the nationalist perspective of these movements is emphatically not linked to a fight for proletarian revolution in the developed capitalist countries, they necessarily look to the good graces of Western imperialism—with disastrous consequences for the oppressed masses. Today, following U.S.-brokered "peace" accords, Yasir Arafat's PLO has sold itself as police auxiliaries to the racist Zionists in Israel. In South Africa, the now-bourgeois nationalist ANC presides over a neo-apartheid system where the black masses are just as exploited and oppressed by the Randlords as they were under white racist rule. If the PKK were to cut a deal with the Turkish henchmen, it would strive to use its newly found position to exploit its own people and would serve as Kurdish gendarmes for the Turkish state. In his speech before the Turkish court, Öcalan laid out such a perspective, which was endorsed by the PKK.

During the Cold War, when the Soviet Union faced hostile encirclement by the imperialist countries, petty-bourgeois nationalist forces like the PLO and ANC were often politically and militarily backed by Moscow, giving them some room to maneuver. The PKK, for its part, enjoyed a modicum of military support from Soviet-friendly Syria, where Öcalan found a safe haven and established PKK guerrilla bases. After the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, however, the petty-bourgeois nationalists were left suspended in mid-air. The PLO responded by looking ever more openly to Washington to broker a "peace" deal, which has not relieved the suffering of the Palestinian masses one iota. Without Soviet backing, Syria succumbed to pressure from Turkey, which threatened to invade its Arab neighbor if it continued to harbor the PKK leader and his guerrilla units. Last year, Syria knuckled under to this provocation and Öcalan was forced to leave the country.

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Öcalan...

(continued from page 1)

anti-Kurdish provocations, including an ominous march by some 1,000 Turkish men through the main Kurdish city of Diyarbakir.

Backed by the U.S. and Germany, the Turkish bourgeoisie has waged a war of extermination against the PKK and the oppressed Kurdish national minority (see "The Fight for Kurdish Liberation: Trotskyism vs. PKK Nationalism," page 8). Yet it is to Turkey's imperialist sponsors that the petty-bourgeois nationalist PKK appeals for support. At a June 29 Vancouver protest against the sentencing of Öcalan called by the PKK and joined by the Trotskyist League of Canada and the Worker-communist Party—Iraq, a PKK banner read: "NATO Fights Ethnic Cleansing in Kosovo, NATO Supports Ethnic Cleansing in Kurdistan. How Long Do You Accept This Double Standard?" Addressing such illusions in the "humanitarian" pretensions of the NATO imperialists, a TLC speaker declared:

> "The fact that the Western imperialists unswervingly back the Turkish rulers illustrates that there is no such thing as 'humanitarian' imperialism. They may click their tongues hypocritically against the death penalty for Öcalan, but they carry out deportations, political repression and racist state terror against immigrants at home. As Marxists who forthrightly defend the equality of nations and combat all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, we emphasize that the rights of the Kurdish people can only be guaranteed by proletarian revolutions to smash the capitalist states which oppress them. For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! Free Öcalan!"■

PKK...

(continued from page 9)

All this has impelled the PKK to intensify its overtures to the archenemies of Kurdish freedom: the Western imperialists and the Turkish state. Wooing the European bourgeoisies, the PKK declared last year: "The PKK can solve the Kurdish question either by continued fighting in the mountains or with an appeal to Europe" (*Kurdistan-Rundbrief*, 2 December 1998). It has also offered up the Kurds as pawns in the rivalry between the European Union (EU) and U.S. imperialism: "The lack of a political approach to the Kurdish question on the part of the countries in the EU...just like the passivity on the Yugoslavia problem, means once again giving the USA the occasion to get the upper hand" (*Kurdistan-Rundbrief*, 10 February).

Öcalan has been no less shameless in his appeals to the U.S. In a report delivered on the Kurdish station Med-TV on 15 October 1998, he implored Washington: "Assume that all the power lay in your hands, would you then grant the Kurds any right to peace? Would you grant them a few democratic rights? Your partner is there, I give you my word. Make the preparations for a political solution, I will not make any pre-conditions." In this craven kowtowing to the big powers, the PKK is following in the footsteps of the large, aristocratic Barzani and Talabani clans in Iraqi Kurdistan, which have always sold their services to a changing spectrum of regional powers and Western imperialists in exchange for military and political backing.

AP

Anti-woman Islamic reactionaries march in Istanbul, December 1997.

Implacably hostile to the perspective of uniting the Kurdish and Turkish workers against their common class enemies, the PKK has progressively tailored its politics to the reactionary climate of the post-Soviet world, replacing even its formal call for the independence of Turkish Kurdistan with the demand for "autonomy." It has even offered to aid the murderous Turkish rulers in their expansionist drive to control the Turkic-speaking lands of Central Asia, declaring in *Kurdistan-Report* (January/February 1998):

> "The solution in Turkey is a regional solution. That should not worry Turkey. It would mean a secure bridge to the Near East and Central Asia up to the Turkmanian countries. For the first time in its history Turkey could be, thanks to this Kurdish bridge, a very strong power."

The more pronounced the PKK's appeals to the imperialists and the Turkish state have become, the less use it has had for the "Marxist-Leninist" verbiage and secularism that animates many of its members. Although the PKK has criticized women's oppression in its publications and is known for placing women under arms in its guerrilla groups, its petty-bourgeois outlook and contempt for Turkey's proletarian masses have led it to turn to the most reactionary forces in the Turkish political landscape: elements of the Sunni clergy and Necmettin Erbakan's Welfare Party (now called Virtue), a mass Islamic organization.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the PKK established a group led by a cleric in Bitlis and was associated with the Partiya Islami Kurdistan and Islami Harekat (Islamic Movement). More recently, Islamic representatives have been members of Öcalan's exile parliament. The PKK pushes the reactionary lie that "the Islamic movements need us and they breathe through our struggles. We do not forget that the workers party aspires to genuine Islam" (*Junge Welt*, 20 November 1995). In his Med-TV report, Öcalan asked of the Virtue Party: "Where is your loyalty to Islam, how can you describe as Islamic your attitude of supporting the war under all circumstances? Where is the Islam in that?"

Religion serves to chain the oppressed to the old order by imbuing them with superstitions and conservative morality. Nowhere is this truer than in the Islamic world, where the Koran and the reactionary weight of the family keep hundreds of millions, particularly women, in a state of isolation, ignorance and hideous subjugation. In embracing Turkey's reactionary Muslim parties, the PKK is signaling to the clerical establishment that it can be trusted to tighten the hold of Islam on the Kurdish masses, which is already very strong in the backward regions of Turkish Kurdistan.

Kurdish militants confronted with the bankruptcy of PKK guerrillaism and its blatantly reactionary politics must grapple with the fundamental difference between the PKK's petty-bourgeois strategy and the Marxist perspective that only the working class—Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, Persian, and Hebrew-speaking—has the social power, numbers and organization to topple all the bourgeois states in the Near and Middle East through socialist revolution. Only this road is capable of freeing the oppressed Kurds from the chains of national oppression and guaranteeing their right to self-determination. The PKK's nationalist program is a dead end—only the Trotskyist strategy of permanent revolution can liberate the Kurdish masses.

SPD: Bourgeois Workers Party of Racism and War

In Germany, tens of thousands of Kurdish workers belong to large trade unions together with their German and Turkish class brothers and sisters. The Turkish and Kurdish workers in Europe can be a living bridge linking the fight for Kurdish independence and socialist revolution in the Near East to workers rule in the industrialized West. German and ethnic Turkish workers must take a stand in defense of the rights of Kurdish organizations. This is particularly urgent today, as the racist German state will use its attacks on the PKK to go after all immigrants and the workers movement more generally. However, the social democracy and the trade-union bureaucracy are obstacles to mobilizing the power of the proletariat against racist deportations, fascist provocations and aggressive attacks on the working class.

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the absorption of the East German deformed workers state (DDR) into the Fourth Reich in the early 1990s, sharply intensified interimperialist rivalries have propelled the German bourgeoisie to intensify its attacks on the working class in order to better compete with its imperialist rivals. To do so, the ruling class has sought to cripple proletarian struggles by infecting the workers with the poison of chauvinism and racism. Screaming that "the boat is full"—the racist war cry that Germany has too many "foreigners"—the rulers have sought to create the ideological climate in which refugees and other immigrants can be driven out with impunity.

Bernhard Rudolph / Der Spiegel

Cops unleashed on refugee home by SPD state government in Hamburg, March 1998. Fascist firebombing of Turkish home in Mölln in 1992 killed three people.

Fed up with almost 17 years of Christian Democratic governments headed by Helmut Kohl and the increasing anti-working-class onslaught, millions of workers voted for the SPD in the last national elections, bringing the Social Democrats to power for the first time since 1982. Doing the bourgeoisie's bidding, the SPD took the reins of the capitalist state to shove the givebacks demanded by the rulers down the throats of the powerful trade unions, whose bureaucratic misleaders have prevented the workers from defending their livelihoods. In administering the bourgeois state, the SPD pursues no less reactionary, racist policies than the CDU. The unbridled repression meted out to Kurdish protesters in the streets of Berlin, Hamburg and Köln is but one example of what the SPD government of Gerhard Schröder is all about.

Having definitively gone over to the side of German imperialism in World War I by voting for the war credits that sent countless workers to die in the trenches, the Social Democrats have devoted themselves ever since to chaining the proletariat to its class enemy. In 1992, the SPD once again proved its fealty to the Frankfurt bankers by voting to abolish the right to asylum, which encouraged the Nazis to unleash a raging pogrom against immigrants in Rostock. In Hamburg and Schröder's own state of Lower Saxony, SPD governments have orchestrated furious police sweeps against Africans and other immigrants. Now the SPD and their Green coalition partners have bombed the people of Serbia, in the largest military conflict in Europe since World War II. In last year's elections, we refused to give an iota of support to the SPD or the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the former East German Stalinists who sold out the DDR to German imperialism in 1990 and transformed themselves into unabashedly pro-capitalist social democrats. We declared: "SPD/PDS: Racist Deporters and Imperialist Warmongers! No Vote for SPD, PDS!" (*Spartakist* No. 133, Fall 1998).

For its part, the PDS administers state terror against immigrants in Saxony-Anhalt and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, thereby paving the way for the Nazis. It also pushes crass anti-Americanism in the service of German imperialism. After proving its loyalty to the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz by leading the counterrevolution in the DDR, the PDS now rushes to advise the German imperialists on how best to outmaneuver their U.S. rivals. PDS foreign policy spokesman Wolfgang Gehrcke demands that the European-centered Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe play a broader role in the Balkans as a counterweight to U.S.-dominated NATO and counsels German foreign minister Joschka Fischer to "crawl out from under Madame Albright's skirts" (*Junge Welt*, 20/21 February). Advising German imperialism on how to carve out a place for itself in the oil-rich countries of the Near East with Turkey as a springboard, the PDS demands that a "European initiative" and German imperialism "solve" the Kurdish question. Thus the PDS seeks to subordinate the working class and its savagely persecuted Kurdish component to its class enemy.

Following V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution, we characterize the SPD and PDS as "bourgeois workers parties"—parties based on the trade unions, the mass organizations of the proletariat, *but with a leadership which has a thoroughly bourgeois program*. We fight to split the working-class base of these parties from the pro-capitalist leaders as part of the struggle to forge a revolutionary party, a tribune of all the oppressed dedicated to the struggle for socialist revolution in the industrial powerhouse of Europe. *For a workers Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!* Kurdish and Turkish workers—who have fewer illusions in the social democracy than the native-born proletariat because of the rampant, virulent racism they experience every day—can play a vital role in breaking the entire working class from the pro-capitalist SPD and PDS. They are key to the perspective of socialist revolution.

ICL fights for class unity of Turkish and Kurdish workers. Spartacist 1984 statement "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" in Turkish and Kurdish.

Fake Trotskyists: Enemies of Kurdish Freedom

Amid the unremitting national oppression of the Kurdish people in Turkey and bourgeois state repression in Germany, the test of any organization claiming to be revolutionary is its attitude toward international proletarian class struggle.

the treacherous nationalism of the PKK and, above all, the role of the imperialist bourgeoisie's social-democratic handmaidens, who carry out the vilest racist attacks in the service of capital.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionärer Sozialistischer Bund (Revolutionary Socialist League—RSB), affiliated with the United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel, has long tailed the PKK and functioned as an ardent camp follower of Kurdish nationalism. In the wake of Öcalan's capture, the RSB continued to sing the praises of the PKK, uncritically eulogizing that "Öcalan's historic service is to have played a decisive role in the national liberation struggle of the Kurdish minority in Turkey" (*Avanti*, March 1999).

In a letter to *Spartakist* No. 119 (July/August 1995), an RSB spokesman went to great lengths to defend the PKK's every political move, claiming that it is a workers party which is "socialist and internationalist." Defending the PKK's call for a "political and democratic solution" in Kurdistan, he justified "the use of international, also imperialist-dominated institutions such as the UN" while lamely warning against becoming subordinated to the "logic" of these imperialist agencies. But it was under UN auspices that such imperialist adventures as the Korean War in the early 1950s were waged, and under which over a million Iraqis, including hundreds of thousands of children, have perished since 1991 as a result of the UN-imposed embargo. *Down with the UN starvation embargo of Iraq!*

Rejecting a proletarian-centered program to unite the Turkish and Kurdish workers in the fight for socialist revolution, the RSB effuses over what it sees as the liberating power of the most bitter enemies of the Kurdish people: the West European imperialists. Outrageously, the RSB paints the EU in "progressive" colors, claiming that this imperialist economic bloc of racist state terror and growing fascist attacks has created "a kind of revolution from above" by constructing a European domestic market that will force oppressor states to make "concessions" to their oppressed national minorities: "The more Great Britain or the Spanish state become part of the EU, the more elbow room the Basques or Northern Irish will have" (*Avanti*, March 1999).

As for the Kurds, the RSB writes: "It is hardly to be assumed that Turkey with its military regime in occupied Kurdistan can join the EU without concessions to the oppressed Kurdish minority"! Ascribing a civilizing mission to racist "Fortress Europe" is not just the crassest reformism, it also flies in the face of the reality of the post-Soviet imperialist order which has intensified national oppression around the world, from Northern Ireland—where the Catholics remain under the heel of the British Army, the Royal Ulster Constabulary and Protestant paramilitary gangs—to Israel, where the Zionist state continues to subjugate, disenfranchise and slaughter the Palestinians.

Of a piece with the RSB's hope that the European imperialists will side with the Kurds is its faith in the progressive potential of the Bundeswehr. Wishing that the bourgeois army would establish better priorities, the RSB writes (*Avanti*, December 1997): "The Green 'human rights' types demand outright Bundeswehr intervention for *humanitarian* reasons—naturally not where it is a question only of freedom and humanity, as with the Kurds or against the genocide of the Tutsis, but rather where German power interests will thus be promoted, as in Bosnia."

In stark contrast, Marxists understand that imperialism is not just a "bad policy" that can be modified by pressuring the state—the executive organ of the capitalist class—to act in the interests of "freedom" and "humanity." Rather, the drive to maximize profits forces rival imperialist countries to seize new markets, squeeze out competitors, build rival trade blocs and ultimately seek to redivide the world. This is the source of imperialist world wars, which twice this century have brought barbarism and ruin to large swaths of humanity. Only when the international proletariat wrenches state power from the bourgeoisie will imperialist war be uprooted forever.

Another fake-Trotskyist outfit claiming to stand with the Kurdish people and the PKK against bourgeois state repression is the Gruppe Arbeitermacht (GAM), German affiliate of the British Workers Power group. As Kurdish protesters were being rounded up by the SPD's cops in February, the GAM whined that "the behavior of the Red/Green federal government toward the violent clashes of the last days shows more than clearly how little their declarations about the integration of foreigners and humanity are worth" ("Freedom for Öcalan! Support the Freedom Struggle of the Kurds!", undated leaflet).

What a hoax! These cynics "forget" to mention that they ***supported*** the election of these same social democrats, calling for a vote "to the SPD in the West and to the SPD and PDS in the East" in the last election (*Arbeitermacht*, May/June 1998). For its part, the RSB fully backed the PDS, which declared in turn that it was "unconditionally" for SPD chancellor Schröder. The support of both the RSB and the GAM for the social democrats is vivid testimony to how wedded they are to the institutions of bourgeois society. In the Cold War of the 1980s and early '90s, these groups promoted social-democratic anti-Communism by supporting counterrevolutionary, clerical-nationalist Solidarność in Poland and by hailing Yeltsin's capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Today, the centrist fakers continue to back the social-democratic parties of racism and war.

Reuters

Turkish and Kurdish coal miners joined in 1991 strike in Zonguldak. Strikers marched on Ankara carrying portrait of Kemal Atatürk.

Spartakist

Berlin metal workers demonstrate in 1992 with banner reading: "German and Non-German Workers Strike Together for Their Future."

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

In the struggle to forge revolutionary Trotskyist parties in the Near and Middle East, it is imperative to unite the working classes across national lines. In Turkey, the brutal displacement of the Kurdish masses that has forced them to flee to the industrial centers of Istanbul, Ankara and beyond has explosively expanded the objective basis for the unity of the Turkish and Kurdish workers against the bourgeoisie and landowners.

Although the Turkish rulers try to whip up nationalist passions in the Turkish population by demonizing Öcalan as a terrorist, not many years ago 48,000 Kurdish and Turkish coal miners struck together in the Black Sea city of Zonguldak at the very moment that the Turkish government was gearing up for the UN/NATO assault on Iraq. We noted at the time (*Spartakist* No. 82, January 1991; *WV* No. 517, 4 January 1991) that the strike went beyond economic issues by demanding "No to the war!"—a direct challenge to Turkey's role as a key NATO ally. The Zonguldak strike, we wrote, "has inspired the combative and restless working class, Kurdish and Turkish, throughout Turkey, fed up with the repressive Turgot Özal dictatorship." Solidarity strikes occurred in Kurdish eastern Anatolia and among Turkish workers, and miners reportedly raised the demand for the right of Kurds to use their own language.

The potential for uniting the workers across national lines is demonstrated by the history of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP). Although Stalinist from the moment of its creation in 1934 and ever-faithful to the class-collaborationist strategy of forming popular-front alliances with bourgeois "progressives," the ICP was the most proletarian Communist Party in the Near East. It conducted systematic work in Kurdistan's oil and industrial centers such as Kirkuk and Mosul in the 1940s and published a Kurdish press. By the early 1950s, fully one-third of the party's central committee was Kurdish.

In the midst of the great social turmoil that ensued after the fall of the Iraqi monarchy in 1959, this powerful force for social revolution was betrayed by the Iraqi Stalinists and Moscow. Instead of mobilizing its working-class base to take state power in its own name, the ICP diverted the workers into supporting the bourgeois military officer Abd al-Karim Qassim, whom the ICP hailed as the "Sole Leader." Fearing that a revolutionary upsurge in the Levant could inspire the Soviet workers to rise up against the Soviet bureaucracy, the Moscow Stalinists ordered the ICP to scuttle this vital revolutionary opportunity. They sacrificed a proletarian revolution in Iraq in pursuit of "détente" with the imperialists. In the name of supporting the first stage of a chimerical "two-stage revolution," the ICP subsequently even supported the Ba'ath regime, which proceeded to jail, torture and kill Communists, workers and Kurds.

The world's first workers state served as a beacon of liberation to the oppressed masses in the former tsarist "prison house of peoples" and the world over. Because the Bolsheviks were determined to solve the many national questions by fighting resolutely for national and democratic rights, the Soviet proletariat was able to win to its side the myriad oppressed nationalities and peoples in the former Russian empire. This was a powerful factor in the workers' victory over the White counterrevolution in the Civil War. Lenin insisted that the Soviet Union be a free union of peoples. In the early years, many Soviet republics, autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and nationality *okrugs* (regional administrations) were established—the living realization of the Bolshevik program of national self-determination. In 1923, the Autonomous Republic of Kurdistan was created.

The October Revolution opened the road for the national and social emancipation of oppressed peoples throughout the former tsarist empire by smashing capitalism and all forms of pre-capitalist oppression and degradation. In traditionally Islamic Central Asia, the Bolsheviks won especially powerful support among women, who suffered hideous oppression as the "slaves of slaves." Like Kurdistan today, Central Asia at the time of the October Revolution lacked an indigenous proletariat. Thus the introduction of social-revolutionary measures was contingent on conquering proletarian power in the adjacent regions, in this case the

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SPARTAKIST 4
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SPD/Grünen-Regierung, imperialistische Schlächter!
PDS ruft nach imperialistischer OSZE/UNO-Intervention

Kosovo...

(continued from page 1)

finished. We are going to spend time well into the next century worrying about a Greater Albania."

While virtually every pseudo-socialist group in the West placed itself at the service of the U.S./NATO rulers by pleading for "poor little Kosovo," we forthrightly called for the proletariat to oppose this war in word and deed. We stressed the need for socialist revolution to defeat the imperialist bourgeoisies and called for military defense of Serbia—a small, dependent capitalist country—against the U.S./NATO attack. As we declared in an International Communist League statement: "This war is not about the Kosovo Albanians. It is a war of domination aimed at realizing longstanding American plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in Serbia" (*WV* No. 712, 30 April). This, too, is amply clear.

While using Yeltsin's Russia as a diplomatic cat's paw to push through a diktat against Serbia, the U.S. has adamantly opposed any Russian military presence in Kosovo except under strict NATO command (see "Capitalist Russia in the 'New World Order'," page 6). And Washington openly declares that the tens of thousands of NATO troops pouring into Kosovo will be there *for many yeors*. Among them are troops of the German state, the direct continuator of the Third Reich which murdered hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Roma and Jews during the Nazi occupation in World War II. Another face of "human rights" imperialism in Kosovo is that of the NATO commander, British General "Macho Jacko" Jackson, who as a battalion adjutant in Northern Ireland was directly involved in the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre of 13 Catholic civil rights demonstrators in Derry.

AP

General Michael Jackson, now NATO commander in Kosovo, led British troops in Northern Ireland who perpetrated 1972 Bloody Sunday Massacre In Derry.

Peress/Magnum

AP

Kosovo Liberation Army acted as NATO pawns in imperialist war against Serbia.

Beginning with the first NATO bombs and cruise missiles which rammed into Yugoslav cities on March 24, this was a *war of imperiolist terror* targeting the civilian population of Serbia and Kosovo. As London *Independent* (21 June) correspondent Robert Fisk wrote, "NATO killed far more Serb civilians than soldiers during its 11-week bombardment of the country." While thousands of Serbian tanks and other armored vehicles withdrew from Kosovo unscathed in recent weeks, factories, office buildings, homes and hospitals, transportation and communications facilities, water and electrical distribution systems had been bombed to smithereens—throwing the country back economically by decades.

Now, with the Serbian population facing the threat of massive unemployment, food shortages and a winter without heating fuel, the imperialists threaten to hold back funds for repairing the devastation they wreaked until Milosevic—who they had the gall to indict as a "war criminal"—is ousted from power. Meanwhile, Washington demands that its European partners pick up most of the tab for reconstruction elsewhere in the region, while insisting that American contractors and suppliers get a fat share of the contracts. Dripping with bourgeois contempt for the proletariat, Clinton specifically vowed to allow not one penny for rebuilding bridges and factories to enable Serb workers to regain their livelihoods. The consequences of such an embargo—coming on top of widespread destruction—can be seen in Iraq, where well over a million people, mainly young children, have been killed since 1990 by the starvation blockade. Now, emboldened by its triumph in the Balkans, the U.S. has stepped up its bombing of Iraq. ***Down with the starvation blockodes of Iraq and Serbia! U.S. hands off Iraq! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!***

"Socialist" Drummer Boys for Imperialist War

Among workers in the U.S., attitudes toward NATO's war against Serbia ranged largely from passivity to skepticism. This was reflected in the relative silence of the rabidly pro-imperialist AFL-CIO tops. In Europe, especially Italy and Greece, there was also substantial active opposition to the war within the working class. The poor showing of almost all West European governing parties, overwhelmingly social democrats, in last month's elections to the European parliament was another indication of how little success the bourgeoisie had in whipping up popular war fervor. Indeed, the most virulent expressions of chauvinist sentiment outside the ruling parties came from the self-styled "revolutionary left," which took a vanguard position only in promoting imperialist war propaganda.

After the war, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) headlined an article in *Socialist Worker* (18 June) "NATO's Bloody 'Peace'." But while NATO was perpetrating its bloody slaughter, the ISO refused even to raise the elementary call for all imperialist forces out of the Balkans, except for one passing reference toward the end of the war. While appealing to the imperialist rulers to "stop the bombing," the ISO fed into the imperialists' justification for the bombing—that the war was being waged to save the Albanian Kosovars. Thus, these social democrats raised the slogan, "Money for refugees, not for war!"

The ISO's British patrons, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), promoted illusions in the "left wing" of the very Labour Party which prosecuted the war for British imperialism. The SWP joined in an "antiwar" coalition with Labour left Tony Benn, a "little England" nationalist who complained that the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia hadn't been authorized by the United Nations. At a June 6 conference in London, SWP honcho Alex Callinicos—who had himself earlier joined in a call for troops under the UN or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe to occupy Kosovo instead of the U.S.-dominated NATO—devoted his speech to praise for the Labour "left," even claiming that "there was massive opposition to the war on the Labour Party backbenches, but they were too demoralized to speak out"! Despite its occasional anti-Labour posture, the SWP has always lined up behind pro-imperialist Labourism, proclaiming itself "over the moon" when the execrable Tony Blair was elected two years ago.

The centrist British Workers Power (WP) showed themselves to be outright "NATO socialists," marching in lockstep behind Blair's Labour government. WP provided a platform for UCK spokesmen in London and joined in a "Workers Aid for Kosova" rally on April 10 which was shot through with slogans openly hailing the NATO bombing. Now that NATO has triumphed, WP proclaims in a June 5 statement, "No to NATO's Occupation." But as its own words reveal, WP in fact embraces the occupation of Kosovo, declaring: "The working class must welcome the ending of the attempted genocide against the Kosovar people and—if it fully materializes—the return of all the refugees to their homes."

WP's chief caveat about NATO's "peace" diktat is that it will not lead to Kosovo's independence, continuing: "But this progressive consequence is accompanied, *and in the end outweighed*, by longer term reactionary ones. The G8 ["Group of Eight" industrial countries] proposals neither make the Kosovars sovereign in their own country nor do they recognise their right to self-determination." WP raises a "revolutionary programme for Kosova" which includes demands for the expropriation of large landowners, for "the creation of an armed militia" by the refugees and for "the election of councils of workers and peasants deputies." Having promoted the lie that the central issue in the war was Kosovo self-determination, Workers Power now conjures up the possibility of socialist revolution under NATO bayonets!

While *Workers Power* (May 1999) earlier gave lip service to the call "Nato Out of the Balkans" even as it embraced NATO's UCK pawns, its latest statement conspicuously does *not* call for the withdrawal of NATO troops. Nor does it contain a single statement of opposition to British imperialism, much less of the need for workers revolution to smash British imperialism. WP revels in vicarious bloodthirstiness in promoting nationalist forces around the world, but when it comes to Britain, it is firmly tied to Blair's wretched Labour Party. These centrists are a quintessential weather vane of imperialist "public opinion." Having gone all the way with the UCK throughout the war, now that the Kosovo separatists are beginning to lose their "respectability" in Western capitals, WP finally acknowledges that the UCK "openly accepted Nato hegemony and subordinated its goals for immediate independence to the project of a Nato protectorate" and is "known to have committed some atrocities of its own."

While giving no political support to the nationalist UCK, we have historically defended the right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians against the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. But this question became subordinated to military defense of Serbia against the U.S./NATO imperialists when they geared up for war against Serbia earlier this year with the UCK as their pawns. With the end of the war, we wrote: "The question of military defense of the Kosovo separatists against U.S./NATO forces might well be posed in the event of armed clashes if the imperialist occupation troops move to disarm the UCK" (*WV* No. 715, 11 June).

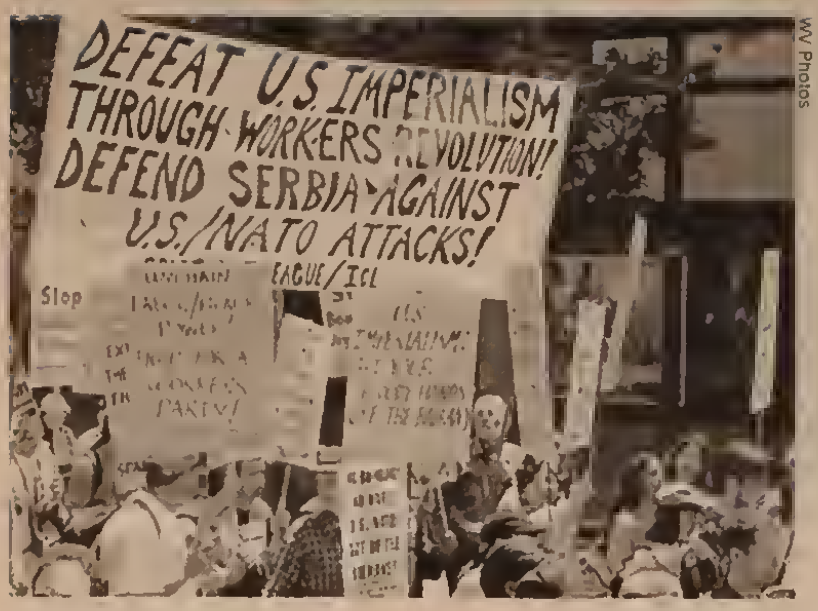
For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Obscenely belittling the horror of the Nazi Holocaust, imperialist spokesmen described Serb-chauvinist terror against Albanians as "genocide" and labeled Milosevic "another Hitler." Chiming in, WP screamed of Milosevic: "Should we wait till he carries out the 'final solution' before we are allowed to draw historical parallels?" (*Workers Power*, May 1999). Again paralleling imperialist demands for Milosevic's ouster, in its June 5 statement WP trumpeted an "embryonic anti-war, class opposition" to Milosevic in the form of protests organized by the "democratic opposition," as the Western press describes these monarchists and other reactionaries. The WP statement gushes, "There is a real possibility for a mass popular, workers revolution in Serbia."

In fact, Serbia's defeat at the hands of the U.S./NATO imperialists has only served to weaken—and in many places devastate—the proletariat while encouraging the most reactionary forces in the country. Having rabidly promoted a

Pinto/Reuters

Italian unionists protest against the war in front of NATO airbase at Aviano, April.



WV Photos

Spartacist League contingent counterposed proletarian internationalism to pro-imperialist pacifist appeals at June 5 antiwar protest in San Francisco. Reformist Solidarity group (right) echoed "human rights" war propaganda over Kosovo.

"Greater Serbia," the Serb Orthodox hierarchy is now calling for Milosevic's resignation in favor of a government which would be "acceptable" to the imperialists. Many of the same elements taking to the streets today organized pro-imperialist protests against Milosevic two years ago. Those were led by Serbian Renewal Party leader Vuk Draskovic, who later entered Milosevic's government and has now gone into opposition again, and Democratic Party chief Zoran Djindjic. Draskovic is an open monarchist. Djindjic, the darling of the Western press, was closely linked to Serb paramilitary forces in Bosnia. The character of the current protests was evident in one organized in Cacak by the Djindjic-dominated Alliance for Change last week. As a speaker railed that Milosevic "go to Cuba and study Stalinism there," the crowd yelled back: "Red bandits, red bandits!"

In reality, Milosevic and his counterparts in Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia led the capitalist counterrevolution—instigated by the imperialists in the early 1990s—which ripped apart the multinational albeit bureaucratically deformed Yugoslav workers state created by Tito's Communist Partisans at the end of World War II. While counterrevolution has sapped the power of the working class and years of ethnic fratricide have poisoned workers' consciousness, there has been and will continue to be workers' resistance against the ravages of capitalist restoration. Most recently, the fascistic regime of Franjo Tudjman in Croatia has been hit by a series of protests and strikes by state railway workers and employees of state-run hotels. On May 28, Croatian postal and telecommunications workers staged a one-day strike to protest government privatization plans.

We fight to forge Trotskyist parties in the Balkans to revive the proletarian internationalism which animated the revolutionary Serbian Social Democrats under the extremely difficult conditions of World War I. We fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans through proletarian revolutions to overthrow Milosevic, Tudjman and the other capitalist regimes of the region.

For Socialist Revolution to End Imperialist War!

NATO leaders celebrated the unity of the Western powers in the war against Serbia. But behind the façade of unity, the war brought to the surface and accentuated deepgoing tensions among the major capitalist powers which have been intensifying since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The first deployment of German forces in combat since the end of World War II marked a significant shift in the European political situation. Now Germany and the other West European states are intent on building up a military force independent of the U.S. to match their increasing economic rivalry with American imperialism.

With the end of the bombing of Serbia can be seen the potential outlines of a future linkup against the U.S., perhaps bringing together Germany, Russia and China. It was surely not lost on Washington that when a Russian envoy returned from negotiating with Milosevic, his first stop was generally to report to German leaders. Meanwhile, in response to the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia, capitalist Russia and the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state have forged closer ties than at any time since the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s. A headline in the *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* (9 June) declared, "Time Is Ripe for Russia, China to Join Forces." In Russia, which has its own imperialist aspirations in the Balkans, hostility to the U.S. and NATO both within ruling circles and among the population as a whole has reached a level unseen since the end of the Cold War. And an article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (17 June) noted "China's view of the Nato campaign as part of a U.S. plan for world domination," while an accompanying piece reported that "China's long-standing policy of not forming military alliances is being re-examined."

Already chafing at growing American belligerence, China saw in NATO's war against Serbia good reason to fear American military intervention in the Far East. Such fears were exacerbated after the U.S. bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. Trotskyists stand for unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. But the Beijing regime is today driving headlong to destroy the remaining gains of the 1949 Revolution through capitalist restoration. We fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and usher in a regime based on soviet democracy and proletarian internationalism.

The fight against war is the fight for socialist revolution to overthrow the imperialist system which breeds war. It was the October Revolution of 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which took Russia out of World War I and created the world's first workers state, a beacon of revolutionary internationalism for the proletariat everywhere. We seek to forge a revolutionary workers party in the U.S. which leads the struggles of the multiracial working class in defense of jobs and union organizations and against racist oppression and links them to the fight for proletarian state power. As we wrote in "Down With U.S. Cops of the World!" (*WV* No. 712, 30 April):

> "If imperialist carnage is not to be the continuing fate of humanity, capitalism must be swept away through proletarian revolution. The International Communist League fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, to lead the fight for new October Revolutions around the world." ■

Letter...

(continued from page 3)

"Committee for Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade" because the liberal and reformist organizers demanded that all participants agree to the single slogan "Stop the War in Vietnam Now!" In "Spartacist Breaks with New York Parade Committee" (*Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965), we quoted the protest by our spokesman at that meeting:

> "The slogan 'Stop the War in Vietnam Now' can mean many things to many people. But given the composition of this Committee, the fact that it is dominated by right-wing pacifists and 'liberals,' i.e., pro-capitalist and pro-LBJ [Democratic president Lyndon B. Johnson], it is clear that the slogan is deliberately ambiguous in order to avoid facing the duty to advance the *only* demand that has any meaning: 'For the Immediate, Unconditional Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops from Vietnam!'... Further, we are not simply for stopping the war, but rather *for* the victory of the social revolution that is taking place in Vietnam. It is absurd, and against the interest of the revolution, to call simply for disengagement of forces, and implies a confidence in the integrity of U.S. imperialism to keep such a bargain."

Six years later, when we demanded that Democratic Senator Vance Hartke be excluded from a meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition, a 300-man goon squad savagely attacked the Spartacist League and members of Progressive Labor/SDS after we shouted down that representative of U.S. imperialism. This brutal attack was led by Nat Weinstein, then a member of the reformist Socialist Workers Party and now the principal leader of Socialist Action, the main mover behind the April 24 rally in San Francisco. Twenty-eight years after providing a platform for Hartke, Weinstein's reformists were building another popular-frontist coalition with the racist Democrats using the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, even as Clinton rained bombs on defenseless Serbia.

Yes, we fought against being excluded from Vietnam antiwar protests, and continued to intervene in them with such calls as "Labor Strikes Against the War" and "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" But we never endorsed class-collaborationist politics, just as we refused to endorse confidence in the racist capitalist American "justice" system on April 24. This principled stance is what the opportunist Heyman calls "abstention." In fact, our comrades sold some 1,700 pieces of literature at the San Francisco and Philadelphia rallies on April 24. We spoke to hundreds of people, arguing for a class-struggle fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty, exposing the class-collaborationist line of the rally organizers, explaining the class nature of the capitalist state and the capitalist Democratic Party.

Heyman sneers at our consistent efforts to mobilize labor's social power to free Jamal as a fraud perpetrated on the *WV* readership. For 12 years, we have publicized Jamal's case within the labor movement—including the ILWU—and fought for mobilizations of labor's power. When Mumia faced execution in the summer of 1995, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated emergency labor-centered, united-front protests to stop the execution and abolish the racist death penalty. The ILWU not only endorsed such an action in the Bay Area, but its members played an active role as marshals at the protest. Likewise, transit workers and other black trade unionists served as marshals and composed the core of a similar mobilization in Chicago last November.

So Heyman has now helped build a bigger demonstration—around a strategy counterposed to the fight to free Mumia. Lifting a line from his mentor Harry Bridges, Heyman hauls out that old Stalinist canard, what do you Trotskyists ever do? Above all, we tell the truth: that there is no justice for workers and oppressed in this capitalist system.

Heyman's efforts are aimed at deflecting and deceiving the many Local 10 members who want the union to take action in Jamal's defense. As we wrote in our earlier reply to him:

> "We are revolutionists, not reformists. We seek to *advance* the consciousness of the proletariat. Hitching the ILWU work stoppage to the April 24 demonstration, as Heyman openly admits he did, served to reinforce backward consciousness—which is expressed chiefly through political subordination to the Democratic Party—on the most fundamental questions: the class independence of the proletariat and the class nature of the capitalist state."

In endorsing the April 24 mobilization and the call for a new trial, Heyman seeks to tie labor to its class enemy. Our strategy is to mobilize labor *against* the capitalist class in order to put an end to the whole system of capitalist wage slavery. It's as simple as that. ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 6.

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PKK...

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more developed parts of Russia. In the case of Kurdistan, the powerful component of Kurdish proletarians in western Anatolia and abroad in West Europe can be a powerful leaven for the necessary internationalist revolutionary struggle.

Lenin fought his last battle precisely on the terrain of the national question against none other than J. V. Stalin, who tried to force the republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia into a Transcaucasian federation. Trampling on the democratic rights of the non-Russian peoples was one of the opening shots in the bureaucracy's usurping of political power, which culminated in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24, destroying Lenin's Bolshevik Party. In later years, the bureaucracy would roll back many gains of the socialist October Revolution of 1917, not least the Bolshevik program for ending national oppression. The Stalinists propagated Great Russian chauvinism and carried out forced population transfers of Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans and others. Bitterness at Moscow's heavy-handed chauvinism toward the non-Russian peoples contributed to the social counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92.

Humbert-Droz Archives

Turkish delegate addressed 1920 Soviet Baku Congress, raised communist program for liberation of women of the East.

Carrying on Lenin's struggle against the growing bureaucracy, Trotsky forged the Left Opposition, which sought to break the bureaucratic stranglehold and reinstill in the Soviet proletariat the consciousness of the Russian Revolution's liberating goals. The Trotskyists defended unconditionally the Soviet degenerated workers state against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack, because the Soviet Union continued to embody the key economic gains of the October Revolution—centrally, collectivized property forms and the planned economy. At the same time, the Trotskyists fought to oust the bureaucracy through workers political revolution, which was ultimately the only way to prevent Stalinism from devouring the workers state. In mortal combat against the false Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," in whose name revolutionary opportunities abroad were consciously sabotaged, the Trotskyists fought for the Marxist program of world revolution.

This is the internationalist tradition on which we stand and the basis on which we struggle to forge a revolutionary party to fight for new October Revolutions worldwide. This internationalism also animates our program for emancipating the Kurdish people. As we wrote on the eve of the imperialist Gulf War against Iraq in "Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists" (*Spartakist* No. 83, February 1991; *WV* No. 517, 4 January 1991):

> "We support the establishment of a Kurdish state, yet as the solution to Kurdish oppression means defeating four reactionary bourgeois regimes, it can scarcely be conceived independently of the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletariat. Saddam Hussein and all the reactionary rulers of the Near East must be brought down by the working people and oppressed who have suffered under their heel. This requires the construction of working-class parties fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East." ■

Russia...

(continued from page 7)

obscurantism. However, with the beginning of the imperialist era in the late 19th century, the two leading "liberal democracies" in West Europe (France and Britain) entered into a strategic alliance with Russia against Germany, thereby laying the basis for the First World War.

In the 1890s, French loans financed the construction of the trans-Siberian railroad, greatly strengthening Russia militarily as well as politically. In the same period, foreign capital developed the Baku oil fields in the Russian Caucasus, then the largest in the world. By 1914, Western industrialists and financiers owned 40 percent of the stock of Russian firms and substantially more than that in the main branches of heavy industry. The financiers of the Paris bourse and the City of London provided much of the money for Russian generals and the top tsarist bureaucrats to buy and furnish their palatial homes and support their ballerina mistresses in luxurious style. British and French capitalists, including those who professed liberal democratic principles, had a strong interest in the preservation of the tsarist autocracy and its repression of the revolutionary Russian workers movement.

The massive investment in Russia by French and British capital was in part a subsidy to the tsarist regime for the military alliance against Germany. However, the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 was the death knell of the Russian Romanov dynasty. The Russian army suffered catastrophic losses at the hands of imperial Germany, the strongest industrial power in Europe. The proletarian upheaval which had been suppressed at the onset of the war came back with renewed vitality, now driven by war-weariness and economic desperation. In February 1917, an International Women's Day march in the capital of Petrograd (St. Petersburg) signaled the start of a workers' uprising which in turn triggered a mutiny in the city's military garrison, bringing down the monarchy. The insurgent workers re-established the soviets which had first arisen in the 1905 Revolution, opening a period of dual power between the soviets and the bourgeois, pro-war Provisional Government.

Eight months later came the Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, the first and to date only successful proletarian revolution in history. In their own way the political leaders and ideologists of Western imperialism recognized the Bolshevik Revolution for what it was: an uprising of the exploited masses against the world bourgeois order. Winston Churchill, the main organizer of imperialist military intervention against the Bolsheviks and later British prime minister, expressed the genuine horror of the Western propertied classes that communism had triumphed in the former empire of the tsars:

OGIZ

Above: French president Poincaré reviews Russian troops in St. Petersburg on eve of World War I. American, British, French and Japanese troops occupy Vladivostok in attempt to crush Bolshevik regime during Civil War of 1918-1921.

Boni and Liveright

> "Lenin was the Grand Repudiator. He repudiated everything. He repudiated God, King, Country, morals, treaties, debts, rents, interest, the laws and customs of centuries, all contracts written or implied, the whole structure—such as it is—of human society."
>
> —*The World Crisis*, Volume V (1929)

During the Russian Civil War of 1918-21, anyone who had voiced the opinion that Bolshevism was akin to Eastern Orthodox Christianity would have been dismissed as a lunatic!

In order to overthrow the Bolshevik regime, the Western imperialist powers, including the United States, armed and financed White Russian armies led by former tsarist generals. The White commanders were politically divided between those who wanted a military dictatorship and those who favored restoring the monarchy. Prominent among the latter was Baron Wrangel, who in 1919 issued this manifesto:

> "Hear, Russian people, for what we are fighting:
>
> "For outraged faith and desecrated shrines.
>
> "For the liberation of the Russian people from the yoke of communists, tramps, and criminals who in the end would ruin Holy Russia....
>
> "For circumstances in which the Russian people could choose its own MASTER."
>
> —quoted in Peter Kenez, *Civil War in South Russia, 1919-1920* (1971)

Kenez, an American academic, points out, "'Master' (*khoziain*), a word printed in capitals, could mean only monarchist restoration."

After 1945, American imperialism utilized the spiritual heirs of Baron Wrangel, so to speak, in its Cold War against the Soviet Union. In the late 1970s and '80s, the CIA-funded Radio Liberty, which broadcast anti-Communist propaganda into the USSR, was run by a clique of Russian monarchists and Orthodox Slavophile nationalists. The right-wing and Catholic Polish nationalists at Radio Free Europe complained bitterly to their CIA paymasters about the Russian tsarists over at their sister station. Anti-Communism did make strange bedfellows.

The most prominent Russian spokesman for reactionary Slavophile nationalism in the last years of the Cold War was the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, then living in exile in the U.S., who was lionized by the American political establishment and media. Jack Matlock, the U.S. ambassador to Moscow in the late 1980s, personally appealed to Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev to publish Solzhenitsyn's anti-Communist opus *The Gulag Archipelago* in Russia. Solzhenitsyn only fell into disfavor with American imperialism in 1990-91, when he opposed independence for the Ukraine and instead advocated a Russian-centered Slavic super-state—including half of the then Soviet republic of Kazakhstan—as a bulwark against the "decadent" West.

In the end, however, reactionary Slavophile nationalism played a secondary or tertiary role in the Russian counterrevolution. The main body of capitalist-restorationist forces raised the banner of Western-style "democracy" and "free market" economics. But the counterrevolution was *not* led by long-time anti-Communist and pro-Western "dissidents" like Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner. Rather, it was led by elements of the old Stalinist *nomenklatura* (bureaucratic hierarchy) and the privileged intelligentsia.

Before leading the way for "democratic" counterrevolution, Yeltsin was leader of the Moscow branch of the Communist Party and a member of the Politburo. The ideological shock troops of the counterrevolution came from the intelligentsia, as represented by Yegor Gaidar, Yeltsin's first prime minister and main architect of the economic "shock therapy" in 1992. Gaidar's father was an admiral in the Soviet Navy and his grandfather had been a Red Army commander who later became a famous writer of Soviet patriotic children's literature. In a generational sense, Gaidar personified the evolution of the Stalinist bureaucracy from the political counterrevolution of the mid-1920s, carried out under the nationalist dogma of "building socialism in one country," to the capitalist counterrevolution of 1991-92.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Defend Santa Cruz Antiwar Protester!

We reprint below a June 5 letter from the Partisan Defense Committee protesting the arrest of leftist Steve Argue at a May 22 demonstration in Santa Cruz, California against the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia. Argue is currently free on $20,000 bail.

Argue's arrest is part of an upswing of political repression in the context of the U.S. rulers' imperialist intervention in the Balkans. At the University of California in Berkeley in April, campus cops brutally evicted student demonstrators occupying a building (see "Hands Off Ethnic Studies Protesters!", WV No. 715, 11 June). On May 14, San Francisco police arrested anarchist Kevin Keating of the Yuppie Eradication Project, a group opposed to gentrification of the Mission District, and seized "dozens of anarchist and communist books" along with "just about everything else of value" from his apartment (San Francisco Chronicle, *7 June). This ominous move shows the political police are very much in business.*

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the brutal and vicious police attack on the May 22nd demonstration against the Balkans War organized by the Santa Cruz Coalition to Stop the Bombing. As the U.S./NATO troops rain death and terror on the Serbian population, the Santa Cruz police brutalize and arrest anti-war protesters at home. The Santa Cruz police are well known in the Bay Area for their violent treatment of the homeless and their supporters.

The demonstration took place outside of a Democratic Party awards dinner featuring Congressman Sam Farr. Protesters were expressing their disapproval of Farr's support to the war by chanting, handing out leaflets to attendees and by playing a tape of bombs falling on Serbia. In an unprovoked attack, the police waded into the crowd, confiscated the tape recorder and arrested a UCSC student protester. Protesters courageously defended another young woman whose arm was twisted into a "pain compliance hold" by one officer while other officers attempted to seize her four-year-old child. The police responded by viciously beating one protester, Steve Argue, with a night stick and repeatedly spraying his face, eyes and throat with pepper spray. For nearly an hour, the police refused to take a nearly comatose Argue to the hospital for treatment. He was then jailed and held in solitary confinement for over 72 hours. Now Argue faces serious felony assault charges.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands the immediate dropping of all charges against Steve Argue and the other four protesters who were arrested!

Donations to help with Argue's legal defense should be made out to The Steve Argue Defense Fund and sent to 234 High Street #3, Santa Cruz, CA 95060. The Santa Cruz Five Defense Committee can be reached at (831) 425-4467.

Steve Argue Defense Committee

Santa Cruz cops attack protester with her child at May 22 antiwar demonstration.

Chicago Cops...

(continued from page 16)

front of protests against cop terror in a desperate bid to confine them to electoral pressure politics and above all to preserve the "integrity" of the police. We say: Beware these front men for the racist capitalist rulers! For its part, the reformist left could write the "how-to" book on servile prostration before the Democratic Party. The local contender for leadership of Chicago's pressure-the-Democrats coalition is the Reverend Paul Jakes. Jakes called the June 17 demonstration to demand federal intervention, an independent civilian review board, legislation to outlaw the cops' code of silence and a database on cops who commit acts of brutality. This dovetails with Jesse Jackson's appeal to Janet Reno's Justice Department to investigate the Chicago police. Appealing to Reno to end police brutality is obscene! Her crowning achievement was the incineration of 86 men, women and children of the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious sect near Waco, Texas in 1993.

Yet when Jakes called for volunteers at a planning meeting sponsored by his Christian Council on Urban Affairs on June 11, members of Progressive Labor Party, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) literally leapt to their feet offering to print 10,000 leaflets for this demonstration pushing Jakes' reform program. The RCYB's parent organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party, embraces the call for more black cops, regularly featuring Hampton as a speaker at its annual October 22 Coalition protests against police brutality. The Black Radical Congress has issued a list of demands virtually identical to those of Jakes, except they would like police brutality to be videotaped—a "reform" raised by Superintendent Hillard himself.

In an article on Chicago in *Socialist Worker* (2 July), the ISO urges Jakes to act more like Sharpton, enthusing that "two of the cops who tortured African immigrant Amadou Diallo were indicted only after the Rev. Al Sharpton, along with other activists and community leaders, helped to organize daily demonstrations." Sharpton's aim was to channel the seething outrage in New York into a 10-point program for reforming the cops. Tailing right behind, the ISO joined in a "Citywide Network against Police Violence" with a 10-point program barely distinguishable from Sharpton's.

Particularly in "Segregation City," the intersection between race and class oppression is starkly evident. As protesters marched toward police headquarters on June 17, Teamsters members driving their trucks to a nearby UPS facility honked their horns in solidarity. The 1997 UPS strike broke a long string of defeats for U.S. labor. A powerful show of force by Chicago's integrated labor movement would give the cops some pause. A small taste of that came in 1987 when members of the Amalgamated Transit Union mobilized to beat back the frame-up of black transit worker Cassandra Seay when she was beaten and arrested by cops.

There is a way forward: the road of integrated class struggle leading to workers revolution, the only way to put an end to the capitalist system and its racist repression. The very thought of labor taking up the fight for black freedom in America sends a shiver down the spine of the American bourgeoisie—and of the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy. The Spartacist League and the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League, which was formed in the wake of the Cassandra Seay victory, seek to bring to the working class the understanding that labor and black rights either go forward together or fall back separately. It is the task of Marxists to strip away any illusions among workers and minorities in this capitalist state, to lay bare the nature of the two parties of capital, the Democrats and the Republicans. We need a workers party to fight for a workers government! For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

Evergreen...

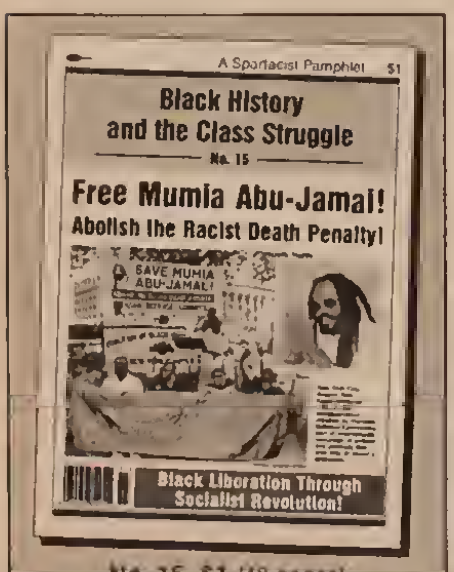
(continued from page 16)

Democratic mayor (and former district attorney) Ed Rendell to Republican governor Tom Ridge to Bill Clinton, who staged an ostentatious appearance at a 1995 F.O.P. gathering just before Mumia's death warrant was signed. Jamal has been the target of sinister police "demonstrations," repeated denunciations in Congress and numerous prime-time TV "exposés" rehashing the lies of the cops and prosecutors who framed him up.

The night before the April 24 "Millions for Mumia" rally in Philadelphia, 800 members of the city's racist political establishment forked over $100 each at a benefit for "Justice for Police Officer Daniel Faulkner, Inc." While this tax-exempt front claims to have received only $41,000 in donations in 1998, it has run full-page ads in major daily papers like the *New York Times* screaming for Mumia's execution. Meanwhile, someone is footing the bill for Maureen Faulkner as she jets around the country as a poster girl for racist legal lynching. The "Faulkner, Inc." Web site retails the patently absurd lie that not one of the thousands of people executed in the U.S. this century was innocent!

Since the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee took up Jamal's cause a dozen years ago, we have insisted that the case of this eloquent journalist and unbowed fighter for the oppressed symbolizes what the racist, barbaric death penalty is all about—a form of institutionalized state terror directly descended in the U.S. from the system of black chattel slavery. The forces of "law and order" have mobilized to kill Jamal because he represents defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. We must mobilize our forces to win his freedom—not through futile appeals to the racist "justice" system but through powerful labor-centered protest actions.

Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation. A mobilization of the social power of labor—drawing in black people, anti-racist youth and all the oppressed—in the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty would be a huge step forward in the struggle for socialist revolution needed to sweep away the capitalist state and its deadly apparatus of racist repression. ■



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Drop Charges Against RCYB Activists! Free AK Small Now!

Chicago

The following letter, dated July 5, was sent to Richard J. Devine, Cook County State's Attorney, by the Partisan Defense Committee in Chicago.

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the June 16 conviction of AK Small and Shawn Wall on trumped-up charges of "resisting" and "obstructing" arrest for their role in protesting the city's plans to flatten the Cabrini Green housing project. Outrageously, Small was sentenced to 45 days in Cook County jail. We demand that Small be freed immediately!

The police campaign against Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade activists—a pure and simple political persecution—is designed to chill social protest against Daley's plans to dump thousands of black public housing residents in the streets. Small's inclusion on the state gang database, with his "gang affiliation" listed as "Communist Party," is a sinister attempt to designate leftists as criminals. The witchhunt expanded on April 20 when the city bulldozed the RCYB's organizing center at 1142 N. Orleans. Five activists—Small, Wall, Grant Newberger, Sarah Klepner and Michael Coffman—were arrested on bogus charges of "obstruction" and "battery" with a plastic soda bottle. This vendetta is a deadly threat to all those who would struggle against racist capitalist repression in Chicago.

We demand: Free AK Small! Drop all charges against AK Small, Shawn Wall, Grant Newberger, Sarah Klepner and Michael Coffman! Down with the witchhunt against the RCYB!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black or White, Cops Are Racist Killers

Chicago Cops on Killing Spree

CHICAGO—LaTanya Haggerty was a 26-year-old computer analyst on her way home from work. Robert Russ, driving home from a party, was to receive his degree from Northwestern University in two weeks. Both were gunned down by Chicago police on the night of June 4 for the crime of "driving while black" in Segregation City. LaTanya Haggerty was shot in the back as she stepped out of the passenger side of her car pleading with the cops not to shoot. In a separate incident, cops stopped Robert Russ, broke the window of his car, stuck a gun inside and killed him when he didn't immediately respond to a demand to get out. His mother Vera Love said, "They get to pull guns on citizens for routine traffic stops and they shoot to kill; this needs to stop."

Less than two weeks later, Gregory Riley was strangled to death by undercover cops on Chicago's West Side for supposedly running away from police who claimed he was a suspected drug dealer. These cop killings demonstrate once again the raw racist reality that is capitalist America: down and out, or up and coming, black people are targeted for deadly cop terror. Between 1990 and 1998, Chicago police killed 115 people, 82 of them black. Just as your social status makes little difference to the cops if you're black, it makes no difference whether the cops are white or black. In the cases of both LaTanya Haggerty and Robert Russ, the killer cops were black.

Initially, the cops tried a cover-up and exonerated the killers. Democratic Party mayor Richard Daley called for a ban on tinted car windows, effectively blaming Robert Russ for his own killing by echoing the cops' alibi that they had to break the car window—and shoot Russ—because they couldn't see through it. But the intense outrage over these coldblooded killings was evident in a large integrated march to police headquarters on June 17, which included many families and friends of the victims of police terror. Fearful of a social explosion in Chicago on the heels of the recent wave of protest in New York City over the death-squad-style execution of Amadou Diallo, Chicago's rulers immediately went into action to put a lid on mass protest. Black cop and alderman William Beavers initiated a City Council hearing on police brutality where black police superintendent Terry Hillard promised a thorough investigation. Nobody believed the cops.

WV Photo

June 17: Hundreds march to Chicago police headquarters to protest racist killings by cops.

Coming to the aid of their cohorts in City Hall, Jesse Jackson and other black Democratic Party politicians and preachers strained to channel black outrage into demands for cosmetic police reforms. NYC Democrat Al Sharpton, a former FBI informant who postures as a militant opponent of police brutality, rolled into town to lend his services to this effort. Liberal columnist Mary Mitchell urged black Chicagoans to "Stop Protesting, Start Talking" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 15 June). Echoing concerns that the ghetto masses don't buy the lie that adding more blacks to the police force will stop cop racism—especially when the superintendent and 25 percent of the force is already black—she wrote: "When black police officers are caught protecting drug dealers, refusing to back off chases when ordered, or end up shooting unarmed motorists, some people begin to see those who are supposed to be more sensitive to their plight as being part of the problem."

The police are at the core of the capitalist state, hired thugs whose job is to protect the property, profits and rule of the bourgeoisie. And in the U.S., where black oppression is the cornerstone of the system of capitalist wage slavery, that necessarily means terror against black people, whether the cops are white or black. An article on the Chicago anti-police protests in the *New York Times* (19 June) quoted National Black Police Association head Ronald Hampton saying, "If you're a black police officer who wants to be successful, who wants to get ahead, you're going to take on the thinking of the institution." And that means, the *Times* continued, acting "especially tough with people in black neighborhoods."

Indeed, significant numbers of black cops were recruited only with the onset of the racist "war on drugs," because they were deemed to be more effective in occupying the ghettos and rounding up massive numbers of black youth. Behind this war on black people is the calculation of the American bourgeoisie that large swathes of the ghetto population, which used to provide a reservoir of unskilled labor for the auto plants and steel mills, are no longer needed. As the number of unionized industrial jobs has plummeted in the last two decades, the prison population—overwhelmingly black and Hispanic—has soared.

The black Dems seek to get out in

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Evergreen College Defies Sinister F.O.P., Honors Mumia

In featuring a 13-minute taped address by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at their June 11 graduation ceremony, 800 students at Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington defied a nationwide campaign of police intimidation and Congressional condemnation. Graduating senior Stephanie Guilloud observed, "Selecting Mumia Abu-Jamal as the graduation speaker is an historic opportunity that will reverberate beyond the walls of this particular institution." For the past two years, Evergreen students had fought to include Jamal as a graduation speaker. When the administration consented to the students' demand, the "Kill Mumia" machine spearheaded by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and its political allies went into overdrive.

Outside the graduation ceremony, the F.O.P. staged a menacing "protest" featuring Maureen Faulkner, widow of the Philadelphia cop whom Jamal was falsely charged with killing. Before the ceremony, Pennsylvania attorney general Michael Fisher wrote to Evergreen's president demanding the speech be canceled. Newspapers across the country churned out editorials and commentaries vilifying the students. Racist Texas Republican Tom DeLay pushed through a "minute of silence" in the House to protest the Evergreen students' courageous act. DeLay ranted against the "twisted radicals" who "take empty minds and work methodically to replace them with demented ones."

DeLay's demented ravings reflect the fury of Jamal's would-be executioners over the fact that millions of people in the U.S. and around the world have rallied to the defense of this innocent man framed up for his eloquent voice on behalf of the oppressed. The publication of Jamal's book *Live from Death Row* in 1995 vividly exposed the lying cop portrayal of Mumia as a crazed killer. The outpouring of protest internationally which stayed Mumia's execution that summer put the lie to the cops' and prosecutors' attempt to depict Jamal's supporters as a tiny handful of "radicals" and Hollywood celebrities. That is why the F.O.P. has spearheaded an ominous campaign of intimidation against Mumia's defenders. Philly cops and U.S. Park Service rangers arrested 95 of some 300 Mumia supporters who circled the Liberty Bell on July 3. When Oakland high school

WV Photo

teachers and students announced a teach-in for Jamal last January, the cops and politicians raised a clamor to get it canceled. But they failed in a similar attempt to shut down a benefit concert for Jamal that month by the Beastie Boys and Rage Against the Machine at the New Jersey Meadowlands, which drew over 17,000.

It *is* unprecedented that police and prosecutors continue to wage such a high-volume campaign 17 years after the travesty of a trial which sent Mumia to death row. While declaiming against rich Hollywood liberals, the F.O.P. has run a well-oiled crusade embracing a gamut of powerful politicians, from Philly's

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 717 — 6 August 1999

Down With Repression of Student Demonstrators!

Iran: Mass Protests Shake Islamic Regime

AP

Riot police were unleashed against student protests in Teheran in July. Cops and fundamentalist thugs killed at least eight, while dozens were injured and 1,400 arrested.

For Workers Revolution!

AUGUST 3—Shouting "death to dictatorship," tens of thousands of students across Iran took to the streets for six days in early July in the largest protests since the blood-drenched mullahs came to power in 1979. In Teheran, as many as 25,000 students faced the iron bars, chains, clubs and tear gas volleys of the cops and the truncheons and automatic gunfire of Islamic fundamentalist militias. Dozens of student activists were injured in the nationwide protests, some 1,400 arrested and many others forced into hiding. Hundreds remain behind bars, some threatened with charges punishable by death. The international workers movement must urgently demand: *Free all student protesters now!*

The recent turmoil began with open skirmishing within the theocratic regime between the hardline wing under Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and the "moderate" wing under President Mohammad Khatami. Hours after a July 8 protest by 200 Teheran University students against increased press censorship and the banning of the pro-Khatami newspaper *Salam*, police and fundamentalist Hezbollah thugs stormed a dormitory. As students were beaten in their sleep or thrown from windows, as many as eight were killed. The next day, 10,000 students demonstrated in Teheran to demand the ouster of the national police chief and to appeal for support from Khatami, who was elected in 1997 largely thanks to the votes of youth and women. But the students' growing disillusionment soon became evident when they chanted, "Khatami, where are you? Your students have been killed."

Dissatisfied with the token dismissal of two senior police officials responsible for the raid on the university, protesters tried to storm the interior ministry building on July 13. The following day, the mullahs brought out tens of thousands of soldiers, government workers and bazaaris (the small merchants who are the clerics' traditional base) in a countermobilization against the students. Faced with a threat to the Islamic regime, Khatami quickly closed ranks with his hardline rivals, denouncing the students as rioters with "devilish aims" who "intended to attack the foundations of the system and lead the country into anarchy" (*New York Times*, 14 July).

The student demonstrations have tapped into widespread popular opposition to the theocracy. A bystander at the July 13 protest said, "I just want to get rid of the filthy regime. Anything would be better than these clerics, even the worst criminals." Fed up with the dictates of the reactionary *ulema* (clergy), many students want the all-pervasive morals police to butt out of their lives and are demanding that draconian restrictions on sexual freedom and freedom of expression be lifted. After riding to power on a wave of protests against the hated tyranny of the Shah in 1979, the Islamic hierarchy instituted an equally tyrannical regime which dealt out bloody repression against workers and leftists, enslaved women in the stifling head-to-toe *chador* and perpetuated the murderous subjugation of Kurds, Arabs and other national and religious minorities. The Islamic regime used the squalid, nationalist war with

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South African Workers Battle Austerity, Union-Busting

Reuters

Pretoria, July 30: Hundreds of thousands of public sector workers nationwide went on strike against ANC government.

JOHANNESBURG, August 3—Hundreds of thousands of hospital workers, teachers and government workers across South Africa poured into the streets last week in the first major strike against the government of African National Congress (ANC) president Thabo Mbeki, who was elected in June to replace retiring ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Since the elections, massive retrenchments (layoffs) have been announced in almost every sector of the workforce. From Durban and Cape Town to Bisho in the Eastern Cape to Pretoria and Johannesburg, the union-busting "privatization" and "restructuring" policies of the Mbeki government are being challenged by thousands of workers whose very livelihoods and lives are at stake. Yesterday, union leaders agreed to new talks with the government but threatened new strikes if the wage offer is not improved.

In terms of the number of workers involved, the two-day public sector walkout is the biggest labour action in South Africa since the ANC replaced the white-supremacist regime five years ago. When Mandela was elected the country's first black president in 1994, this was hailed as the end of the hated apartheid system and the beginning of black majority rule. However, the *economic basis* of apartheid—the superexploitation of black labour by the white capitalist class and its senior partners on Wall Street and in the City of London—remains. What had changed—and it was a significant change—was that the bourgeois-nationalist leaders of the ANC were co-opted as the black front men for the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange. We wrote at the time: "The rigid structures of apartheid may be gone, but white supremacy remains, and will remain until the racist capitalist system is overthrown by the working people who produce its superprofits" ("South Africa Powder Keg," *WV* No. 603, 8 July 1994).

That the conditions of the black masses remain as desperate as ever was underscored by the industrial murder last week of 18 miners in a methane gas explosion in a Carletonville mine shaft. Black life is cheap in the eyes of the mining magnates! Meanwhile, unemployment stands at nearly 40 per cent, and is far higher in black townships like Soweto. Millions more are consigned to wretched poverty in the rural areas.

Mbeki, Mandela's hand-picked successor, is even more blatant in his support to big business and hostility to the black trade-union movement. Its rhetorical appeals to the masses notwithstanding, the ANC is a capitalist party external to the workers movement that would not shrink, if necessary to defend its class interests, from seeking to smash the trade unions. Trying to play the unemployed off against the employed, ANC spokesmen blame "greedy," "overpaid"

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Protests Over Vieques Bombing Range
All U.S. Troops, Bases Out of Puerto Rico!

Chanting "Navy—Murderers," some 50,000 demonstrators marched on the huge Roosevelt Roads Navy base in Puerto Rico on July 4. This was the largest in a series of protests demanding the removal of the U.S. Navy bombing range on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques in the wake of the April 19 practice bombing which killed a Puerto Rican security guard and seriously injured four other people. The protests have continued, including one on July 17 against the presence of a U.S. guided missile cruiser in San Juan Bay. The protesters were brutally attacked by baton-wielding riot police and U.S. Navy sailors using fire hoses.

Outrage against the bombing atrocity is so widespread that even New Progressive Party (PNP) governor Pedro Rosselló, a pro-U.S. toady, was compelled to call for shutting down the Navy complex on Vieques. While U.S. imperialist chief Clinton suspended the bombing runs and ordered a special commission on the status of the Vieques base, the U.S. has made it clear that it is not about to shut down the bombing range. Navy Secretary Richard Danzig insists that Vieques is "irreplaceable," calling it the Pentagon's "most important center of military training." Appearing before Clinton's commission, a Navy spokesman prated, "We are very proud of our legacy in Vieques" (*Hoy*, 12 July). This legacy of U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico is written in blood: it includes the 1937 Ponce massacre and the assassination and imprisonment of countless independence fighters over the last century.

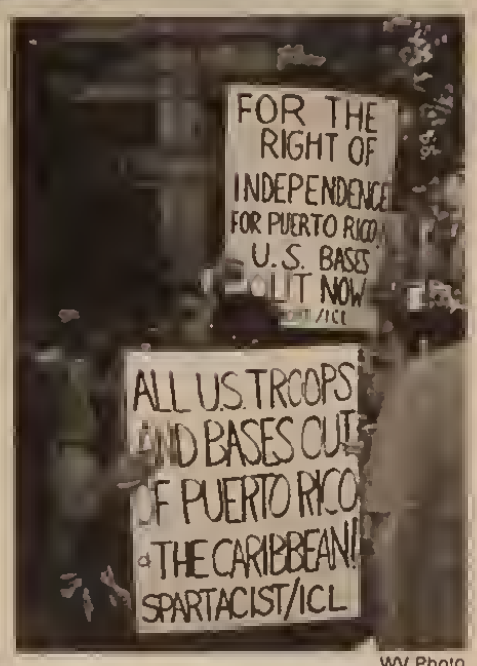
The Navy presence in Vieques since 1941 exemplifies U.S. imperialist arrogance and contempt for the Puerto Rican masses. Two-thirds of the tiny island is off limits to the 9,600 inhabitants. With farmers driven off the most fertile land and fishermen excluded from most of the island's fishing areas, nearly three-quarters of the population lives in poverty. Navy jets carry out practice bombing runs with live ammunition. When the question of transferring these live bombing runs to an island in Chesapeake Bay was raised during 1981 Congressional hearings, Admiral Keanny objected because that island was "closed three months of the year to protect the migration of the geese that inhabit it." The U.S. imperialists have no such concerns for the welfare of the Puerto Rican people. With cancer rates on Vieques already inexplicably high, last February Navy pilots "accidentally" fired 263 shells tipped with depleted uranium.

Now that the U.S. Southern Command—American imperialism's headquarters for military intervention in Latin America—has moved from Panama to Puerto Rico, the imperialists are expanding the already huge military presence there. The military controls 13 percent of Puerto Rico's scarce land, including the Roosevelt Roads naval station, the hemisphere's largest. Puerto Rico has long been key to U.S. military designs, serving as a staging ground for U.S. aggression in the Caribbean, from the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba to Santo Domingo in 1965 to Grenada in 1983. The U.S. military presence in the region is aimed at enforcing imperialist subjugation of the semicolonial peoples throughout Latin America and is a dagger in particular against the Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers state. It has also served as a training base to prepare for the terror bombing of Iraq in 1991 and of Serbia this year. *U.S. miltary out of the Caribbean! For uncanditianal military defense of Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!*

"Citizens" of the U.S. with no right to vote in federal elections and no representation in Congress, Puerto Ricans are politically dispossessed, discriminated against economically, linguistically, racially and culturally. With more than half the population living below the U.S. poverty level, Puerto Rico's working people are exploited as a low-wage labor pool by capitalists who invest in industry on the island.

The outrage over the Vieques bombing demonstrates the Puerto Rican masses' deep resentment against their colonial oppression. But the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the protests over Vieques have sought to use the demonstrations as a lever for pleading with Washington for a kinder, gentler colonialism. Even though Rosselló's PNP calls for a *greater* U.S. military presence in Puerto Rico, according to *Diario* (26 July) Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) leader Colón Martinez "emphasized that even the annexationist governor

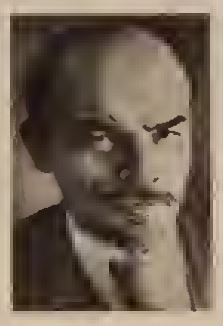
continued on page 14



WV Photo

SL contingent at July 7 New York City protest in defense of Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners.

TROTSKY



LENIN

Imperialist War and Opportunist "Socialism"

The vote by the German Social Democracy on 4 August 1914 at the onset of World War I for war credits for the German imperialist state signaled the definitive collapse of the Second International into opportunism. Denouncing this class treason, Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin fought to rally those elements opposed to social-chauvinism behind the call for a revolutionary Third International, which came to fruition two years after the Russian October Revolution of 1917, the world's first successful workers revolution. This year, social-democratic parties actually led many of the West European governments prosecuting the U.S./NATO war of imperialist domination against Serbia, with the avid support of the reformist and centrist left. We fight to build the indispensable instrument needed to lead new October Revolutions internationally to defeat imperialism: a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International.

The gravest feature of the present crisis is that the majority of official representatives of European socialism have succumbed to bourgeois nationalism, to chauvinism. It is with good reason that the bourgeois press of all countries writes of them now with derision, now with condescending praise. To anyone who wants to remain a socialist there can be no more important duty than to reveal the causes of this crisis in socialism and analyse the tasks of the International....

Advocacy of class collaboration; abandonment of the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle; adaptation to bourgeois nationalism; losing sight of the fact that the borderlines of nationality and country are historically transient; making a fetish of bourgeois legality; renunciation of the class viewpoint and the class struggle, for fear of repelling the "broad masses of the population" (meaning the petty bourgeoisie)—such, doubtlessly, are the ideological foundations of opportunism. And it is from such soil that the present chauvinist and patriotic frame of mind of most Second International leaders has developed. Observers representing the most various points of view have long noted that the opportunists are in fact prevalent in the Second International's leadership. The war has merely brought out, rapidly and saliently, the true measure of this prevalence....

The Second International did its share of useful preparatory work in preliminarily organising the proletarian masses during the long, "peaceful" period of the most brutal capitalist slavery and most rapid capitalist progress in the last third of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. To the Third International falls the task of organising the proletarian forces for a revolutionary onslaught against the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for the capture of political power, for the triumph of socialism!

—V.I. Lenin, "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International"
(November 1914)

Letter
On the Iraqi Communist Party

19 July 1999
Chicago, IL

Dear Comrades:

The article on Kurdistan in *WV* No. 716 (9 July), "Trotskyism vs. PKK Nationalism," refers to the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) of 1959 as "this powerful force for social revolution." I assume this was the result of sloppy editing and that the quoted expression was meant to refer to the Iraqi/Kurdish *warking class*.

However, the rest of the paragraph that follows tends to support this misstatement. It is incredibly soft on the ICP, depicting it in terms applicable to the Chinese Communist Party of Chen Duxiu instead of a Stalinist formation steeped in class collaborationism from its inception. There's no way this party could have mobilized "its working-class base to take state power in its own name," nor did it need any orders from Moscow to scuttle a revolution. The ICP did what its program said it should do, what it had been trained to do for 25 years. The ICP was an *abstacle* to revolution, not its potential leadership.

It is moreover quite inappropriate to talk about the ICP's large Kurdish component without mentioning the party's less than stalwart defense of Kurdish national rights. The ICP did make a couple of formal statements supporting Kurdish self-determination: at its inception in 1935 and in 1953, when it called for "the right of self-determination, including that of secession, for the Kurdish people." Those are the only documented instances I know of (though admittedly I'm no expert). Despite these isolated pronouncements, the ICP, according to Walter Laqueur (*Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East*), generally attacked the goal of an independent Kurdish state, saying the Kurdish question was part of the Iraqi question. And in 1961 the CP at first supported Iraqi strongman Qassim's suppression of a Kurdish uprising before swinging around to supporting some version of "autonomy" (Chaliand, ed., *People Without a Country: the Kurds and Kurdistan*).

Comradely,
Anderson

WV Replies

Anderson is quite right. For more on the history of the Iraqi CP, see "Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power," (*WV* No. 511, 5 October 1990).■

WORKERS VANGUARD
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No. 717 **6 August 1999**

Visit the ICL Web Site!
www.icl-fi.org

After Holding Out for 117 Days

Newport News Strike Scuttled by USWA Tops

After 17 weeks on the picket lines, members of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888 at Newport News Shipbuilding in the Virginia Tidewater area voted to return to work on July 30. In the midst of the U.S.-led NATO war of imperialist domination against Serbia, the strike shut down production at the only shipyard in the country which builds and repairs nuclear-powered aircraft carriers. This integrated, industrial union held firm in the racist, "open shop" South in the face of brazen company attempts to foster a scab back-to-work movement and an anti-union barrage by the local capitalist press. The very length of the walkout demonstrated the strikers' determination to defend their union and win their demands. But this determination was squandered by the pro-capitalist USWA leaders, who refused to mobilize the workers' power on the picket lines and instead relied on appeals to capitalist politicians and the government, finally shoving a sellout settlement down the throats of the workers.

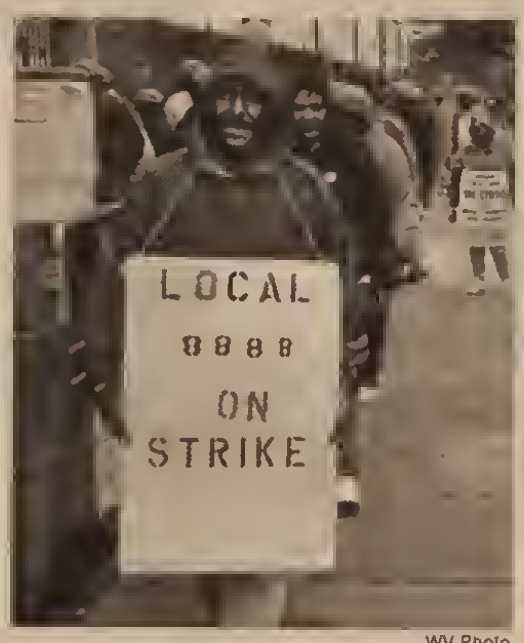
The anti-union media is pushing the lie that strikes don't pay, with the Newport News-Hampton *Daily Press* (27 July) gloating that "striking workers will surely ask themselves whether the 16-week sacrifice was worth it." In fact, after 117 days of struggle and sacrifice, with many workers forced to get by on the meager strike benefits provided by the USWA International tops, the sellout was met with widespread opposition. Barely half of the local's more than 8,000 members bothered to vote on the settlement, and of those nearly 40 percent—some 1,700—voted to reject the contract and continue the strike.

The real lesson of this strike is the burning need to fight for a new labor leadership based on a program of class struggle, not class collaboration. From the outset, *Workers Vanguard* stressed the need for mass, militant picket lines to shut down the shipyard. We emphasized the importance of taking up the fight against racist discrimination, writing ("Victory to Newport News Shipyard Workers!" *WV* No. 711, 16 April):

> "This discrimination has to be tackled head-on if the union is to carry out a solid strike and defeat inevitable attempts by management to divide the workers. The USWA tops' failure to take on these questions directly undercuts the union's potential to galvanize trade unionists and black people throughout the Tidewater area to join strikers in the mass pickets needed to win. And workers must not be taken in by the 'America first' flag-waving of the USWA International bureaucracy, which will leave them disarmed as management and the government try to break the strike by appealing to the 'national interest'."

The Navy shoveled millions of dollars to the Newport News bosses during the strike, including payments for strike-breaking security guards and for busing scabs into the yard. Several weeks before the strike ended, government mediators moved in to make it clear that the walkout had to come to a halt. The aircraft carrier USS *Enterprise* was scheduled to begin repair work in August. The government wanted that work to go ahead, and the USWA tops saluted.

The USWA misleaders did everything to keep the picket lines small and weak, allowing scabs, contractors and military personnel to stroll into the yard. Instead of organizing mass pickets to shut down every gate, the union tops bused strikers to Washington to lobby capitalist Democratic Party politicians and Navy brass and sent them to Richmond to plead with company stockholders. One 36-year supply worker told *WV*, "A lot of people got fed up."



WV Photo

Nakamura/Virginian-Pilot

Newport News strike was derailed by pro-capitalist USWA bureaucracy. Union militants protest sellout deal outside July 23 union meeting.

A victorious strike by this heavily black industrial union could have paved the way for union organizing throughout the racist "right to work" South. The potential to forge unity in struggle between black and white workers was expressed by a white machinist with 18 years in the yard who said, "If nothing else comes out of this strike, I saw whites and blacks come together, talking and exchanging views. I never saw this very much before."

At a raucous mass union meeting where the offer was announced one week before the vote, International president George Becker was shouted down by angry workers yelling, "Let's talk money!" Local 8888 president Arnold Outlaw tried to justify the contract offer with the claim that "there was nothing left to get out of Newport News Shipbuilding except their guts." In fact, Newport News is rolling in profits, pulling in over $66 million last year, while workers' wages have been frozen for the past six years. Against the initial union demand for a $10-an-hour wage raise over three years, the contract provides for an average wage increase of $3.10 spread out over five years, amounting to a *28-cent-an-hour* increase for each year from the time wages were frozen in 1993 until the end of the new 58-month contract. Meanwhile, workers will have to pay nearly twice as much for health insurance as they did before.

To garner the support of older workers for the contract, the union leadership got a gradual increase in the maximum pension from $506 to $900 a month for workers who reach age 62 with 30 years on the job. But as one rigger said, "Except for the pension, everything else is like what the shipyard wanted." Meanwhile, union members report that layoffs of 1,100 workers are expected by this fall, as the *Daily Press* (25 July) crows that the settlement "will not derail a cost-cutting agreement between Newport News Shipbuilding and the Navy."

Worse yet, the contract perpetuates the company's discriminatory practices against blacks and women, as well as against younger and unskilled workers. Three new higher "specialist pay grades" have been created which, like the current "merit" pay raises, will be awarded to workers at the discretion of the racist Newport News management. As one machinist commented, "Seventy percent of management decisions are race-related." In a blow against younger workers, those hired after 1995 will lose two and a half days' vacation per year. Further fostering divisions among union members, the USWA officials agreed to allow scabs to remain on the job while the company gets to recall workers over 28 days, meaning older and skilled workers will return first. As one worker said bitterly, "I don't like the way we're going back into the yard. We all walked out together, we should go back *together*."

A number of strikers stood outside the entrance to the July 23 union meeting with signs reading, "Vote No! Don't Be Tricked!" One militant distributed a leaflet during the vote the following week condemning the terms of the settlement. Proclaiming "'Vote No' to 3rd Class Contract," the leaflet concluded with the appeal: "Our livelihood deserves greater compensation for continuous efforts that we put into building the greatest ships and subs on the planet." Newport News workers certainly deserve a much better contract for the arduous and skilled work they do. But this statement in the leaflet adopts the language the bureaucrats used to push patriotic appeals to the government, thus acting to derail the strike. As we wrote in our initial article on the strike, "The 'national interest' is the *class* interest of the bourgeoisie."

Militants who seek to cohere an alternative within the union to the USWA misleadership which sold them down the river must understand that at the core of the union bureaucracy's treacherous policies is its class-collaborationist lie that U.S. workers share common interests with their capitalist exploiters against workers overseas. To prepare for the struggles ahead, it is necessary to fight for a leadership based on the understanding that the workers of all countries have the same class interests, and that the American bourgeoisie is the greatest enemy of the working class the world over. Break with the Democrats! Join us in the fight to forge an internationalist, class-struggle workers party committed to sweeping away this profit system of union-busting, racist hell and imperialist war through a socialist revolution which places the multiracial proletariat in power.■

CORRECTION

The photo caption in the front-page article "Iran: 20 Years of Islamic Dictatorship" (*WV* No. 708, 5 March) misidentified the prominent portrait carried by Iranian women in the photo. The portrait is of leading clericalist hardliner Ayatollah Khamenei, not President Khatami.

Spartacist Forums

Mobilize Mass Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!
No Illusions In Feds, Civilian Review Boards, Capitalist Courts!

There Is No Justice in Capitalist America
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Saturday, August 7, 3 p.m.
University of Illinois at Chicago
Circle Center Rm. 509, 750 S. Halsted
For more information: (312) 454-4930
spartacist@iname.com
CHICAGO

Thursday, August 19, 7:30 p.m.
322 W. 48th St., Club Room
(Take E or C train to 50th St., bet. 8th & 9th Ave.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
NEW YORK CITY

25 Years After the Defeat of Busing:
Boston Schools—Separate and Unequal

Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Saturday, August 7, 7 p.m.
Central Square YWCA, 7 Temple Street, Cambridge
BOSTON For more information: (617) 666-9453

U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Balkans Now!

The Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism

Saturday, August 28
Time and place to be announced.
For more information: (213) 380-8239
LOS ANGELES

Thursday, September 2
Time and place to be announced.
For more information: (415) 395-9520 or (510) 839-0851
BAY AREA

Young Spartacus

Students, Workers Protest IMF Austerity Attacks on Education

Mexican Government Threatens Crackdown Against Mass Student Strike

JULY 30—The student strike at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM)—with some 270,000 students, the largest university in the Western Hemisphere—has now gone on for more than a hundred days. Their fight against the devastation of public higher education by an austerity plan dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has won widespread support among the working class. Crucial in this strike has been the support of the STUNAM campus workers union and the powerful Union of Electrical Workers (SME), whose members have joined in guarding the barricades of the striking students. On July 26, tens of thousands of students and workers flooded Mexico City's huge central square, the Zócalo, in a demonstration of support for the UNAM strike endorsed by 43 unions and social organizations.

Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League, and its Juventud Espartaquista (JE) youth group have distributed thousands of leaflets calling for workers defense of the UNAM strike, stressing the need to go beyond the walls of the campus and mobilize the active support of the industrial proletariat in order for this struggle to end in victory. Workers' defense based on the tremendous social power of labor is a key question today in the strike. The bourgeois parties and the media have been trying to isolate the strike, spreading rumors of impending repression and raising the spectre of the bloody 1968 massacre of student protesters. Ominously, the government has deployed 5,000 of the newly formed elite Federal Police in Mexico City, and students confront constant provocations around the campus.

In advancing our revolutionary and internationalist program to defend public education and defeat the bourgeoisie's attacks on the working class, our comrades have warned against illusions in the current misleadership of the student movement and both the official trade unions tied to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the "independent" unions, and their subordination to bourgeois nationalism. The chief representative of this nationalist ideology today is the "leftist" Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who is currently mayor of Mexico City. The bourgeois-nationalist PRD is no less committed than the PRI of President Ernesto Zedillo to imposing the austerity plans dictated by the IMF and the Mexican ruling class, including through bloody state repression.

José Núñez

Mexico City, July 26: Tens of thousands of workers and students march in solidarity with UNAM student strike.

For Workers Defense of the Strike! No Illusions In Bourgeois-Nationalist PRD!

While our comrades fight to extend the strike to the proletariat, the Morenoite Partido Obrero Socialista (POS) has scandalously called to *end the strike*, arguing in a July 3 leaflet by its Juventud Socialista youth group: "After more than 70 days the movement is worn out, tired and weak. It is a fact that we cannot count any more on the presence of contingents of the electrical workers in our mobilizations." This despicable strike-breaking call was issued just as electrical workers joined the student barricades! As our comrades pointed out in a July 26 leaflet (which is excerpted page 10), in attempting to sow demoralization among the students, the POS is doing the bidding of UNAM rector Francisco Barnés' campus administration and the state.

Posing an immediate danger to the UNAM students and the workers who have joined them on the barricades are the Auxilio UNAM campus cops organized in STUNAM. The Internationalist Group (IG) claims in print (and in English Internet postings for foreign consumption) to fight for cops out of the unions. But where it counts, in the heat of this struggle at UNAM, the IG has taken a cowardly dive on this crucial question. Thus at a July 6 assembly involving STUNAM workers in the school of philosophy, an IG spokesman failed to say a word about the cops. It was the JE which raised the demand, "Auxilio UNAM out of the STUNAM!" Thus the IG stands exposed (again) as cynical centrists whose only use for Marxism is to camouflage their capitulation to alien class forces.

Mexican workers and youth committed to fighting against the whole system of capitalist austerity and injustice need an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party. Our comrades of the GEM/JE are dedicated to the construction of such a party. We reprint below a July 5 GEM/JE leaflet.

Joven Espartaco

No Illusions in the PRD—Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

For Workers Defense of the UNAM Strike!

The strike by tens of thousands of students—supported on the picket lines by the STUNAM workers—is entering its third month, the longest in the history of the university. Barnés & Co.'s attempt to put an end to the strike by piecing the students off with "voluntary" tuition failed miserably. The solidarity shown by the STUNAM workers as well as the support for the strike among broader layers of the proletariat have so far discouraged an open show of force by the capitalist rulers against the students. Now, however, Barnés has issued an ultimatum demanding that the strike end by 7 July and ominously inviting the intervention of the police. What is urgently posed is the defense of the striking students by the organized workers movement.

The bourgeois-nationalist PRD is no less wedded to enforcing IMF austerity than the PRI or PAN [the right-wing National Action Party]. Zedillo has openly railed against the student strike as "brutal aggression." While disguising itself as a "friend" of the student strike, the PRD has used its influence over the newspapers *La Jornada* and *Proceso* to further the sinister campaign to smash the strike, fingering student leaders as "ultras." Cárdenas was also cited in *La Jornada* (23 June) as saying "the police of the Federal District will not act against the university students, because the UNAM is a federal institution and therefore it should be the federal police" who smash the students. Thus, Cárdenas is in no way opposed to state repression. In fact, he has shown his real face on several occasions, using his riot police to repress the teachers of the CNTE union and striking students. On 3 July, *La Jornada* reported that Cárdenas' Federal District government had warned that the administering of the admission test for new applicants to UNAM would be "carried out without incidents, and in the case that those take place they will 'act immediately in terms of the law'." Facing the presidential elections next year, the PRD would prefer to maintain a base among those students and youth who have illusions that it is somehow more "progressive" than the other capitalist parties, but it *must* prove itself capable of administering the capitalist state.

It is in the interest of the working class ond oll of the oppressed to mobilize in defense of the UNAM strike! Organized contingents of trode unionists could prevent the forces of the stote from carrying out brutal repression ogoinst the students! On 2 July, members of the SITUAM campus workers union at Metropolitan University staged a one-day strike in solidarity with the UNAM strike. The mobilization of key industrial unions such as the SUTERM and SME electrical workers along with transport and communication workers in defense of the strike would be a powerful display of workers power in the face of austerity, privatizations and the general assault by the ruling class at the behest of their U.S. imperialist masters and the International Monetary Fund on the living conditions of the working people.

The present attack on public education centered at UNAM is part of this broader ruling-class assault. At the same time that it seeks to further restrict access to higher education for the sons and daughters of

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard **skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated September 3.

the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is seeking to privatize the electricity companies, leading to mass layoffs and the weakening of the SME and SUTERM unions. The potential for a social explosion in Mexico against the dictates of IMF austerity has not been lost on the bourgeoisie internationally. Thus, the *New York Times* (25 June) carried a major article on the strike, noting that it reflected resistance to "Mexico's decade-old shift away from a costly welfare state toward lean government and private enterprise." If it is able to isolate the students and use state repression to defeat the strike, the rulers will have made an example to broader sections of the working class and oppressed: this is what is in store for you if you fight.

AP

Alfredo Estrella

PRD leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas (above, right) with PRI president Ernesto Zedillo. As Mexico City mayor, Cárdenas has mobilized riot police against striking teachers, protesters, street vendors.

We in the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), have participated in the protests, including building occupations, barricading and guarding occupied buildings, spreading the strike in its initial days to the Universum Museum, where the director and the university lawyers tried to intimidate and force the museum guides to scab on the strike. Here the active support of the STUNAM workers was decisive in shutting down the museum. We have also fought to win students in the course of this strike to a revolutionary, internationalist, ***proletarian*** perspective. During the U.S./NATO war in the Balkans, we gave the workers and students at the UNAM a concrete way to solidarize with Yugoslav workers under imperialist attack, collecting money from the STUNAM workers and students for the workers of the bombed Zastava auto plant in Serbia as part of the ICL's participation internationally in a fund drive initiated by the Italian COBAS trade union. On May 18, comrades of the Juventud Espartaquista addressed—and received support from—the General Council of Delegates (CGR) of the STUNAM about the campaign for material aid. We called for the defeat of imperialism through workers revolution and for the military defense of Serbia while giving not one iota of political support to the butcher Milosevic.

The pseudo-left tails of the bourgeois-nationalist PRD have actively opposed linking the students' struggle to the social power of the working class. This was clear when the student misleaders of the General Council of the Strike made a meaningless paper endorsement and then consciously refused to mobilize the masses of striking students to join with the workers at the huge May Day march. It is clear as well in their pushing of utopian schemes to turn the university into an institution for social progress—a "liberated zone" in the midst of misery and repression—and of the myth of students as a "vanguard," which serves to isolate the students. Such fatuous student vanguardism also reflects petty-bourgeois contempt for the working class.

As Marxists, we understand that the university is an important pillar of bourgeois society and that its primary function is to train the future administrative, technical and cultural personnel for the capitalist system. (The universities are by no means essential. When it has to, the bourgeoisie can do without universities or students. That's why during the Second World War the universities of the combatant countries were shelved while the war was being prosecuted from 1939-45. For all intents and purposes, there were no schools, no students and nobody noticed.) The democratic demands we advance for education are inextricably linked with the understanding that only when the system of capitalism is destroyed through the seizure of state power by the working class led by a revolutionary party will the basis be laid for genuine equality in all spheres of society. We call for full open admissions made economically meaningful by providing all students with a living stipend! While defending against further attacks on access to higher education, we are not for upholding the status quo of automatic entry to UNAM only by a select number of relatively privileged high schools. For every 10,000 students entering UNAM each year, more than 90,000 are rejected, while the courses, the workrooms, the books and other materials are so expensive that it is practically impossible for working-class youth to enter. We are opposed as well to groveling appeals for "dialogue" with the rectory [administration]. Abolish the rectory! Nationalize all the private universities under teacher-student-campus worker control!

The question for militant students is: with whom will you ally—the working class or the bourgeoisie in the form of the nationalist PRD? Our answer is: for the proletariat! The other self-proclaimed Marxist organizations have taken the other side.

The PRD's Fake-Socialist Tails

It is suicidal to believe that the bourgeois PRD will prevent a repeat of the bloody massacre of hundreds of students in 1968 by the joint efforts of the city police and Mexican army or the shooting and killing of tens of students during the "Jueves de Corpus" on 10 July 1971 by the government death squads known as *halcones* (hawks). But pressuring the PRD is at the center of the strategy of the fake-left. In an interview in *Proceso* (27 June), Partido Obrero Socialista (POS) leader Cuauhtémoc Ruíz stated: "The Cárdenas government must understand that it needs to be more flexible in the way of implementing the law." The POS can certainly not be trusted to advance the interests of the working class: while it capitulates to the national bourgeoisie "at home"—even calling for state intervention in the unions and for unionization of the cops—abroad it has proven itself to be a group of "Pentagon socialists." Thus, the POS' international Morenoite tendency (LIT) lined up with the Vatican and CIA in supporting anti-Semitic Polish Solidarność, just as in Afghanistan it supported the imperialist-backed *mujahedin*—notorious for killing teachers who instructed women to read and write—against the Soviet intervention. In sharp contrast to this rabid anti-Soviet organization our international tendency, guided by the authentic program of Trotskyism, stood for the unconditional military defense of the USSR when it existed. Today, we defend the existing deformed workers states—Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We call for a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies and a return to the road of Lenin.

Recently, during the Balkans war, the POS and the centrist Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS), a split from the POS, lined up with Clinton & Co.'s rallying cry over "poor little Kosovo," which was the imperialist cover for their massacre against the Yugoslav workers. Comrades of the Juventud Espartaquista intervened in the forums called by the POS during the strike to expose their pro-imperialist policy. During the UNAM strike, the LTS and its front group Contracorriente have explicitly echoed the United Nations and its UNESCO arm in advising the Mexican bourgeois state on its investment policy, advocating that 8 percent of the GNP be devoted to education (*Estrategia Obrera*, 9 June)! It should not be forgotten that it was under the fig leaf of the UN that U.S.

continued on page 11

Dorantes Archive

Mexico City, October 1968: Troops were called out against student demonstrators as hundreds were massacred.

SYC Statement of Solidarity with UNAM Strikers

The following is a July 31 statement by the Spartacus Youth Clubs.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs (SYC)—youth clubs of the revolutionary Trotskyist Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)—stand in solidarity with your fight against attacks on public education at UNAM. We pledge in advance to mobilize protest here should the Mexican government follow through on its threats of brutal police and military repression of the student strikers and their working-class defenders.

Over the last few years, the racist U.S. ruling class has carried out a concerted purge of working-class, black, Latino and immigrant youth from university campuses through exponential increases in tuition costs and the abolition of affirmative action and other programs that offered limited access to "higher education" by black and minority youth. Against these attacks the Spartacus Youth Clubs have fought for free, integrated education for all, raising the demands for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend for all students. Struggles against the attacks on access to university education have been met with repression and arrests by campus administrations, demonstrating their role as the representatives of the bourgeoisie. The SYCs say: Abolish the campus administration! The universities should be run by those who work and study there!

Like our comrades at UNAM of the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, Mexican section of the ICL, we have emphasized the necessity for students to ally with the social power of the multiracial proletariat in the fight against attacks on education. We salute the mobilization of the campus workers and the powerful electrical workers unions, among others, in defense of the student strikers. This will be a powerful lesson to bring to the unions and student protesters in the U.S.

The attempts to eliminate free access to UNAM for many more thousands of youth is part of the intensification of the exploitation of the Mexican working class and oppressed implemented by the Mexican bourgeoisie in line with the dictates of its U.S. imperialist masters through the IMF and NAFTA. As revolutionary internationalists we fight for common class struggle by U.S. and Mexican workers against the U.S. imperialist beast and its PRI, PRD and PAN lackeys in Mexico. We fight to win students and young workers to the perspective of building the revolutionary workers party necessary for the victory of socialist revolution which alone can lay the material basis for securing an education and future for the children of the working class and oppressed. As part of this fight, we stand in solidarity with your struggles. Victory to the UNAM strike!

Capitalist Russia in the "New World Order"

Part One of this article appeared in WV *No. 716 (9 July).*

The October Revolution of 1917 created in Russia a workers state governed by soviet democracy and led by a communist vanguard party. The Bolsheviks understood that an isolated workers state—moreover, an economically weak and backward one like Russia—could only survive for any length of time by spreading the revolution internationally.

Revulsion to the mass slaughter of the first imperialist world war combined with the inspiration of the Bolshevik Revolution produced revolutionary turmoil throughout Europe, centrally Germany, between 1918 and 1923. However, the kind of steeled proletarian vanguard party which Lenin had built in tsarist Russia did not exist elsewhere in Europe. Given the weakness and inexperience of the Communist parties, the European bourgeoisies were able to restore order—

PART TWO

with the indispensable aid of the social-democratic parties.

Thus Soviet Russia emerged from the Civil War bled white, its industry in shambles, internationally isolated and besieged by world imperialism. Not only the Bolshevik leadership but the mass of Soviet workers understood that extension of the revolution was critical, particularly the seizure of power by the German proletariat. The definitive defeat of the anticipated German revolution in 1923, due to the conscious counterrevolutionary policies of the Social Democracy and the incapacity of the Communist leadership, led directly to the ascendancy of a conservative and nationalistic bureaucracy in the Soviet workers state. Trotsky later explained in his 1940 "Letter to the Workers of the USSR":

> "The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive caste, whose leader is Stalin."

The nationally limited interests of this new parasitic caste were encapsulated in the utopian nationalist slogan of "building socialism in one country," which transformed the Communist International from an instrument for world socialist revolution into an obstacle to that goal. In opposition to Stalin, Trotsky insisted on the Marxist understanding that the creation of a socialist society entails a level of economic productivity higher than that of even the most advanced capitalist economies. That requires an internationally planned economy, since the seizure of power by the proletariat in one country could not eliminate the pressures of the world capitalist market.

In 1938, the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Trotskyist Fourth International, stated:

> "The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still remains a ***degenerated workers' state***. Such is the social diagnosis. The political prognosis has an alternative character: either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back into capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism."

Trotsky believed that the contradictions embodied in the Soviet Union were so intense that they would be resolved, one way or another, in the historic short run. Yet the Stalinized USSR would survive for another five decades—a significant and momentous period in modern world history. What accounted for the unexpected longevity of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state? And why in the end did capitalist counterrevolution triumph, not proletarian political revolution?

The heroic and successful defense against the Nazi German invasion by the workers and collective farmers of the USSR—at a cost of some 27 million lives—generated a deep and broad sense of Soviet patriotism, albeit infected with the Russian nationalism promoted by the

VAAP

Above: Young workers at May Day demonstration in Petrograd, 1917. Below: Members of Trotskyist Left Opposition forced into Siberian exile by Stalin commemorate anniversary of October Revolution in late 1920s.

Basil Blackwell Inc.

Kremlin bureaucracy. The Stalin regime acquired a national legitimacy it had not previously possessed. In the late 1940s, the spirit of patriotism, self-sacrifice and working for the common good animated the reconstruction of the war-devastated economy.

After Stalin's death in 1953, his successors, principally Nikita Khrushchev, ended and denounced the worst excesses of Stalin's mass terror and promised that henceforth the Soviet state would be governed by "socialist legality." The Khrushchev years, from the mid-1950s through the early '60s, marked the last period of official "socialist" idealism in the USSR. The country experienced exceptionally high rates of economic growth and a corresponding improvement in living standards. The Soviet launch of the first satellite, Sputnik, and the first manned orbital flight by the cosmonauts demonstrated that Soviet science and technology had attained world-class levels in key fields. Third World colonial revolutions—in particular the Cuban revolution of 1959-60—vastly enhanced the prestige of the Soviet Union in world politics to the detriment of U.S. imperialism.

In 1960, Khrushchev challenged the capitalist West, "We will bury you," proclaiming that the USSR would not only achieve global dominance over Western capitalism but also "full communism" in 20 years. He was here expressing the false consciousness of the Kremlin oligarchy. Such views also had a resonance in Soviet society, where wide layers of the population maintained socialist aspirations, while believing the bureaucracy's lie that a classless society of abundance could be constructed in the USSR without overthrowing capitalism in the advanced industrial countries. Decades of Stalinist betrayal of revolutionary opportunities abroad had served to reinforce the lie of "socialism in one country," inculcating in the Soviet proletariat the view that socialist revolution in the U.S. and other imperialist countries was a utopia.

Over time, the continuing gulf between the official "socialist" character of the Soviet state and the actual conditions of Soviet society would produce a profound political disillusionment among the working masses. And a new generation of bureaucrats and intellectuals would come to envy and then seek to emulate the capitalist West, which they viewed as the embodiment of economic affluence and modernity.

Behind the Disintegration of the Kremlin Bureaucracy

In 1964, the often impulsive Khrushchev was ousted in a Kremlin coup by a more conservative faction led by Leonid Brezhnev. The 18-year Brezhnev reign was one of unusual stability following the tumultuous Khrushchev period and the cataclysmic upheavals of the Stalin era. Yet beneath the surface immobility of Soviet society, pressures were building which would shatter the Kremlin bureaucracy a few years after Brezhnev's death.

The first half of the Brezhnev period saw both a decline in Soviet economic dynamism and an increase in Moscow's standing in the international political arena. With American imperialism bogged down in the long, losing counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam, the USSR was able to achieve strategic nuclear parity in the early 1970s. The effects of the Vietnam War, including Washington's hope of using Moscow to broker a sell-out by the North Vietnamese Stalinist regime, led to the short-lived triumph of Brezhnev's "détente" policies.

However, the rough military parity which the USSR achieved vis-à-vis the United States in this period did *not* correspond to its underlying economic strength. In fact, the country was experiencing a slowdown in the growth of total output and labor productivity. In 1971, a young but influential intellectual with the prestigious Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow gave a lecture in which he argued that the Soviet Union was not going to economically overtake the capitalist West in any politically meaningful time period. The intellectual who debunked the then official ideological line was until recently Russia's prime minister, Yevgeny Primakov.

The young Primakov was merely voicing what his political masters were thinking. The Brezhnevite bureaucracy—corrupt, complacent, cynical—had ceased to seriously promote the prospect of "building socialism" in the USSR. While continuing to pay lip service to the Stalinized version of "Marxism-Leninism," its real, functional ideology was "superpower" nationalism. The Kremlin leaders' ultimate goal was to achieve mutually recognized spheres of influence and friendly collaboration with Washington in determining the course of global politics.

But as the Soviet Union came to be viewed merely as a contending world power, "Soviet patriotism" increasingly came to be identified with Great Russian nationalism, reinforcing the line pushed by Stalin already during World War II. This, in turn, strengthened tendencies toward anti-Soviet nationalism in the non-Russian republics of the USSR, not least among the bureaucracies administering those republics.

The Brezhnevite notion of a Soviet-American global co-dominion was in its own way just as illusory as the old Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country." Shortly after the Vietnam War ended in 1975, American imperialism launched a new Cold War offensive against the Soviet Union. It was begun by Democratic president Jimmy Carter under the slogan of "human rights," brought to fever pitch after the Soviet military intervention against CIA-sponsored Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan in December 1979, and

escalated by his right-wing Republican successor, Ronald Reagan.

Dimitri Simes, an anti-Communist intellectual who emigrated from the Soviet Union to the U.S. in the 1970s, recently summarized American policy in Cold War II:

> "The combination of American support for anti-Communist insurgents from Afghanistan to Nicaragua, steady increases in the U.S. defense budget, and the successful deployment of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe—notwithstanding a major Soviet 'peace offensive'—demonstrated to the Kremlin that the USSR had to deal with an adversary of renewed determination and power."
>
> —*After the Collapse: Russia Seeks Its Place as a Great Power* (1999)

The Kremlin leadership thus faced greatly increased military and political pressure from American imperialism at a time when the inner weaknesses of the Soviet economy, governed and deformed by bureaucratic commandism, were becoming more acute. For decades, Soviet industrial development had been based on *extensive* growth, basically the construction of new factories drawing upon surplus labor from the countryside. By the early 1970s, the Slavic core of the USSR was fast exhausting the basic resource for extensive growth, namely, surplus labor. Further economic development became critically dependent upon *intensive* growth, i.e., raising the productivity of the existing labor force.

A shift from extensive to intensive growth would have required massive investment not only in new industrial technology but also in training and retraining the workforce to utilize the new technology. At the same time, Washington's Cold War II offensive was forcing the Kremlin leaders to substantially increase military expenditure lest the Soviet Union become vulnerable to an American nuclear first strike. In order to avoid provoking popular unrest, the Brezhnev regime was unwilling to cut consumption. What it cut instead was investment in new plant and equipment. In the last Brezhnev years, Soviet economic growth slowed to a crawl.

Looking at the world in the early 1980s, more critical and generally younger elements of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia judged that the USSR had become dangerously overextended in seeking to be a global "superpower" on a par with the United States. In response, the new leadership under Mikhail Gorbachev which took over the Kremlin in 1985 introduced market mechanisms into the collectivized economy—a program dubbed *perestroika* (restructuring)—and pursued a policy of all-round conciliation of Western imperialism and retreat in the international arena.

Gorbachev's *Perestroika*: Prelude to Capitalist Counterrevolution

Shortly before he was named general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev stated: "Only an intensive, highly developed economy can safeguard a reinforcement of [our] country's position on the international stage and allow her to enter the next millennium with dignity as a great and flourishing power" (quoted in Anders Aslund, *How Russia Became a Market Economy* [1995]). Gorbachev's initial response to what he later described as "the era of stagnation" under Brezhnev was the 1987 plan for "Fundamentally Restructuring Management of the Economy." Individual enterprises (except in the military sector) were allowed to decide what to produce and in what quantities; managers were given the power to cut wages and bonuses and to fire "redundant" workers; the subsidization of consumer goods and services was largely eliminated. We wrote at the time:

> "Within the framework of Stalinism there is an inherent tendency toward economic decentralization as an ***alternative to workers democracy***. Since managers and workers are not subject to the discipline of soviet democracy, a section of the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of the market as the only answer to the Soviet Union's serious economic problems." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?" *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88

Gorbachev's initial economic program could be termed neo-Bukharinism. Nikolai Bukharin was the principal leader and theoretician of the Right Opposition to Stalin within the Kremlin bureaucracy in the mid-late 1920s. Bukharin and Stalin transformed the New Economic Policy (NEP)—which had been initiated by Lenin as an expedient measure following the dislocations of the Civil War and which the Bolshevik leader frankly described as a necessary retreat—into the *sine qua non* of their domestic policy. Thus Bukharin advocated a "socialist mixed economy," promoting agricultural development based on the kulaks, relatively well-to-do peasant proprietors. The nationalized industrial enterprises were to be governed by market relations and calculations of profitability. These policies emboldened the kulaks, leading to a grain strike which threatened the cities with starvation. It was this crisis which ultimately led Stalin to break with Bukharin and embark on the forced collectivization of agriculture and forced-march industrialization in the late 1920s.

PBS

Soviet military parade in Moscow. While falsely claiming heritage of Marx and Lenin, Kremlin bureaucracy's real ideology was "superpower" nationalism.

In writing of the Gorbachevite intelligentsia which openly identified with and adulated Bukharin, we noted (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 43-44, Summer 1989):

> "Gorbachev's USSR is in economic development a far cry from the Soviet Union of 1928-29. But if the Bukharinites had prevailed and the NEP had continued, it is an open question whether there would even be a Soviet Union today. The policies of the Gorbachevites pose the question of whether there will be a Soviet Union tomorrow."

There is no reason to doubt that Gorbachev genuinely believed that the combination of market-oriented economic measures, political liberalization (called *glasnost* [openness]) and a conciliatory foreign policy vis-à-vis the West would in time strengthen the USSR internally and therefore enhance its standing in world politics. Yet seven years after he took power, capitalist counterrevolution was triumphant and the Soviet Union was no more.

Western imperialist spokesmen claim that once Gorbachev allowed freedom of expression and more or less free elections the mass of Soviet society rejected communism in favor of Western-style capitalism as the only proven system of economic efficiency and growth. Alternatively, the Russian Stalinist "patriots" and their ultranationalist and fascist allies of the so-called "'red'-brown coalition" contended that Gorbachev, his foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze and, of course, Yeltsin were paid agents of the CIA who had managed to infiltrate the highest echelons of the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

A more sophisticated explanation was given by the prominent British left-wing historian Eric Hobsbawm in his *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (1994). A former member of the British Communist Party, Hobsbawm is now basically a left social democrat, but one who retains a certain sympathy for the Soviet "experiment" derived from his Stalinist past. He is quite favorable toward Gorbachev, whose general political outlook he shares.

Hobsbawm implies that *perestroika* might have achieved its stated goals if Gorbachev's political and economic policies had been implemented and orchestrated in a more orderly way:

> "What drove the Soviet Union with accelerating speed towards the precipice, was the combination of *glasnost* that amounted to the disintegration of authority, with a *perestroika* that amounted to the destruction of the old mechanisms that made the economy work, without providing any alternatives; and consequently the increasingly dramatic collapse of the citizens' standard of living. The country moved towards a pluralist electoral politics at the very moment that it subsided into economic anarchy."

This is an accurate capsule description of conditions in the Soviet Union, centrally Russia, in the final years of the Gorbachev regime (1989-91). But it does not explain why these conditions resulted in capitalist counterrevolution. Why didn't the combination of gravely weakened governmental authority and worsening economic conditions lead to the overthrow of the Kremlin bureaucracy by the working class, followed by the restoration of the soviet democracy (based on workers councils) which existed in the first years after the revolution and the re-establishment of centralized economic planning on a rational basis?

Hobsbawm, predictably, does not even consider this as a possible alternative. But for revolutionaries the failure of the Soviet proletariat to act independently in its own interests at this critical moment in modern world history is a decisive question. Six decades of bureaucratic misrule in the name of "building socialism in one country" had produced a deep political cynicism among the working masses of the Soviet Union. As we wrote in late 1992 after the counterrevolutionary regime in Russia was consolidated:

> "Atomized and bereft of any anti-capitalist leadership, lacking any coherent and consistent socialist class consciousness, skeptical about the possibility of class struggle in the capitalist countries, the Soviet working class did not rally in resistance against the encroaching capitalist counterrevolution."
>
> —*How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* (August 1993)

Trotskyists Said: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!

The potential for such resistance could be seen in the huge spontaneous strikes against the effects of *perestroika* which erupted in the summer of 1989 in the strategic Ukrainian Donbass and Russian Kuzbass coal fields, marked by the emergence of elected strike committees and mass workers assemblies. But in the

continued on page 8

Der Spiegel

Simon and Schuster

Democratic president Kennedy greeted by Cuban counterrevolutionary two years after launching failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. In 1962, Kennedy provoked dangerous confrontation with Soviet Union during Cuban missile crisis.

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Russia...

(continued from page 7)

aftermath of the strikes, pro-imperialist elements moved in to take advantage of the vacuum of leadership and gained influence for Yeltsin among a minority of miners, while the bulk of the Soviet working class remained passive as the forces of counterrevolution surged ahead.

Two years later, in August 1991, Yeltsin seized on an abortive coup attempt by the "gang of eight" former Gorbachev lieutenants to launch an openly counterrevolutionary countercoup with the backing of the Western imperialists. The "gang of eight," whose pathetic "coup" crumbled within three days, sought not to reverse the drive toward capitalist restoration but rather to more tightly control it and to maintain the USSR as a unitary state. But it was the ascendant Yeltsinite forces who represented the immediate danger of imperialist-backed counterrevolution. In a statement distributed by the tens of thousands in the Soviet Union, the International Communist League proclaimed, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (reprinted in *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*). With a new, capitalist state apparatus not yet consolidated, we Trotskyists called for a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the capitalist-restorationist Yeltsin regime and institute a government based on soviet democracy and Bolshevik internationalism.

In contrast, the pseudo-socialists who who had capitulated to imperialist anti-Sovietism throughout Cold War II in the 1980s embraced the forces of "democratic" counterrevolution arrayed behind Yeltsin. Openly proclaiming its place on the barricades of counterrevolution, the centrist British Workers Power (WP) declared: "No matter what the socially counterrevolutionary nature of Yeltsin's programme, no matter how many spivs and racketeers joined the barricades to defend the Russian parliament, it would be revolutionary suicide to back the coup-mongers and support the crushing of democratic rights" (*Workers Power*, September 1991). Chief among the "democratic rights" WP was defending here was the right to capitalist exploitation!

Labour-loyal to the core, at bottom WP opposed the Stalinist bureaucracy from the standpoint of parliamentary (i.e., bourgeois) democracy, albeit with a veneer of working-class rhetoric. To justify this social-democratic line, WP characterized the bureaucracy as seamlessly reactionary, rejecting the Trotskyist understanding that this was a brittle, contradictory caste resting parasitically atop the socialized foundations of the workers state, which it was at times compelled to defend. This contradictory character was evident even in the last years of the Brezhnev regime, with the Soviet military intervention into Afghanistan against a CIA-backed insurgency by woman-hating Islamic reactionaries. It was reflected as well over the question of Soviet support to the 1984-85 British miners strike, which was backed by old-time Stalinists like then Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko and opposed by younger elements around Gorbachev, then number two in the Kremlin regime.

Heikes/U.S. News & World Report

Rabid Cold Warrior Ronald Reagan toasted by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who pursued policy of all-round retreat before U.S. imperialism.

Stalinophobes like WP invested the call for political revolution with a meaning diametrically counterposed to the revolutionary-internationalist program advanced by Trotsky for ***defense ond extension*** of the socialized foundations of the Soviet workers state. Polemicizing in 1939 against a petty-bourgeois opposition —which had reneged on unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union— within the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party, Trotsky stressed:

> "We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism* (1973)

For WP, conversely, the preservation of the collectivized economy was decidedly subordinate to the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Thus, in the name of "anti-Stalinism" WP embraced the forces of pro-imperialist counterrevolution.

The Stalinist Bureaucracy and Capitalist Restoration

The passivity of the Soviet working class in the face of encroaching capitalist counterrevolution allowed the intelligentsia to occupy the center of the political stage. Hobsbawm, like many other Western commentators, attaches great importance to the "free market" dogmatism which swept up young Russian intellectuals in the last Gorbachev years: "The appeal of the ultra-radical Thatcherite or Reaganite free-market ideology to the young intellectual reformers was that it promised to provide a drastic but also an *automatic* solution" to the prevailing economic problems. This is true only in the most superficial and academic sense. Hobsbawm appears to have forgotten the basic Marxist precept that ***being determines consciousness***, including the false consciousness which serves as an ideological mask and self-justification for class exploitation and oppression.

A classic example of false consciousness was the role of Calvinist Protestantism in the early development of capitalism in West Europe. Calvinist doctrine maintained that some men are predestined from birth to be saved, others to be damned. But how could one identify god's chosen few—the elect—this side of the grave? Calvinist doctrine answered: by their worldly success. Rich English, Scottish and Dutch merchants did not see themselves motivated by greed and a desire for a luxurious life. In amassing wealth, they believed they were doing god's work and demonstrating they were members of the elect.

Young intellectuals and apparatchiks in Gorbachev's Russia wanted to lead the good life like their Western social counterparts who drove BMWs, wore Armani suits and took winter vacations in the Caribbean. These appetites generated a corresponding false consciousness, in this case the idealization of a capitalist market economy as one maximizing efficiency and productivity.

The "free market" intellectuals served as the ideological shock troops of the counterrevolution. The commanding officers came from a different but related—in many cases biologically—social stratum. Looking back at the Gorbachev period from the vantage point of Yeltsin's Russia, the British journalist Bruce Clark points out that the "democratic" opposition was more complex and self-interested than was depicted by the Western media at the time:

> "Right from the start, the devotees of liberal democracy were only one part of the anti-communist movement. There were factory bosses who had grown tired of taking daily instructions from Party *apparatchiks*, and sensed they could retain and even improve their own status under another system."
>
> —*An Empire's New Clothes*

Long before, in his 1936 book *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky had noted the appetites of Stalinist industrial managers to become capitalist proprietors: "It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder."

In the final Gorbachev period, the Western bourgeois media depicted politics in Russia as a deepening conflict between "radical reformers" and old-line Stalinists who now called themselves "patriots." In reality, the decisive political actors came from the large and well-entrenched body of bureaucrats who occupied a middle ground between the "democrats" and the "patriots," but who in the end supported the Western-backed counterrevolutionaries led by Yeltsin.

This development can be seen clearly in the 1990 election for chairman of the Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) city council, which pitted leading "democrat" Anatoly Sobchak, a former professor of law and key Yeltsin ally, against Vyacheslav Shcherbakov, a retired Soviet admiral and former submarine commander. At first, the election appeared to be a clear-cut contest between "radical reformers" and defenders of the old Soviet order. But in the middle of the campaign Shcherbakov dropped out and cut a deal with Sobchak to become his deputy!

Commenting in retrospect on this incident, Bruce Clark writes that "Shcherbakov represented a part of the Soviet élite which was badly disillusioned with both doctrinaire Marxism and the self-serving Party machine; he spoke for the high-technology sector of the defense industry." But why would top administrators in the Soviet military-industrial complex make common cause with pro-Western elements like Sobchak and Yeltsin?

There's a cynical American saying: "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em." In a sense, the restoration of capitalism in Russia was a logical outcome of the Stalinist doctrine and policy of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalist imperialism. By the late 1980s, substantial and influential elements of the bureaucracy had come to the conclusion that the planned economy—as mismanaged by them—was inherently inferior to capitalism. These bureaucrats decided that their best interests lay in becoming partners with Western, centrally American, imperialism. Thus it was that veteran Soviet military men supported or at least accepted not only the dismantling of the collectivized economy but also the breakup of the USSR.

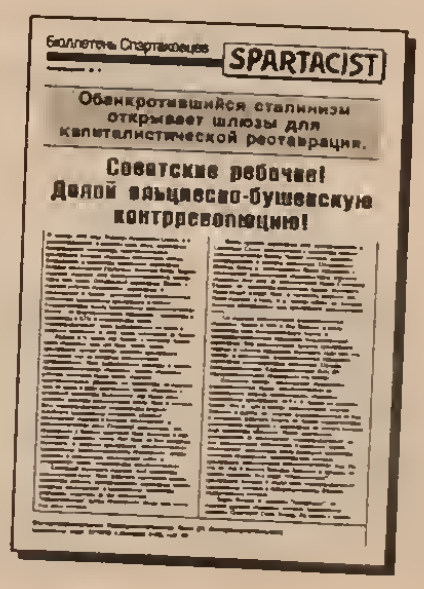
[TO BE CONTINUED]

Dimitryev/Argumenty i Fakty

Massive 1989 Soviet miners strike against effects of Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms" demonstrated potential for proletarian resistance to encroaching capitalist counterrevolution.

Spartacist

Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades in Moscow, August 1991 included racist swine carrying Confederate flag. Russian-language ICL statement after Yeltsin's coup proclaimed, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"



Union Tops Agree to Give Away the Store for Willie Brown

Smash Racist, Union-Busting Attacks on S.F. Transit Workers!

Break With the Democrats! Forge a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

SAN FRANCISCO—Municipal Railway (MUNI) transit workers are the targets of a vicious racist, union-busting mobilization orchestrated by the Bay Area rulers. The decades-long campaign against the majority-black MUNI drivers has been heated white-hot as the capitalists have made it a central issue in the upcoming mayoral elections. Eager to enhance the re-election prospects of black Democratic mayor Willie Brown, the officials at the head of the drivers' Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250A have now "reopened" the union's contract a year early and agreed to hand the bosses on a platter many of their key union-busting demands.

The capitalist media has been whipping up a lynch-mob atmosphere aimed at isolating and demoralizing the union, with such screaming headlines as "Muni's 236 Crash-Prone Drivers" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 June) and "SF Workers Rake in Fat-Cat Wages" (*Chronicle*, 29 May). Drivers who are subjected to high rates of on-the-job injuries from the decayed equipment are scapegoated for the shoddy state of a transit system starved by the capitalists of funding, maintenance, equipment, personnel and training for over 20 years.

Racist abuse from hostile petty-bourgeois passengers is pervasive. It is common for black women drivers to have epithets like "black b----" hurled at them. Drivers face assaults not only from lumpen elements but from the cops: we remember how black MUNI driver Greg Wiggins was crippled by a beating from the SF cops in 1988 while driving his bus.

In this inflamed atmosphere, Mayor Brown, the financial district capitalists and a mob of enraged yuppies called "Rescue Muni" joined together in June to put a union-busting amendment to the city charter on the November ballot. If passed, it would create a new Transit Authority to clear the road for a crackdown on the union and to increase management's power to discipline workers. Goals for "on-time performance" and "service delivery," along with incentive bonuses and merit pay, would undermine seniority and open the door to further speedup, harassment and favoritism targeting militants, minorities and women for discrimination.

The bureaucrats at the head of the TWU, far from seeking to mobilize the workers to fight this assault, initially *embraced* the union-busting initiative on the grounds that it was not as bad as Rescue Muni's original draconian proposal. Now, with the "reopening" of the contract, it turns out that TWU officials had agreed to introduce some of Rescue Muni's worst demands in the union contract themselves.

According to the *Chronicle* (27 July), this includes heightened discipline for so-called "missouts," which the bourgeoisie in its anti-union propaganda has lyingly portrayed as a cushy union "perk." Missouts typically occur when drivers can't make it in time *to the minute* to pick up their "outfit"—route, transfers, etc. These *unpaid* absences are subject under the current contract to progressive discipline, from a warning the first time in an eight-month period to a five-day suspension the third time and so on. Now the union tops have agreed to a two-day suspension the first time, ten days the second and firing the third.

Additional provisions will reportedly force drivers to accept route changes during their shift and institutionalize a system called "proof of payment" (POP), which eliminates the second driver (who collects fares) from MUNI light rail trains. A 250-strong enforcement agency is being set up to roam the trains issuing $76 tickets and harassing black and immigrant youth. Drivers are supposed to swallow this major weakening of the union in exchange for a small wage increase which would bring the annual raise in the four-year contract up to a modest 3.4 percent.

Transit unions in urban centers have become a target of the capitalists nationwide. Last year, Philadelphia transit workers struck against a full-scale union-busting offensive by the SEPTA bosses, holding solid for 40 days before the strike was scuttled by the TWU Local 234 leadership (see "Philly TWU Tops Scuttle SEPTA Strike," *WV* No. 694, 31 July 1998). The new head of San Francisco MUNI, Michael Burns, was imported by Brown fresh from strikebreaking duty as a leading boss at SEPTA.

Capitalist Vendetta Against MUNI Drivers

The 1934 San Francisco General Strike that resulted in the unionization of longshoremen on the West Coast also established San Francisco as a "labor town" and the Bay Area as the pro-union center of political culture in California. "Bloody Thursday," commemorating the strikers who were shot to death by strikebreaking cops in that struggle, is still observed annually by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). But following the capitulation by longtime ILWU head Harry Bridges to the introduction of containerized shipping and handling in 1961, San Francisco ceased to be a historic port city with its unionized working-class character. All the longshore work now takes place across San Francisco Bay in the Port of Oakland, which has the storage space and railroad connections for speedy transshipment.

San Francisco has become little more than a commercial, financial, and high-tech/communications mecca crawling with money-grubbing stock-market speculating yuppies who view Bill Gates as role model and demigod. With their arrogant petty-bourgeois outlook, they resent and despise the unionized municipal workers, whose wages remain relatively higher than for workers in the private sector, where unions have been decimated and low wages and high productivity help fuel the economy and the yuppies' jobs.

As their disposable income drives up the price of housing beyond the reach of working people who are being forced out, these anti-working-class yuppies and their employers have come to view San Francisco as *their* city, and city workers as overpaid menials. It is also a city where historic hostility to black people has kept the black population down to 8 or 9 percent. This is broadly the background of the intense hostility directed at the integrated, unionized MUNI transit workforce.

In going after the transit workers, the bourgeoisie is taking aim at *all* unionized municipal employees. The transit union is a particular target of the SF rulers for its history of militancy during a wave of city workers strikes in 1974-76. In 1974, a near-general strike of city workers began with the SEIU service employees, then spread to the hospitals and closed the sewage treatment plant. At the height of the strike, MUNI, BART and AC Transit workers shut down all public transit in and to the city. The capitalists' response was Prop. L, which attempted to ban strikes by city workers, known as the "Feinstein amendment" after Dianne Feinstein, then president of the Board of Supervisors who went on to become mayor and is now a U.S. Senator. At that time, the Spartacist League initiated a Labor Action Committee calling for mass labor action to stop Prop. L.

MUNI workers were also central in the subsequent 1976 city craft workers strike, when the drivers went out in solidarity. After the craft workers were defeated with the connivance of the Central Labor Council—which had endorsed Democratic mayor George Moscone—City Hall moved on the transit workers. The president of Local 250A at the time, Larry Martin, acquiesced to a package with a small wage increase but big cuts in benefits, while a massive array of anti-union propositions were passed. The city was unable to crush the union. But in the wake of those powerful strikes, the union leadership was broken and tamed by the blowback from succeeding Democratic Party administrations.

It was largely to bring down the public employee unions that the city's business and financial establishment backed Brown as mayor in 1995, after term limits forced him to leave his former job as speaker of the state assembly. The capitalist clout behind Rescue Muni is the Committee on Jobs (COJ), which donated nearly $30,000 to get their amendment on the ballot, and the San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association (SPUR). Both COJ and SPUR were major movers in the anti-union charter amendments of 1976, and SPUR boasts that there has been only one city workers strike since. COJ is the political arm of capitalist San Francisco, representing the city's 30 biggest corporations, like the Bank of America, Pacific Gas and

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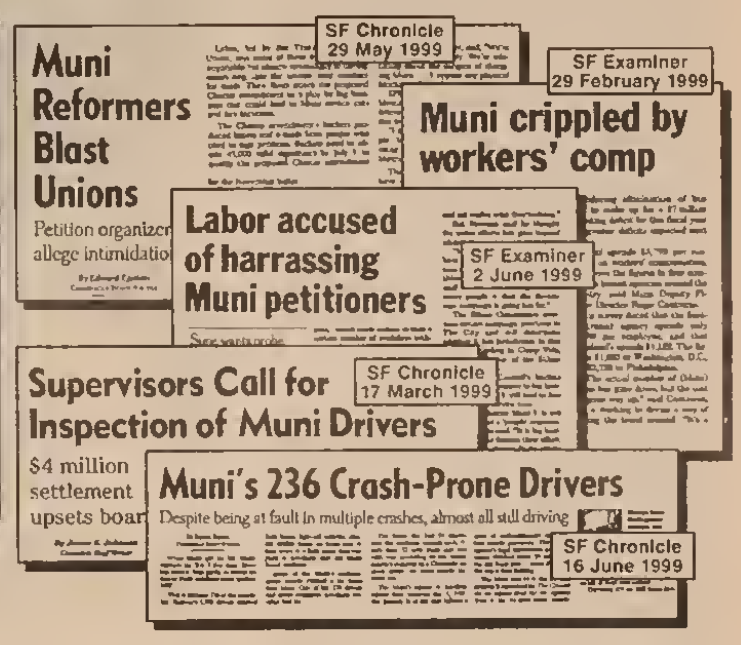
Hafalia/S.F. Chronicle

Democratic Party mayor Willie Brown with newly appointed MUNI chief Michael Burns (right) in March. Anti-union media blitz fuels crackdown on transit workers.



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To Mobilize the Power of the Working Class: Break with Bourgeois Nationalism!

For Joint Strike Action by Workers and Students!

We translate below the concluding section of a GEM/JE leaflet issued on July 26.

The main obstacle to the fight for socialism in Mexico today is bourgeois-nationalist ideology and illusions in its main representative: the bourgeois PRD of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. This ideology pretends to disappear all class lines and paint everyone simply as "Mexicans" through pseudo-populist rhetoric about the "people," "civil society," etc. We frequently encounter the belief that there is no class struggle north of the Río Bravo. This type of lie is pushed by the bourgeoisie and its lieutenants in the workers movement to maintain the divisions within the world proletariat. In fact, the Mexican proletariat has a most powerful ally in the North American working class, and the destiny of this country is indissolubly linked to that of the U.S. In fact, the U.S. working class has recently waged key struggles, like the UPS strike almost two years ago and at General Motors last year. These strikes marked a break in the series of defeats the American workers had suffered since the Reagan years, a change to a favorable mood in the proletariat. Now there is a very important strike in the Virginia shipyard where submarines and aircraft carriers of the U.S. imperialist navy are built and repaired. This strike exploded in the midst of the imperialist massacre against Serbia and in the center of the racist "open shop" American South.

Most countries of South America have been shaken by convulsive struggles of the working class. Bolivian workers are struggling against IMF-imposed austerity and face brutal repression by the police. Ecuador was recently paralyzed for 12 days by a strike by transport workers and other sectors which succeeded in turning back a gas price increase. On July 14, thousands demonstrated in Chile against privatization of the docks in the port of Valparaiso. Workers in Mexico and internationally will remain shackled to their "own" bourgeoisies until they break from nationalist ideology and see clearly the division of society into antagonistic classes and who their real allies are.

We oppose the imperialist plunder of NAFTA and privatization plans which are an attempt to increase the rate of exploitation of the workers and the profits of the capitalists. Our revolutionary and internationalist defense of the working class and its struggles is counterposed to the poison pushed by the union bureaucracy, which sells the false ideology of unity of the workers and the bosses. The way that nationalism ties workers and the oppressed to their exploiters becomes very clear when one glances at the SME official journal *Lux*; we find call after call to fight for the "fatherland" alongside the capitalist masters. In issue 481-482, we find an article, "Massive 'No!' to the Privatization of Electricity," which says: "Overflowing the Zócalo, United Against Tuitions at UNAM. They Shouted Until Their Voices Became Raucous: 'The Fatherland Cannot Be Sold!'" We communists declare: proletarians have no fatherland! Proletarians of all countries, unite!

AP

Workers protest anti-union privatization of electricity companies. Pro-capitalist union leaders derail class struggle through nationalist politics tying workers to Mexican bourgeoisie.

Among those who "overflowed" the Zócalo, *Lux* mentions some top SME, STUNAM and CNTE union leaders, together with the cream of the crop of the PRD, like Muñoz Ledo and Felix Salgado, who "join their voices in the war cry: 'They shall not pass...!'" The *Lux* article ends by saying that this massive demonstration recalled the years 1938 and 1960. That's the dream of the union bureaucracy: return to the golden years of the state populism of the PRM/PRI under Lázaro Cárdenas, who succeeded in co-opting the workers movement and keeping it under tight control, a control that is now beginning to break.

The entire campaign of the SME against privatization has been based on bourgeois nationalism and has been consciously planned by the union's leadership to avoid a class-struggle mobilization. Thus, the SME called a strike several months ago demanding a salary increase. But the bureaucracy accepted the crumbs offered by the company and withdrew the call for a strike, according to *Lux*, so as "not to mix this conflict with the actions undertaken by the union against privatization"—as if the workers' standard of living had nothing to do with the bourgeoisie's privatization offensive! It is in itself key and very significant that the electrical workers—considering the university strike to be their struggle too—are guarding UNAM facilities. But the working class has not shown its real power because the bureaucracy's plans are otherwise: they want to appear as "radical" and "militant," to have greater power to pressure the bourgeoisie to preserve their privileges while at the same time keeping the working class down. That's why the electricians are *not* on strike. A one-day work stoppage by the electricians would have a much bigger impact than the students' three-month strike. Yet this "radical" façade of the SME bureaucracy has made them very popular among the union's rank and file, and that is why it is all the more important to unmask it.

Another example of bourgeois nationalism in the workers movement is the recently formed National Front Against Privatization of the Electrical Industry, which is nothing but e lever for class colleboration. According to *La Jornada* (27 February), "More than 60 social and political organizations—including the Corriente Crítica [Critical Current] of the PRI, leaders of the PAN in Mexico City and the PRD" participated in this front. The key question for the workers to win this fight is class independence from the bourgeoisie. The leaders of the bourgeois parties have no place in any union "front," or that front itself is a trap to keep the workers tied to their exploiters.

Leon Trotsky explained in his article "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay": "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.... In the epoch of imperialist decay, the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution." In reality, the only way out of the bourgeoisie's privatization offensive is socialist revolution, which requires a fundamental instrument: a revolutionary party—the combat organization of the proletariat, its historic memory.

History has shown that the working class, solely by means of its own effort and daily experience, cannot spontaneously develop a consciousness higher than trade-union consciousness; that is to say the need to unite in trade unions for the economic struggle against the bosses and the government. But trade-union consciousness is bourgeois consciousness. Trade unionism, in and of itself, does not question the capitalist mode of production, but only seeks to improve the immediate conditions and wages of the workers in struggle against individual bosses. As Leon Trotsky wrote in his book *Lessons of October*: "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."

We Spartacists understand that the dominant ideology in every society is that of the ruling class. The struggle for a revolutionary party in Mexico is inextricably linked to the struggle against nationalism, male chauvinism, homophobia, anti-Semitism and xenophobia. The woman question in particular is key to proletarian revolution in Mexico. With women constituting an important section, a revolutionary party cannot triumph in its efforts unless it is able to gain the confidence and active participation of women. In such a Catholic country, the struggle for women's rights is also key to combatting the deeply ingrained male chauvinism in the proletariat itself. The question of abortion, in particular, is fundamental. Thus, Spartacists call for: Free abortion on demand! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! Full democratic rights for homosexuals!

As American Trotskyist James P. Cannon said: "Our party is a party of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution is the only solution of the labor problem and all our work must lead to this goal." That is the basis of our politics. Break with the bourgeoisie—No illusions in the bourgeois PRD! Forge an international Leninist-Trotskyist party! For new October Revolutions! Join the Grupo Espartaquista de México!■

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S.F. Transit...

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Electric, the Pacific Stock Exchange and PacTel. Brown in turn is closely tied to COJ and its executive director Mark Mosher, who was an honored guest at Brown's election victory party at the ILWU Local 10 hall.

It was Rescue Muni's charter amendment drive this spring which gave Brown the opportunity to play the role of soft cop in the campaign against the MUNI drivers. First he set up a "task force" to provide its own "MUNI reform" proposal with the active participation of the TWU officials. Then he engineered a "compromise" initiative which eliminated some of the most provocative elements of the Rescue Muni measure—like ending overtime pay after 8 hours a day—while retaining the core of the attack on the drivers.

This was then given a favorable reception by the TWU tops, allowing Brown to proudly announce, as the *Chronicle* (14 June) reported, that "his longtime supporter, Larry Martin, international vice president of the Transport Workers Union, had recommended the pact." Drivers at one bus barn told *WV* salesmen that they planned on giving their union officers hell for signing on to the deal. Having caught heat from the members, TWU officials later publicly equivocated, with Martin saying, "We need to touch base with our members before we take a position" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 June). Now they have agreed to carry out many of the attacks with or without the election initiative.

Labor Tops Bow Before Brown

Throughout his term, Brown has implemented the rulers' racist anti-working-class attaeks, from a vicious campaign against the homeless to a union-busting "workfare" program forcing largely minority unemployed people to work in MUNI and other municipal jobs at half or one-third union wages and with no benefits. The kill-crazy SF cops, who endorsed Brown for mayor, regularly terrorize black and Hispanic neighborhoods.

Yet Brown, the city's first black mayor, is himself a target of the yuppie racist hacklash, with the capitalist press and current mayoral opponent Clint Reilly haiting him as a creature of "hig labor." A elassic Democratic Party liheral, Brown eultivates a repotation as a supporter of black and union rights while being owned by the big downtown financial interests who hrought him in.

Brown's predecessor, racist ex-police chief Frank Jordan, could never have gotten away with what Brown is doing to the MUNI drivers today, precisely because of the active complicity of the union misleaders who embrace this enemy of the workers as a "friend of labor." The lahor bureaucracy, from Labor Council head Walter Johnson on down, fell all over themselves to support Brown for mayor because he would at least listen to them. In exchange for the illusion of access to the halls of power, the union tops deliver up the vote to Brown along with a bottomless capacity for compromise and concession at the expense of their members.

The bureaucrats want their members to believe that the workers are helpless to respond to these attacks and must surrender hard-won gains. This is a lie. Transit workers are in a position to mobilize behind them not only the great potential power of the Bay Area labor movement but broad layers of the oppressed—blacks, Latinos, immigrants—who are also on the receiving end of racist capitalism. In 1997, workers at BART tied regional transportation in knots with a strike for equal pay for equal work—a demand which resonated widely among workers and minorities in the face of an anti-union furor by white yuppie commuters.

The majority black MUNI drivers union forms a critical human link between the power of the multiracial labor movement and the besieged ghetto and immigrant population. While the capitalists pour money into BART to serve the largely white suburbs, the bulk of MUNI's riders are working people, including blacks, Latinos and Asians. A demand by the union for ***free mass transit*** would mobilize support from workers and minorities throughout the Bay Area.

The workers' ability to defend themselves against the capitalists' attacks is hobbled by the bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party, and particularly to Brown. The union tops know that Brown is in the pocket of big business, but with their program of class collaboration they too seek to be friends of big business. The union bureaucrats' support to the Democratic Party, which is at the political core of their program of class collaboration, is the main obstacle to waging class struggle. It is necessary to oust the current pro-capitalist labor misleadership through a political struggle within the unions aimed at forging a new leadership based on the politics of the class struggle and complete independence from the capitalist class enemy, its parties and its cops, courts and government.

Progressive Labor—"Red" Rhetoric For Sellouts

Supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) have long heen active in the drivers union. Despite its red "communist" rhetoric, PL oscillates between tailing the union bureaucracy and writing off the unions altogether—in both cases accepting the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist hureaucracy and giving up on any possibility of mobilizing these mass organizations of the proletariat in class struggle.

An undated leaflet signed by "Transit Workers Against the War," which was distributed at a June 5 San Francisco demonstration against the Balkans war and subsequently featured in PL's *Challenge* (23 June), declares: "After years of underfunding and mismanagement, MUNI needs change. BUT the main function of this Ballot Proposition is to keep Downtown Corporations from paying for the transit system." Wrong—its purpose is ***union-busting***. This leaflet reflects the longstanding perspective of PL's supporters in MUNI of pressuring the union bureaucracy to pressure the capitalists to pay their "fair share." Such utopian "tax the rich" schemes amount to no more than calls to move the money around in the ledger book, leaving intact the profit system.

During the 1996 Oakland teachers strike, PL refused to call for building picket lines, refrained from condemning scabbing and opposed the main demands of the strike, for higher wages and smaller class size. PLers parroted the Alameda Central Labor Council and the school board which claimed that any gains for teachers could come only at the expense of other workers (see "How PL Caves In to Racist Bosses," *WV* No. 645, 10 May 1996). Capitulating to the racist purge of higher education, PL has refused to defend affirmative action, calling it "A Weight On The Fight Against Racism" (*Challenge*, 7 February 1996). PL also wallows in the reactionary social outlook of more backward sections of the working elass. Thus when gay student Matthew Shepard was tortured to death by bigots last year, *Challenge* (4 November 1998) grotesqaely declared that the "gay-hashing movement" and the "gay-rights movement" are "two sides of rulers' fascist coin."

The Spartacist League lights to forge a revolutionary workers party which will act as a tribune of the people, championing the fight for full equality for blacks, women and gays and full citizenship rights for all immigrants, uniting all the oppressed behind the proletariat in the struggle to overthrow this capitalist system. The elementary needs of workers and the oppressed—jobs for all; quality, integrated housing and education for all; an end to racist oppression and cop terror—cannot be met short of a socialist revolution which expropriates the bourgeoisie and establishes a planned, collectivized economy under workers rule. ■

Mexico...

(continued from page 5)

imperialism and its allies carried out the slaughter of Iraqi people in the 1991 Gulf War.

The centrist Internationalist Group (IG) has lived up to our characterization of them as "Pabloites of the second mobilization." (Michel Pablo's tailing of alien class forces and liquidation of the Trotskyist parties into Stalinist and social-democratic organizations in the post-World War II period destroyed the Fourth International as a force for international revolution.) During the UNAM strike, the IG has called for student-worker unity and class struggle, all very combative-sounding. What they do not do, however, is fight for the necessary instrument for leading the proletariat and the oppressed in struggle against the capitalist system: the revolutionary party. And the IG's rhetoric for ever more struggle is belied by what it does *in practice*. Thus, the IG has taken up our class slogan "Auxilio UNAM out of the STUNAM!" But its own comrades committed an act of ***class treasan*** in Brazil by dragging a union through the bourgeois courts on three occasions, as we revealed in an article in our newspaper ("IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *Espartaco* No. 10, Autumn-Winter 1997 [translated from *WV* No. 671, 11 July 1997]). The IG's Brazilian cohorts used the courts against the union in an effort to maintain their posts in a cop-infested union, having run on a slate led by an ex-cop! Their actions are very much counterposed to the task of building the kind of revolutionary party needed to lead the working class to the realization of its historic role—the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule.

When a contingent of STUNAM workers marched at the April 23 demonstration against the fees, we told them of the IG's betrayal in Brazil. Workers began shouting at the IG things like "Get out of here!" "It is a question of principle not to sue a union!" and "If you want to control a union, you have to work with the workers, not ask for a little help from the state!" So much for the IG's pretenses to "militancy"!

Obscuring the class nature of the PRD, the IG invokes the existence of a "Cardenista popular front," as the LTS did for many years. The popular front is a precise Marxist category to characterize a bourgeois formation, a coalition of bourgeois and reformist workers parties. An example was the Unidad Popular in Chile, consisting of the bourgeoisie, Allende's Socialists and the Communist Party. In Mexico, bourgeois-nationalist ideology is the fundamental instrument for subordinating the workers movement to its capitalist exploiters. There is no mass workers party in Mexico. The IG concocts a supposed working-class sector of the PRD, by which it means a mass of discontented sectors like bank debtors, peasant organizations, slum inhabitants, Zapatistas, etc. They do so in order to prettify the PRD—which is nothing more than a bourgeois-nationalist party. In this way, the IG capitulates to the current level of consciousness of the working class and evades the necessary fight for a revolutionary Trotskyist party to combat nationalism and struggle for the complete political independence of the proletariat.

Meanwhile, the IG has the gall to absurdly attack the GEM/JE as nationalists because we used the words "national sovereignty." Have they renounced Mexico's sovereignty vis-à-vis the U.S.? Their stupid slander does give us an opportunity to reiterate the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution upon which our revolutionary program in Mexico is based. The IG extracted our reference to national sovereignty from the following paragraph:

> "The authentic emancipation and the national sovereignty itself of Mexico toward U.S. imperialism is determined not by which bourgeois politician is going to win the coming elections, but rather which social class—the bourgeoisie or the proletariat—will lead this country. We Trotskyists base ourselves on the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky's program and theory of the permanent revolution, which explains that in semicolonial countries like Mexico no democratic or national liberation revolution led by the bourgeoisie, of the type of the Great French Revolution, can be accomplished.... So, the only possible revolution in Mexico and in the semicolonial world is of the socialist kind. And this can only be under the leadership of the proletariat, the powerful industrial working class as the leader of all the oppressed people."
>
> —Grupo Espartaquista de México leaflet, "Libertad inmediata a los cinco profesores del SNTE!" [Immediate Release of the Five SNTE Teachers!], 18 January

It is this program of revolutionary Marxism that we in the GEM/JE fight to bring to the workers and students struggling today. Throughout Latin America and the United States, there have been recent outbreaks of strike struggles and student unrest. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has encouraged the bourgeois rulers to attack the working masses in the imperialist centers as well as in the semicolonial world. As internationalists, we understand that the Mexican working class has powerful allies in the American and Canadian proletariat, where our comrades struggle to smash imperialism from within the belly of the beast. As the Mexican section of the International Communist League, the GEM seeks to win the best fighters among students and youth to the side of the international proletariat and to win the most advanced elements of the working class to the party which fights for socialist revolution.

Today, the student strike has gone as far as one can go within the framework of student vanguardism. The state is poised to unleash its machinery of repression against the students. We repeat our urgent call: for a workers mobilization to defend the UNAM strike! ■

Espartaco

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

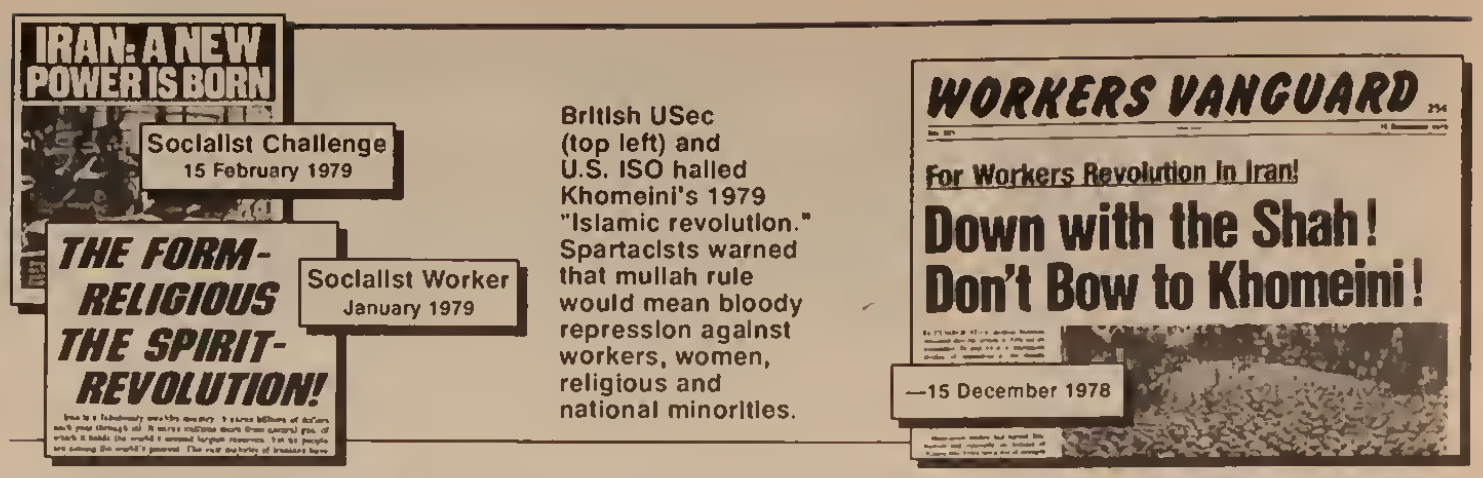
Iraq—which lasted from 1980 to 1988 and bled an entire generation of young men—to consolidate its hold on society and strengthen poisonous Persian chauvinism.

The current generation of Iranian youth—fully two-thirds of the population is younger than 25 years old—did not live through the 1979 upheaval. The recent student demonstrations crystallized a broad sense that this is the beginning of the end for the ayatollahs' regime. While the powerful Iranian proletariat did not bring its social might to bear during last month's demonstrations, there have been numerous strikes in recent years against mounting unemployment and nonpayment of wages. As revenue from the export of oil has been cut by more than half since 1976, provoking a deep economic crisis, the average annual income has plunged from $2,600 to $1,800. The strategically powerful oil workers have carried out repeated strikes in the past decade. Among more recent labor actions reported on the Fedayeen (Minority) Web site was a May 1 strike at the Mobarakeh steel works.

The burgeoning crisis in Iran cries out for a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed, in a socialist revolution which sweeps away the theocratic regime and capitalist class rule. Such a party must be steeled in the lessons of the bloody defeat of 1979, lessons which the contemporary Iranian left has refused to learn. In 1979, the Iranian left—centrally the Stalinist Tudeh party with its substantial proletarian base—worked to subordinate the working class, whose strikes and protests were instrumental in the downfall of the Shah monarchy, to the reactionary clericalist movement led by Ayatollah Khomeini. What was necessary was the independent mobilization of the proletariat in a struggle for its own state power. The International Communist League's predecessor, the international Spartacist tendency, raised the call: "Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!"

Today again, what is posed is the independent mobilization of the proletariat against all wings of the Islamic theocracy and the Iranian bourgeoisie. In a backward, dependent country like Iran, the historic achievements of the classic bourgeois-democratic revolutions in West Europe and North America remain on the agenda. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can there be agrarian revolution, the separation of church and state, the liberation of women and the emancipation of national, ethnic and religious minorities from the Persian-chauvinist prison house of peoples. Proletarian power in Iran must necessarily be linked to a perspective of international socialist revolution, particularly in the imperialist centers, if it is to survive and develop on the road to socialism. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. As we wrote earlier this year in "Iran: 20 Years of Islamic Dictatorship" (*WV* No. 708, 5 March):

> "No fundamental social liberation will be accomplished short of a revolution shattering the entire power structure of capitalist and pre-capitalist social relations. A Marxist intervention in this fluid situation would seek to crystalize revolutionary proletarian opposition to mullah rule and combat illusions that liberal reformers, not to mention clerics like Khatami, will satisfy the masses' desire to throw off the yoke of an oppressive dictatorship."



British USec (top left) and U.S. ISO hailed Khomeini's 1979 "Islamic revolution." Spartacists warned that mullah rule would mean bloody repression against workers, women, religious and national minorities.

Pro-Imperialist Democrats in "Socialist" Garb

Khatami's reputation in the West as a "reformer" is due in no small part to the fact that he is a vocal advocate of reopening Iran to U.S. imperialist penetration. While Washington was more than willing to work with Teheran in sponsoring anti-Soviet *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan in the 1980s, the U.S. has maintained punitive sanctions against the Islamic regime since the 1979 takeover of the U.S. embassy in Teheran. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 and the renewed imperialist scramble to stake out oil and natural gas fields in the Persian Gulf region, a significant section of the American ruling class has become increasingly exasperated at losing out on investment opportunities in Iran. Washington sent out unmistakable signals of support to Khatami against the hardliners.

Reuters

Teheran auto plant. Iranian proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed, has the power to sweep away reactionary Islamic theocracy and capitalist class rule.

Illusions in the "democratic" pretensions of the imperialist rulers were evident at protests in solidarity with Iranian students held in various cities in the U.S., Canada and West Europe last month. A prominent slogan at a July 15 demonstration in Los Angeles was "United Nations Pay More Attention," appealing to the agency which has served as a fig leaf for imperialist slaughter from Korea to Iraq to the Balkans. Avowed socialists joined in promoting "humanitarian" imperialism. At a July 17 protest in Toronto, Joe Flexer, leader of Socialist Action, the Canadian affiliate of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), called on the Canadian government to close the Iranian embassy and stop all trade with Iran.

Imbibing the bourgeoisie's "death of communism" lie, the fake lefts internationally are today little more than garden variety liberals. Having tailed behind Khomeini in 1978-79 and cheered when his regime carted other leftists off to prison, today the Tudeh in a July 10 statement applauds the Iranian student leaders' demand that "the government of Khatami honour its promise for democracy." Protest demonstrations in the West bringing together exiled Iranian leftists, liberals and nationalists were likewise limited to appeals for (bourgeois) democracy. Even supporters of the former monarchy were welcomed at these "democracy" rallies!

Thus a July 18 protest in Hamburg, Germany initially included a contingent of monarchists. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) denounced the presence of the Shah supporters and argued with the protest organizers that they be driven away, to no avail. It was only after the monarchists decided themselves to leave midway through the demonstration and after an SpAD speaker had raised our revolutionary program for Iran that Persian leaflets bearing the hammer and sickle began to materialize at the protest. Today, Iranian leftists bloc with monarchists against the mullahs; 20 years ago, they blocked with the mullahs against the monarchy.

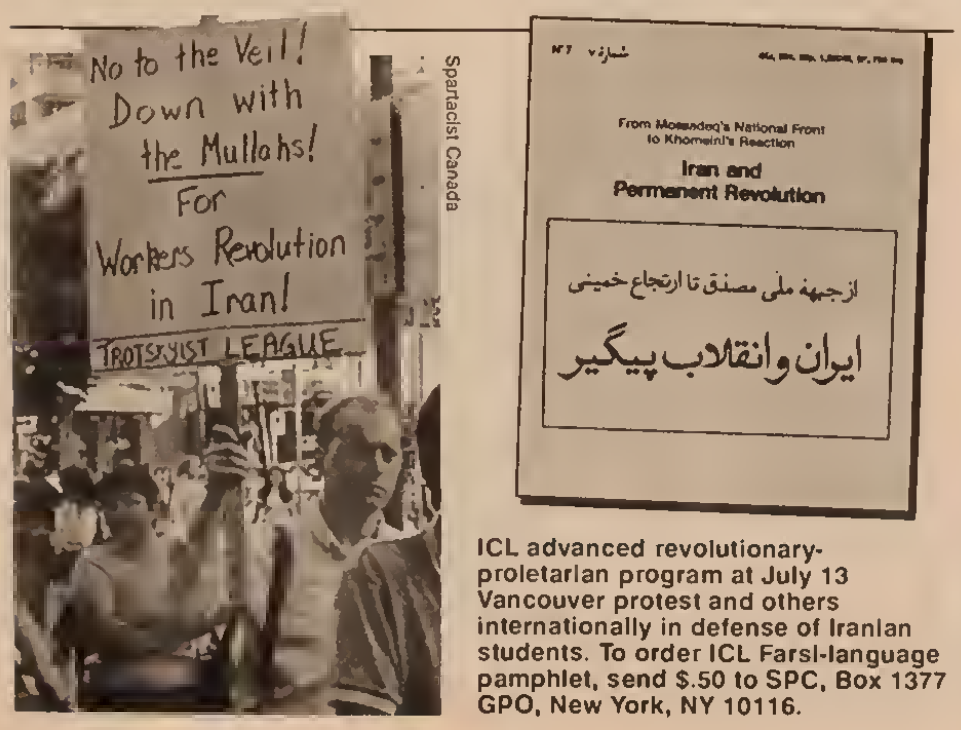
Virtually the whole of the left internationally likewise supported Khomeini's "Iranian Revolution." Then USec spokesman Ernest Mandel promoted the mullahs' accession to power in 1979 as an expression of "partial bourgeois democracy" and "the beginning of a process of permanent revolution" (see *WV* No. 237, 3 August 1979). *Socialist Challenge* (15 February 1979), the newspaper of the British USec group, waxed poetic about "liberated Tehran" and exulted in a front-page headline, "Iran: A New Power is Born." British USec leader Brian Grogan even boasted that he had joined in chants of "Allah akbar" ("god is great") during a demonstration in Teheran.

Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), continues to genuflect before Islamic reaction to this day. In 1979, the ISO hailed the Khomeiniite "revolution," headlining one article: "The Form Religious, The Spirit—Revolution" (*Socialist Worker*, January 1979). Following Khatami's election, the ISO praised him as a liberal alternative to the "conservatives," claiming that his presidency "promised to be a significant break after 19 years of Islamic rule" (*Socialist Worker*, 14 August 1998)—Islamic rule whose introduction they cheered!

More recently, the SWP's "Marxism '99" confab in London last month featured presentations on "Iran 1979" and "Islamic Fundamentalism" which lauded the virtues of Islamic reaction. The speaker on 1979 rehashed the left's "anti-imperialist" whitewash of the mullahs with the line that the "Iranian Revolution" had removed from power Washington's key ally in the region, the Shah. But the "anti-imperialist" mullahs then proceeded to bloc with U.S. imperialism against Soviet troops in Afghanistan—as did the anti-Communist Cliffites themselves. At the second workshop, the speaker went on about how Islamic fundamentalists mobilize people against the state. This grotesque statement came even as government-sponsored fundamentalist thugs in Teheran were throwing student protesters out of windows! In fact, in 1979 the Khomeiniites took over the same capitalist state previously administered by the Shah—including its secret police, torture chambers, etc.—and wield it to this day against the working class, the left and national minorities.

"Two-Stage Revolution"—Policy of Bloody Defeat

The Worker-communist Party of Iran (WPI), which has organized a number of protests internationally in solidarity with the Iranian students, has sought to strike a "left" stance, raising the call for a "Socialist Republic in Iran!" and speaking of the need for a "workers state." But this socialist rhetoric is belied by the WPI's own appeals to the imperialist bourgeoisie. A July 14 leaflet on Iran by the WPI in Los Angeles declares that "the entire regime should be put on trial for crimes against humanity." And a WPI leaflet titled "Against the Terrorist Islamic Regime in Iran!" distributed in Canada last January called for an international tribunal to try the leaders of the Islamic Republic and the closure of the Iranian embassy in Canada. These are thinly disguised calls for the sort of imperialist "war crimes tribunal" which the United Nations has set up for the Balkans.



ICL advanced revolutionary-proletarian program at July 13 Vancouver protest and others internationally in defense of Iranian students. To order ICL Farsi-language pamphlet, send $.50 to SPC, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Indeed, some years ago an article "In Defense of the Demand for Independence for Iraqi Kurdistan" by WPI leader Mansoor Hekmat in the Farsi-language *International* (June 1995) explicitly looked to the UN to oversee a referendum on Kurdish independence.

Seeking to tail pro-imperialist liberals, the WPI has been particularly sensitive to our revolutionary criticism. Thus, after a Trotskyist League comrade speaking at a WPI-initiated protest in Vancouver on July 24 polemicized against their appeals to the imperialists, some WPI supporters threatened to exclude our speakers at future rallies. Now more than ever, it is crucial to pursue a clash of opinions on which way forward in Iran.

The WPI's appeals to "democratic" imperialism are in line with its stagist politics. Although the WPI claims to oppose the Menshevik/Stalinist scheme of two-stage revolution—which postpones the socialist revolution to an indefinite future while subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie in the struggle for a "first stage" limited to capitalist democracy—in practice it operates firmly within that framework. A July 13 WPI statement in Farsi to Iranian workers declaims: "It was your strikes that brought the Shah's military regime to its knees." Workers strikes were indeed instrumental in bringing down the Shah, but what the WPI obscures is that the proletariat did not play an independent class role; it was *politicolly subordinated by the Tudeh ond other reformists to the Khomeiniites*. And a 1990 pamphlet titled "A Brief Look at the Situation of the Working Class in Iran," which was written by the WPI's predecessors of the Communist Party of Iran and is still distributed by the WPI, not only says that the "working class was the backbone of the revolutionary movement" in 1979 but maintains that there was a "revolutionary period" right up to 1981, two years after the mullahs had consolidated power over the corpses of militant workers, leftists and Kurds.

The WPI's view that democracy can be achieved under capitalism in Iran is also clear in its programmatic statement, "A Better World" (1994). While claiming not to strive for a reformed capitalism, this program contains a massive laundry list of reformist demands addressed to the Iranian ruling class and asserts: "Our aim is to force the existing system to recognise and abide by the unquestionable rights of the working people." While the WPI stands out among Iranian left groups for prominently raising the key question of women's emancipation and calls for legalization of abortion, it capitulates to religious backwardness by denouncing "the act of abortion," arguing that it displays "the inherent contempt for human life in the present system."

Under the impact of the crisis gripping Iran today, the WPI recently underwent a substantial split. However, from the documents which we have been able to read and from discussions with members from both sides, there do not appear to be fundamental differences on key questions of strategy. The minority claims to stand on "A Better World" and also apparently adheres to the WPI's position that the Soviet Union became "state capitalist" in the late 1920s, a theoretical justification for its refusal to call for unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state when it existed. This was a decisive question of proletarian class strategy, particularly in a country bordering on the former Soviet Union.

The only road to genuine social and economic modernization, to freeing Iranian women from enslavement, to winning the right of national self-determination for the Kurds and the myriad other oppressed nationalities lies through the smashing of capitalist class rule in Iran. As Leon Trotsky explained in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930):

> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses....
>
> "The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfillment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a *permanent* revolution."

This revolutionary perspective was summed up by a Spartacist spokesman at a July 17 Los Angeles protest in support of the Iranian students: "Above all, what is needed in Iran today is an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party that stands on the heroic traditions of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky and the 1917 Russian Revolution. Such a party would imprint upon its banner the liberating program of permanent revolution and mobilize the multiethnic Iranian proletariat in struggle to smash the bloody Islamic dictatorship. Hands off the student protesters! For workers revolution in Iran!"■

WV Photo

NYC Protest Demands: Free Öcalan!

A spirited united-front demonstration demanding "Free Abdullah Öcalan!" and "End the Death Penalty!" was held in New York City on July 30, protesting the Turkish regime's death sentence against the Kurdistan Workers Party leader who had been abducted with the connivance of Israeli and U.S. intelligence agencies. Among those joining the protest were the American Kurdish Information Network, Palestine Education Society, Spartacist League, Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) and other left organizations.

Warning of the deadly danger of looking to the imperialists to achieve justice for the oppressed, the Spartacist speaker noted that the FSP, in a *Freedom Socialist* (April-June 1999) editorial, "displays its touching faith in the imperialist murderers as a possible ally of the oppressed Kurds, proclaiming that 'of all the betrayals of the persecuted Kurds, those by the U.S. have been perhaps the most wounding'." In contrast, he continued, the SL fights "to build a revolutionary workers party that will mobilize the working class in defense of all the oppressed and lead the fight for new October Revolutions throughout the world! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! Free Öcalan!"

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

workers—who have to support families and relatives on slave-labour wages—for the lack of money for hospitals, schools and social services. This bourgeois lie is in the service of outright union-busting and increased exploitation.

The principal unions engaged in the current strikes are part of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), encompassing the main body of the organized black proletariat. The leadership of COSATU is dominated by the South African Communist Party (SACP), which has long been closely allied to the ANC and holds key mjnisterial posts in the capitalist Mbeki government, which we characterize as a nationalist popular front. Thus the COSATU tops have *limited the effectiveness* of the public sector strikes by maintaining token picket lines and keeping "essential services" running. Nurses and cleaning workers at Johannesburg General Hospital and elsewhere told *WV* salesmen that they were kept working by the union leadership, with their participation limited to noontime rallies during their lunch break.

In fact, for the overwhelming bulk of the population, there are no decent essential services now, neither hospitals, schools nor social services. The unemployed township youth and dispossessed masses would readily rally behind the public sector workers if the unions wielded the potential social power they have.

The bourgeois-nationalist leaders of the ANC tie the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers to their white capitalist exploiters. In turn, the SACP ties the strategic core of the organised black proletariat to the ANC. In order to maintain their credibility with the most class-conscious and militant workers, the COSATU tops were forced to respond to the government attacks by calling these strikes while carefully limiting their effectiveness. At the same time, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Mbeki's minister of public services and administration and a member of the SACP central committee, is running point for the government's vicious onslaught against the working class and oppressed. Moleketi announced the government policy of "no-work, no-pay" while baiting the workers that "if you are engaging in strike action it is very clear that you are willing to consider a sacrifice." The strikes are aggravating the class contradictions within the SACP—what Lenin called a bourgeois workers party—which encompasses outright nationalists and government ministers, labour reformists and workers at the base looking for a revolutionary perspective. Under pressure from rank-and-file workers, some SACP shop stewards are now demanding that COSATU cease its support to the Mbeki government.

In the lead-up to the strike, on July 23, tens of thousands of workers across South Africa took to the streets in a show of defiance to the arrogant capitalist rulers and their insulting "final" offer of a 6 per cent wage increase. At the Pretoria rally that day, we Trotskyists of Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, intervened in the march of over 30,000 workers—many of them women—with our revolutionary programme for working-class power. In discussions, we emphasized the urgent necessity of building an internationalist revolutionary workers party—a vanguard party that fights for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed from capitalist exploitation—and for the programme of permanent revolution to achieve genuine national and social liberation. Concretely, in South Africa we fight for a black-centred workers government in which there will be a place for coloureds, Indians and those anti-racist whites who support the democratic rule of the black majority.

At the demonstration were thousands of cops organised in the Police and Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), including a contingent from Middleburg, where the cops have attacked picketing workers in the month-old Columbus steel strike, seriously injuring two and jailing almost 200. We say: cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions!

At the Pretoria labour protest, the reformist fake left such as supporters of the Socialist Workers Organisation (SWO)—affiliated with the British-centred, left social-democratic tendency of Tony Cliff—deceived the workers with the lie that cops are "workers" and black cops are better than white cops. The strikebreaking assaults by the police in Middleburg could not make it clearer that, black or white, the cops are the bosses' thugs! Frustrated at their inability to seal off our revolutionary Marxist politics, the SWO resorted to a transparent attempt to egg on the police to attack our comrades by shouting about our opposition to the presence of cops in the unions. The Cliffites' reactionary pro-cop line dovetails with their reformist line that the bourgeois state can be pressured to serve the interests of the oppressed and exploited. More directly, it underscores their political loyalty to the bourgeoisie. Thus both in 1994 and 1999, these fake lefts gave electoral support to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC which serves the Randlords and attacks the workers.

The key to victory for the combative and powerful South African proletariat is the forging of a revolutionary leadership—a Bolshevik workers party—which struggles on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. In one of the most unequal societies in the world, today the working class, youth, women, immigrants are being brought face to face with the naked truth: that the growing black bourgeoisie, because of their own class interests, are filling their pockets along with their white capitalist partners while the masses remain hungry, homeless, sick and ragged. As a weak and dependent ally of world imperialism in a relatively backward capitalist country, the bourgeois ANC is committed to upholding the system of superexploitation intrinsic to neo-apartheid capitalism.

Only the proletariat armed with the programme of permanent revolution can carry through the fight for elementary bourgeois-democratic tasks—from full citizenship rights for all immigrants to agrarian revolution and an end to the oppression of women by reactionary tribalist practices—through socialist revolution and the creation of a black-centred workers government: the dictatorship of the proletariat standing at the head of all the oppressed. A proletarian revolution isolated within South Africa's borders could not long survive hostile imperialist encirclement and thus necessarily requires international extension. In our fight for proletarian state power against the rapacious South African bourgeoisie, we recall the words of the early South African communists: We want all!■

Mumia...

(continued from page 16)

eight-page smear job by Buzz Bissinger reports a claim that seven years ago, during a prison visit hy one Philip Bloch, Jamal "confessed" to the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Of all the fabricated jailhouse "confessions" used to frame up innocent people, this is surely one of the more ludicrous. In Bloch's tall tale, Jamal supposedly answered "Yes" after Bloch asked, "Do you have any regrets about killing the officer?" Nothing more. For years Bloch hreathed not a word of the supposed confession.

In a response from death row, Jamal described the *Vanity Fair* article as a piece of "snuff journalism," stating, "A lie is a lie." Jamal pointed out, "Once again we hear about a so called confession, but instead of two months later this comes over a decade later.... If ever one needed proof of the state's desperation here it is."

This is not the first time that a "confession" has been manufactured by those seeking Jamal's execution. Having no evidence to convict Jamal for Faulkner's shooting, police and prosecutors made into a central pillar of their case a "confession" Jamal supposedly loudly made that night as he lay near death on the hospital floor. This story was cooked up more than *two months loter*, following a round table meeting between police and prosecutors. It completely contradicts the written report submitted within hours of the shooting by Gary Wakshul, an officer who was with Jamal from his arrest and at the hospital, which stated that Jamal "made no comments."

At the round table meeting, Wakshul came up with the fabricated confession story. This was later echoed by Officer Garry Bell, who described himself as Faulkner's best friend. This was the first time that Bell reported a confession, even though he was in the hospital with Jamal the night of the shooting, where he brutalized and threatened to kill him. Bell would later say he was too "shocked" to remember that Mumia confessed! To cover up the mammoth holes in their story, prosecutors dredged up hospital security guard Priscilla Durham to claim she reported the confession to a supervisor the day after Jamal's arrest. This too was only reported to the police two months later. The supervisor's purported written report of Durham's statement has never been produced.

At Jamal's 1995 Post-Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) hearing, Wakshul was asked about the flat contradiction between his original report and his later statement that Jamal had confessed. Wakshul incredibly responded that he hadn't recognized the "importance" of the purported confession until the round table meeting. Now, as if following the same script, Bloch feigns surprise at the reaction to his story by telling the *Philadelphia Daily News* (13 July), "I didn't see how important this was."

This latest bogus confession was orchestrated to be immediately picked up by newspapers across the country, and ABC-TV's *20/20* used it to reprise the brief for the prosecution it first aired last December. With a new warrant for Jamal's execution imminent, it is aimed as a pre-emptive strike against the millions internationally who have rallied to his defense. Tens of thousands marched in "Millions for Mumia" protests in Philadelphia and San Francisco on April 24, while Evergreen College defied the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and the governor of Washington by honoring Mumia at its June 11 graduation ceremony.

Repackaged for the glitzy *Vanity Fair*, the piece by Bissinger—a longtime publicist for Philadelphia's Democratic mayor Ed Rendell, the D.A. at the time of Jamal's 1982 frame-up trial—is nothing but a rehashing of the Big Lies used by the F.O.P. in its sinister campaign to demonize Mumia and marginalize his supporters. Thus, Bissinger retails the story of the "eyewitnesses" who supposedly identified Jamal as the shooter and other "evidence" coerced or manufactured by the police and prosecution. The *foct* is that every shred of the D.A.'s case has repeatedly been demolished, including at the 1995 PCRA and subsequent hearings. At least five eyewitnesses from five different vantage points told police that they saw a black man flee the scene, including one who identified him as the shooter. This could not have been Jamal, who was found at the scene bleeding profusely after being shot in the chest. The medical examiner reported that Faulkner was "shot with .44 cal[ibre]," while Jamal's legally registered gun was a .38 calibre.

Bissinger's "open and shut" case also relies on the "eyewitness" identificaion of Robert Chobert, a convicted arsonist. According to the prosecution account, Chobert was brought to the police wagon holding Jamal and identified him as the shooter as soon as the van doors were opened. This *could not* have happened. In pre-trial hearings, Inspector Alphonso Giordano, the highest ranking officer on the scene, revealed that Chobert could not have seen Jamal's face. Under cross-examination by Mumia, Giordano testified that upon opening the wagon's door, "All I could see was the back of your head, or the top of your head."

As the lead cop on the scene, Giordano was the first to begin fabricating the "evidence" for the frame-up of Jamal. A commander of Philadelphia's notorious Stakeout unit at the time of the 1969-70 police raids on Black Panther Party offices, Giordano was more than familiar with Jamal. The night of the killing, he ordered that Jamal, who was near death, be taken to the Police Administrative Building for interrogation. After relenting and allowing Jamal to he taken to the hospital, Giordano was the first to manufacture the claim that Jamal had confessed to killing Faulkner. Yet even among the rogues' gallery of "witnesses" for the prosecution, Giordano's word was evidently considered too suspect to call him to testify at Jamal's 1982 trial. Immediately following Jamal's conviction, Giordano resigned from the Philly police force and four years later was convicted for taking tens of thousands of dollars in bribes.

The tale of a confession was just one more strand in the police/prosecution web of lies used to railroad Jamal to death row through a trial marked by racist jury-rigging and in which Jamal was even deprived of the right to be present in the eourt which would decide whether he lives or dies.

Bissinger regurgitates the prosecution lie that Jamal, a founding member of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party, was not targeted by the cops for his political aetivities. Proving otherwise are over 800 pages of FBI reports documenting surveillance, harassment and attempts by the Feds and Philly police to frame up Jamal. Likewise, Bissinger denies that Jamal was an outspoken critic of police brutality as a joumalist. Widely respected for his searing exposés of police repression, Jamal was among the "new breed" of journalists threatened at a press conference by notorious racist mayor Frank Rizzo following the August 1978 cop siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home. Subsequently, Jamal was known for his staunch defense of MOVE against the unrestrained racist terror of the Philly cops, which culminated in the 1985 firebombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue home that killed eleven people. five of them children.

The capitalist rulers want to kill Jamal because he represents defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. Joining in their sinister campaign is the dubious Philip Bloch. Portraying himself as a prison reform do-gooder and an opponent of capital punishment, Bloch is providing his services to the F.O.P.'s Justice for Daniel Faulkner Inc., whose Web site is nothing but a bald promotion of the racist death penalty, including the patently false claim that not one of the thousands of people executed in the U.S. this century was innocent. Slithering from interview to interview, Bloch has joined Maureen Faulkner as poster boy and girl for racist legal lynching.

Bloch told Bissinger he wants to counter "the level of hatred that's being aroused in people towards the police." This at a time when thousands across the country have demonstrated their outrage at the epidemic of racist police killings, from the death-squad-style execution of Amadou Diallo in New York City to the Chicago cops' recent deadly rampage against black youth. Even Clinton's Justice Department has felt compelled to launch investigations into ten different police departments. The Philadelphia cops were themselves the target of a Justice Department lawsuit three years before Mumia's trial. Recent exposures of the Philly frame-up system, with its blatant planting of evidence, coercion of witnesses and racist jury-rigging, led to hundreds of convictions being thrown out.

Describing Jamal as "the most famous prisoner not simply in America but perhaps in the entire world," Bissinger sprinkles his smear piece with complaints about the benefit concerts, protests, letters of support and what he calls the "foreign-dignitary dilemma," i.e., the numerous luminaries and political figures ahroad who have expressed their support for Jamal. Over the years, millions of trade unionists, minorities and leftist youth around the world have taken

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philly cops besiege hospital workers union hall, denouncing union support to Jamal and screaming for his execution, 1995. Today, *Vanity Fair* sells "confession" hoax in service of deadly cop vendetta.

Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 2)

Rossellб has united with the campaign for ending military operations there." Indeed, the PIP has made it amply clear that an independent capitalist Puerto Rico would be quite willing to maintain U.S. bases if the price was right.

We fight for the right of self-determination for Puerto Rico, the principal remaining colony of the U.S., and support the complete political freedom of advocates for independence to agitate and organize in favor of secession. At the same time, we seek to mobilize the multiracial proletariat on the U.S. mainland to combat all manifestations of national chauvinism, against "English only" racism, against imperialist military and economic oppression, against the U.S. bases which threaten not only the working people of Puerto Rico but proletarians throughout the region and especially in Cuba. We fight for the release of Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoners as an urgent cause for the North American proletariat.

The Puerto Rican bourgeoisie is too weak, corrupt and tied to imperialism to wage a struggle for national liberation. The only road to breaking imperialist subjugation and eliminating poverty is through proletarian revolution, not only in Puerto Rico, but throughout the Caribbean and above all in North America. This is the perspective of permanent revolution, as first outlined by the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky.

Last summer's two-day general strike against Rosselló's plans to sell off the state-owned Puerto Rico Telephone Company provided both a powerful demonstration of opposition to the island's national subjugation and of the power of the Puerto Rican proletariat. But that strike was derailed by labor bureaucrats who subordinated the political independence of the working class to the program of bourgeois nationalism and tied the unions to bourgeois political and right-wing religious elements through a class-collaborationist front (CAOS). Marxists fight to break the working masses from the nationalist parties and their handmaidens in the trade-union bureaucracy as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party.

As we wrote earlier this year (*WV* No. 704, 8 January):

> "We fight for the international class unity of the workers of Puerto Rico and the United States against both the U.S. capitalists and the local bourgeois overseers. Our struggle is for workers power—a victorious workers government of Puerto Rico will decide how they will exercise their national self-determination."

All U.S. troops, bases out—For the right of independence of Puerto Rico!■

SYC Class Series and Events

CHICAGO

Thursdays, 7 p.m.
August 12: ***Black Oppression and Revolutionary Integrationism***
August 19: ***Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution***
August 26: ***The Revoutionary Party***
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930 or spartacist@iname.com

NEW YORK

Saturdays, 3 p.m.
August 7: ***Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed***
August 21: ***For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***
August 28:***Confronting the "Death of Communism" Myth: The Revolutionary Party in the Post-Soviet World***
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(1½ blocks north ol Chambers St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

BERKELEY

Wednesday, 7 p.m.
August 18: ***Meet the SYC***
Cale Strada at College and Bancroft

Time and place to be announced,
UC Berkeley: ***Eyewitness Account: Mass Student Protests in Mexico***
For more information: (510) 839-0851

UAW...

(continued from page 16)

report on UAW organizing efforts at the Vance DaimlerChrysler plant, "The union told management that it wouldn't attack the company as anti-union or even pass out pro-union leaflets." Instead, Yokich issued an appeal to Vance workers to "join our partnership" with the company. "As a corporate board member of DaimlerChrysler," he wrote, "I can assure you that our company will respect your right to freedom of association" (*Detroit News*, 4 July). Here is the head of the union whose purpose is to defend the workers *against* the corporation speaking as a corporate representative himself!

There could be no clearer evidence that the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, a privileged stratum atop the union movement, sees the world from the same vantage point as the capitalists rather than from the standpoint of the workers they claim to represent. UAW members and all workers need a leadership that understands that the interests of labor and capital are directly *counterposed*, that any serious mobilization of union power threatens the capitalists and will bring the working class into a head-on confrontation with the bourgeois state, whether under a Republican or Democratic administration. This means an uncompromising fight for the organizational and political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie, its state and its political parties.

Protectionism: Poison to Class Struggle

Central to the UAW bureaucracy's class-collaborationist program is its campaign for protectionist measures to defend the interests of American corporations against foreign competitors. Screaming that Japanese and other auto workers abroad were "stealing American jobs," UAW leaders have for years joined the Big Three in demanding stiffer import quotas. The national chauvinism and anti-Asian racism pushed by the UAW tops is a deadly trap leading workers in the U.S. to support their own exploiters and the American bourgeoisie's imperialist interests abroad, ultimately including new interimperialist wars.

The American auto manufacturers are far-flung international empires, employing hundreds of thousands of workers from Poland to South Africa and Brazil. Ford's Visteon parts division, for example, has 81 plants employing 82,000 workers in 21 countries. Both Ford and GM are currently moving to begin modular production in their Brazilian operations before they introduce this scheme in the U.S. Reporting on a modular production plant GM is about to open in Brazil, the *Wall Street Journal* (9 April) writes:

> "Its plant, code-named Blue Macaw, is crucial to GM's global strategy of building a profitable small car. Unlike traditional GM plants, the Blue Macaw plant will employ less labor by buying whole-car subassemblies, such as ready-made dashboards. If successful, GM plans to apply the Blue Macaw blueprint to several North American plants."

Meanwhile, in the very homeland of the "Brazilian model," 1,500 Ford workers at a plant outside São Paulo have gone on strike against a threatened closure aimed at moving production to a lower-wage region. A victory by the Brazilian workers will be a victory for Ford workers in the U.S. and internationally. Effective defense of UAW members' interests against the corporations requires class-struggle solidarity with auto workers around the world. Such an internationalist perspective is counterposed to the flag-waving chauvinism pushed by Solidarity House, which is poison to class struggle.

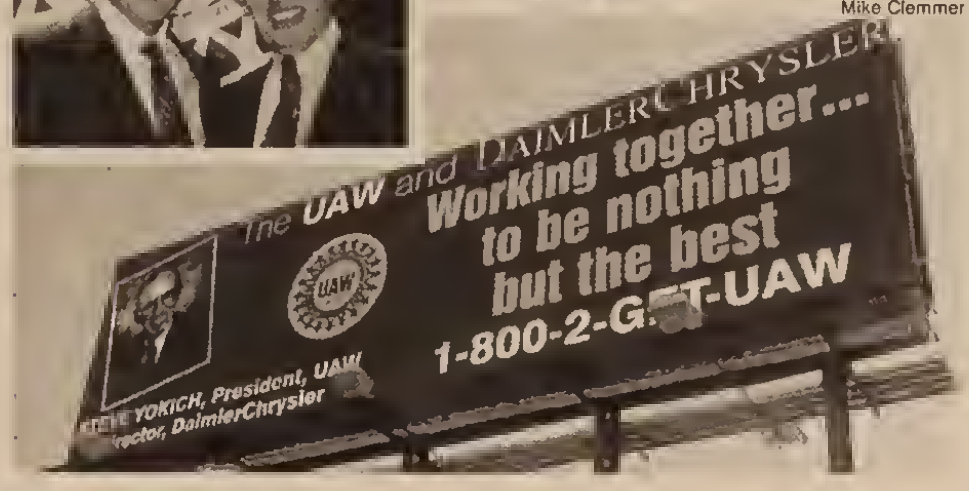
While railing against foreign competition, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has presided over a drastic decline in wages and union membership in the U.S.—conditions which have encouraged Nissan, Toyota and other foreign auto manufacturers to set up production in the U.S., particularly the South. Meanwhile, not a single one of the foreign-owned "transplants" has been organized by the UAW.

Striking workers outside São Paulo, Brazil Ford truck plant, July 26. For international labor solidarity against auto bosses!

William Jordan

UAW head Stephen Yokich with President Clinton. Pro-Democratic Party union bureaucracy pushes "partnership" with capitalists.

Mike Clemmer



Now, low-wage, non-union parts plants are cropping up around Detroit and other Northern cities under the very noses of the UAW tops.

Take Flint, where GM's famed Buick City complex—site of the 1937 sitdown strike that built the UAW—locked its gates for good in June. For Buick City workers who haven't gotten transfers to other GM facilities, there isn't much out there besides a growing number of non-union parts outfits where pay averages around $8-10 an hour, less than half of what they made as UAW members. One young black worker in Flint told *Workers Vanguard* that such jobs are available only through temp agencies like the one that hired him. In a converted section of an old warehouse, where tubing is bent and brazed for use in automobile assembly, he toils nine and a half hours a day with only two 15-minute breaks—no lunch—for only $5.50 an hour, and no benefits!

Sharply intensified exploitation over the past two decades, including the proliferation of multi-tier wage systems discriminating against women, minority and younger workers, have led to a vast rise in pro-union sentiment. Only 14 percent of workers—and barely more than 10 percent in the private sector—are currently unionized. Yet *Business Week* (19 July) recently reported with concern that the number of workers who want to belong to unions has more than doubled since 1984, the height of the union-busting Reagan years:

> "If even half of the employees who say they favor union representation had been allowed to vote for unions, organized labor would represent as much as 35% of the American workforce today—the same share it held at the peak of its power in 1945."

Doubling or tripling the number of workers organized in unions would cost corporate America literally hundreds of billions of dollars in increased wages and benefits. That is why, as this corporate mouthpiece itself points out, the employers have a huge arsenal of intimidation measures aimed at preventing workers from joining unions. American capitalists spend a billion dollars a year on lawyers and security outfits to keep unions out. And this is in addition to the plethora of "right to work" and other anti-union laws and the strikebreaking cops and courts.

Mobilize Labor to Fight Racist Oppression!

The massive organizing drive needed to reverse the sharp decline in union membership in recent decades will not come about through the contractual clauses pursued by the UAW tops which would supposedly bind the corporations to "neutrality" in unionization efforts. The UAW was organized through sitdown strikes, mass pickets, secondary labor boycotts (refusing to handle struck goods) and pitched battles with cops and company goons. Today, the union must be ready to mobilize its membership to defy strikebreaking court injunctions and laws banning militant labor actions and to prepare for an inevitable collision with the capitalist state—the cops and courts that enforce the bosses' laws.

And especially in the South, no campaign to unionize the auto assembly and parts plants will succeed unless it takes up the fight for black equality as a central task. Organizing the "open shop" South necessarily and directly poses the need to mobilize labor to defeat the racist, union-hating lynchers of the Ku Klux Klan, who would be unleashed by the capitalists to suppress multiracial labor struggle. The Klan and the people behind them have always understood that unions mean racial integration.

The fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants is also a crucial part of mobilizing the power of labor in struggle against capitalist exploitation. Instead, the "America first" chauvinism pushed by the labor bureaucracy serves to fuel racist terror and the capitalist rulers' attacks on Hispanic, Asian and other immigrant workers.

The first step to waging an effective struggle against the capitalists is to understand who your friends are and who your enemies are. That means breaking with any kind of "partnership" with the U.S. auto companies. The labor tops' program of unity with the bosses means *dividing the working class* along racial and ethnic lines and pitting workers here against their class brothers and sisters in other countries. It also means setting older high-seniority workers against younger workers earning less money for the same kind of work, undermining the very basis of industrial unionism, which has always meant the struggle for equal pay for equal work and for uniform working conditions across the entire industry.

To unleash the power of labor in struggle against the bosses it's necessary to fight for the political independence of the working class, which means breaking with the racist, anti-labor parties of capital, both Democrats and Republicans. Workers need their own party, one that fights for their class interests and the rights of all the oppressed as part of a program for socialist revolution. As we wrote in our article after the Flint strike:

> "In the course of the class battles to come, a new leadership of the labor movement must come forward based on a program of militant struggle against the entire capitalist system. Out of such struggles will be forged a revolutionary workers party based on the Marxist understanding that the capitalist profit system must be rooted out and replaced by workers rule."■

---

up Mumia's cause, which has become the focal point in the fight against the barbaric, racist death penalty.

Behind the cops' vendetta to kill Jamal is the drive by the capitalist rulers to beef up their arsenal of state repression—including the death penalty which stands at its pinnacle—against workers, blacks and immigrants. They seek to execute Jamal in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge vicious cop repression in the ghettos, who stand up for labor's rights on the picket lines, who protest imperialist mass murder from Somalia and Iraq to the Balkans. The entire history of the vendetta against Jamal by the cops, courts, media and the capitalist politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties speaks against those who promote liberal illusions that Mumia can win his freedom through a "fair trial" in the capitalist courts or through pressuring the Democrats.

The power to win Jamal's freedom lies in the multiracial labor movement, which in taking up this fight will strike a blow against an entire system predicated on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of the black population. Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the PDC. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Tops Push Sellout "Partnership" with Auto Bosses

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Defend Jobs, Organize Non-Union Plants!

Last summer's strike by 9,200 United Auto Workers (UAW) members at two General Motors parts plants in Flint, Michigan succeeded in strangling virtually the entire North American operation of the world's biggest corporation. Taking on GM's job-slashing "rationalization" drive and the company's attempt to deliver a knock-out blow to the union, the strike ended effectively in a stand-off when it was called off by the UAW leadership after nearly eight weeks. Now, as the September 14 contract deadline nears for 388,000 UAW workers at the Big Three auto companies, a showdown looms over the unfinished business of that strike.

A recent article in the *Chicago Tribune* (13 June) noted, "GM is haunted by the 54-day stoppage last year that cost it $2 billion and drove its share of the U.S. auto market to its lowest in decades." The current contract struggle is the best opportunity in years to launch a fighting offensive against the auto bosses. Having raked in more than *$73 billion* in profits since 1993, the Big Three are posting record sales figures for 1999 and do not want to see production and profits choked off through a strike.

Greedy for ever more profits, GM, Ford and DaimlerChrysler are on a crusade to increase productivity the old-fashioned way: by forcing fewer workers to do more work for less pay. The average workweek at Ford is already 49 hours, and higher still at DaimlerChrysler. This backbreaking work is carried out by an ever aging workforce, almost half of which will be eligible for retirement within the next five years. By spinning off its Delphi parts division as a separate corporation in the spring, GM has positioned itself to introduce the so-called "Brazilian model" of modular production, which would shift much of the assembly work to lower-paid, younger and often non-union parts workers while drastically reducing the number of workers needed at the unionized final assembly plants. Delphi meanwhile aims to extract massive concessions from its UAW workers in order to increase its "competitive" edge.

WV Photo

Flint workers rally during 1998 UAW strike which shut down General Motors operations in North America.

While the total number of auto workers in the U.S.—some 930,000—is today near its all-time high, nearly 60 percent of these workers are not unionized. A solid strike of auto workers nationwide enforced by mass militant picket lines can reverse the companies' anti-union, job-slashing offensive and launch the class-struggle drive needed to organize the non-union shops that now employ over half a million auto workers. With the bulk of these non-union operations—including the DaimlerChrysler plant in Vance, Alabama—located in the "open shop" South, a serious union organizing drive necessarily means a concerted struggle against racist discrimination. Labor and black rights march forward together—or fall back separately!

In our article following last year's Flint GM strike, which not only remained solid throughout but had thoroughgoing support of UAW members around the country, we wrote of the battle that looms ahead:

> "The evident combativity of union members poses a collision with the greedy, union-busting corporations. But it also poses a clash within the UAW and other unions with the double-dealing labor bureaucrats, who have worked hand in glove with the capitalists and the government in overseeing the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs and drastic cuts in workers' standard of living. When an army gets ready to do battle with the enemy, it is important to prepare by taking stock of its fighting capacity, especially the question of leadership."
>
> —"For a Class-Struggle Fight Against GM Job Slashing!" *WV* No. 696, 11 September 1998

Well before the contract deadline, UAW president Stephen Yokich has already announced that a strike is "a million miles from our goal." The UAW misleaders stand for class-collaborationist "partnership" with the capitalists at every level, from endorsing backbreaking speedup on the shopfloor to embracing the Democratic Party in the political arena. Rejecting anything that smacks of class struggle, today Solidarity House looks to organize non-union plants through cringing appeals for the "neutrality" of the companies.

According to a *Business Week* (26 July)

continued on page 15

Vanity Fair's "Confession" Hoax

Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

We print below a July 15 statement by the Partisan Defense Committee. Now Mumia Abu-Jamal, in a July 26 statement titled "Anatomy of a Lie," has completely demolished *Vanity Fair*'s fabricated story that he confessed to Philip Bloch in 1992. Mumia quotes a letter to him by Bloch mentioning the movie *Incident at Oglala* on the frame-up of Native American Indian activist Leonard Peltier. Describing how a jury acquitted Peltier's co-defendants, Bloch writes, "So—it is possible to get justice from a jury—not always—but sometimes. So, when you get a ***new*** trial—I think that there is a good chance of acquittal." This letter was dated 17 July 1993—***more than six months after Bloch claims to have heard Mumia confess!***

In his statement, Mumia points out: "Why write to a guy and write about *new* trials, or acquittals, *if that guy confessed his guilt to you*? Answer: Simple. There was no confession. Period." Mumia continues:

> "Did Bloch, like the cops of the 6th District, conveniently 'forget' this 'confession' also?
>
> "I don't know, and frankly don't care why he has now come forward. Perhaps he's frustrated that he's still a substitute teacher, and wants a push from friends in high places? Perhaps he seeks the warm glow of the limelight.
>
> "Who knows? Who cares?
>
> "By his own words, it proves he may not be a snitch, nor much of a traitor—but a liar."

* * *

The magazine *Vanity Fair* (August 1999) has added its glossy pages to the cop-led campaign for the legal lynching of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—a former Black Panther, eloquent journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. An

WV Photo

New York City, October 1998: Emergency protest called by PDC after Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Mumia's legal appeal.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 718 3 September 1999

Strikes Against Layoffs, Austerity

Reuters photos

In biggest labor struggle since bourgeois-nationalist ANC government came to power, public sector workers have taken to the streets in series of one-day strikes and mass protests, including on August 24 (left) and July 23.

South African Workers vs. ANC Capitalist Government

For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

JOHANNESBURG, August 28—The past month has seen the largest and most significant labour struggle in South Africa since the white-supremacist regime was replaced in 1994 by the black bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC). Hundreds of thousands of public-sector workers—mainly teachers, nurses and civil servants—have hit the picket lines and taken to the streets to fight against mass retrenchments (layoffs), austerity and union-busting. On August 24, a one-day nationwide strike, organised by 12 unions representing some 800,000 workers, was called to protest the government's arrogant refusal to even bargain with the unions, instead offering a "unilateral" wage increase of a paltry 6 percent for the majority of workers.

While the ANC has mobilised the Congress of South African Students against the teachers, the strike has won support from students and parents in the black townships, especially in Soweto (near Johannesburg), a traditional centre of black militancy. Such support is all the more important since ANC spokesmen seek to blame "greedy," "overpaid" workers for the lack of money for schools, hospitals and social services. Especially notable is that the current labour struggle has also cut across the country's hard racial divide. White teachers, nurses and civil servants, a relatively privileged stratum with their own separate unions, joined with their black colleagues in last week's protest strike. A white teacher from Pretoria explained: "There is a feeling of desperation among us. That is why we are marching."

The principal unions engaged in the current strikes are part of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), encompassing the main body of the organised black proletariat. The leadership of COSATU is dominated by the South African Communist Party (SACP), which has long been closely allied to the ANC and holds key posts in the capitalist government of newly elected president Thaho Mbeki. Indeed, the minister of public services is SACP member Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, who is today acting as the government's hard cop against the unions led by her party "comrades." Consequently, the COSATU tops, despite a broad base of support extending from black township dwellers to white teachers, have deliberately *limited the effectiveness* of the strikes. The government has not been shut down, which the unions clearly have the power to do, but has only been disrupted by selective strikes and other actions.

At the same time, the pro-capitalist COSATU bureaucracy is under enormous pressure from its ranks to resist the get-tough policies of the Mbeki government. COSATU general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi told the August 24 labour rally in Pretoria, "If it takes months and months of confrontation, we are prepared." But "months and months of confrontation" means a series of partial and inconclusive actions, aimed solely at pressuring the government to "negotiate" while exhausting and dissipating the workers' militancy. To win, the unions must launch an all-out strike throughout the public sector.

It is not an accident that the biggest labour struggle confronting the ANC regime has taken place right after elections in which Nelson Mandela was replaced as head of state by Thabo Mbeki, his hand-picked successor. For five years, Mandela managed to keep a lid on seething discontent among the black masses, in large measure due to his great moral authority enhanced by almost three decades in South Africa's prisons, most of them on the notorious Robben Island. Mbeki, a generation younger, personifies the aspiring black bourgeoisie who have hopped on the "gravy train" since 1994 and now drive BMWs, wear Pierre Cardin suits and have moved into posh, formerly all-white suburbs.

In the name of "globalisation" and "efficiency," Mbeki has wasted no time in spearheading a union-busting privatization drive and labour "restructuring." Under the headline, "South African Labour Comes Face to Face with the Hard Reality of World Economy," the London *Financial Times* (29 July) wrote:

> "Mr Mbeki appears to be toughening his stance. He is committed to speeding up privatisation and restructuring inefficient state-owned businesses. He is also expected to start cutting South Africa's large civil service wage bill. Both policies will mean job losses, at least in the short run."

Here it should be emphasised that about ***40 percent*** of the black labour force is at present unemployed, and that figure is far higher in townships like Soweto. Consequently, much of the money earned by unionised black workers goes to feed and clothe numerous impoverished relatives in the townships and countryside.

As a capitalist party external to the

continued on page 10

Young Spartacus

For Workers' Strike Action to Defeat Privatization, Defend Education!

Mexico: Down With Government Repression Against UNAM Student Strike!

See Page Six

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Court Ruling Spits on Survivors of Attica Massacre

On August 3, a federal appeals panel overturned a 1997 jury verdict awarding $4 million to Frank "Big Black" Smith, a former inmate and survivor of the 1971 Attica prison massacre. On 13 September 1971, New York governor Nelson Rockefeller unleashed an army of state troopers, prison guards and cops to suppress a four-day prison rebellion, killing 29 inmates and then sadistically torturing many others, including Smith, who was singled out for being one of the leaders of the uprising.

While the gruesome facts of the massacre are undisputed, acknowledged even by official investigations and the judges in the latest ruling, *no one* responsible for the carnage has ever been brought to justice. In fact, in sending Smith's suit back to a lower court, this ruling also overturned the finding of liability against a deputy warden who was the only person ever held legally accountable for the massacre. The $2.8 billion suit on behalf of 1,281 Attica inmates seeking nominal recompense for the systematic torture they suffered has already dragged through the courts for *25 years*, coming up against a wall of government lies, cover-up and obstruction. Now, in tossing out the 1997 jury verdict, the court declares that Smith has no rights which the racist capitalist "justice" system is bound to respect. Commenting on the ruling, Smith expressed his bitterness over this ongoing judicial torture: "Attica is 28 years of my life. I sleep with it, I eat with it, it's everything to me."

By the summer of 1971, Attica, a "high security" hellhole, was ready to explode. Over 2,200 inmates were subjected to miserable conditions in a penitentiary built for a maximum of 1,600. Inmates were locked in cells 14 to 16 hours per day, permitted one shower per week and one roll of toilet paper and a bar of soap a month. Reading materials were strictly censored. The men were paid slave wages of between 20 cents and one dollar per day. Prison guards routinely beat black and Hispanic inmates, who made up 60 percent of the prison population.

On September 9, inmates seized control of most of the prison and took several dozen guards, prison officials and others hostage, holding them in the D Yard section, where order was maintained by an inmate security squad. The declaration issued by the prisoners that night reflected the influence of the social radicalization taking place outside prison walls amid militant black struggle and mass protests against the imperialist war in Vietnam:

> "WE are MEN! We are not beasts and do not intend to be beaten or driven as such....
>
> "We have set forth demands that will bring closer to reality the demise of these prisons institutions that serve no useful purpose to the People of America, but to those who would enslave and exploit the people of America."

Demands included political and religious freedom, an end to censorship of reading matter and mail, and improvements in sanitation, education, recreation and food.

After four days of stand-off, only minutes after the prisoners had rejected an ultimatum from the authorities, a helicopter began dropping immobilizing CS gas above D Yard. More than a thousand state troopers, backed by prison guards and cops mobilized from around the region, blasted into the yard firing their shotguns. After six minutes of cold-blooded slaughter, 29 prisoners and 10 hostages lay dead and 88 more wounded.

As the tear gas rose from the blood-soaked yard, the orgy of torture began. Hundreds of prisoners, still choking and stunned, were ordered to strip, lie face down in the mud and crawl on their bellies. They were forced to run or crawl over broken glass, sodomized, burned and made to run a gauntlet of 30 crazed, baton-wielding guards. The state then brought 62 of the inmates up on a total of 1,289 charges, all but one of which were subsequently dropped.

Agins/NY Times

Frank Smith, tortured by prison guards after 1971 Attica uprising, was denied $4 million settlement by federal appeals court.

The front page of the first issue of *Workers Vanguard* (October 1971) carried the headline, "Massacre at Attica." Indicting the ruling-class criminals who perpetrated this bloodbath, we wrote:

> "Rockefeller cut down the Attica prisoners in the manner of his father and grandfather before him—ruthlessly and to protect the system from which his profits spring....
>
> "The class responsible for Attica is responsible for My Lai, for Vietnam, for Hiroshima, for all the other massacres over which it had 'no choice'—no choice if American capitalism was to be preserved....
>
> "The prison system cannot be reformed; it must be abolished.... To abolish the prisons, we must abolish the bourgeois state of which they are part, and the class in whose interests that state is administered."

Today, the prison population has mushroomed to nearly 2 million, more than *five times* the number in 1971, not least as a result of the kind of laws spearheaded by Republican Rockefeller, imposing long mandatory sentences for even the most minimal drug offenses. With Republicans and Democrats alike pushing the racist "war on drugs," Rockefeller's law became a model for the capitalist rulers around the country. The astronomical growth in the prison population, overwhelmingly black and Hispanic, came in direct proportion to the sharp decline in unionized manufacturing jobs in the 1970s and '80s, as the bourgeoisie deemed as "surplus" whole layers of the ghetto and barrio masses. The Spartacist League is committed to forging the revolutionary workers party needed to lead the multiracial proletariat in smashing the racist capitalist apparatus of repression through socialist revolution. Under the rule of the proletariat, capitalist torture and racist oppression will be relics of a hoary past.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Darwin, Science and Materialism

Marxists seek to understand the world in order to change it, to overthrow the capitalist profit system through proletarian revolution and usher in an egalitarian socialist society. Our defense of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution against the assault by religious bigots flows not only from our stand for the separation of church and state but from our historical materialist worldview. Writing only two decades after Darwin's work was published, Friedrich Engels explained how the theory of evolution was fundamental to a materialist understanding of nature.

Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, Nature works dialectically and not metaphysically; that she does not move in the eternal oneness of a perpetually recurring circle, but goes through a real historical evolution. In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysical conception of Nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years. But the naturalists who have learned to think dialectically are few and far between, and this conflict of the results of discovery with preconceived modes of thinking explains the endless confusion now reigning in theoretical natural science, the despair of teachers as well as learners, of authors and readers alike.

An exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of the reflection of this evolution in the minds of men, can therefore only be obtained by the methods of dialectics with its constant regard to the innumerable actions and reactions of life and death, of progressive or retrogressive changes....

A system of natural and historical knowledge, embracing everything, and final for all time, is a contradiction to the fundamental law of dialectic reasoning. This law, indeed, by no means excludes, but, on the contrary, includes the idea that the systematic knowledge of the external universe can make giant strides from age to age.

—Friedrich Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1892)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is August 31.

No. 718 **3 September 1999**

N.Y. State Special Commission on Attica

After murderous suppression of rebellion, Attica inmates were forced to strip, crawl over broken glass and run gauntlet of baton-wielding guards.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Another Write-Up...for Rapping!

On Thursday, August 12th, 1999, I finally got through on a call I had been trying to complete all week long: to Amy Goodman, the host of the acclaimed Pacifica news broadcast, "Democracy Now!", aired over WBAI-FM, in New York City, and over the Network, nationally. I was thrilled to get through, and, as her topic was the buzz over the imminent release of 16 Puerto-Rican Independentista political prisoners, it was a perfect opportunity to express solidarity for the brave and committed Puerto-Rican freedom fighters, who have suffered enormously in their long imprisonment at the hands of their cruel American colonizers. After speaking with relatives and loved ones of the Independentistas, Amy calmly announced to her listeners that she had a guest on the line (me) who might offer a few opinions on the controversy. It went something like this:

> AG [Amy Goodman]: On the line now from a state correctional institution in Pennsylvania, after considerable difficulty, is our guest, Mumia Abu-Jamal, convicted in the murder of Philadelphia police officer, Daniel Faulkner, in 1981; in a trial that many have condemned as riddled with constitutional, and other errors...Mumia, welcome to Democracy Now;
>
> MAJ: Thank you, Amy, it is my pleasure to be with you all at Democracy Now!
>
> AG: Now, Mumia, I'm sure you've heard about the controversy that we're discussing this morning; the imminent release of some 16 Puerto-Rican political prisoners, under certain conditions...have you heard?
>
> MAJ: Yeah, well, I did see some mention on this on the TV, and these are my thoughts on the issue: Under the constitution, one is allegedly allowed the rights of association. For these brothers and sisters, freedom ain't really freedom is it? First I wanna say: *Libertad para los presos politicos Puertoriqueños*! Yes, "Free all Puerto-Rican Political Prisoners!" Yeah! We're with that! But, under the U.S. government's plan they will be granted a kind of half-freedom; They won't be allowed to associate with each other, so their freedom of association is dead. Also, one of the other conditions that the government is placing upon them is the demand that they 'renounce violence.' Now, Amy—where have we heard this before? If we look at recent world history we'll see that that was exactly the same thing that the racist government of South Africa demanded of Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned members of the ANC....

At this moment, my phone line went dead, as a guard pulled the wire from the phone jack on the wall, disconnecting me. Another guard appeared at the cell door hollering at the top of his lungs: "This call is terminated!" When I demanded to know why, he replied, "This order came down from the very top!" I immediately called to the Sgt. standing by and looking on, "Sgt! Where did this order come from?"

He shrugged his shoulders, answering, "I dunno. We just got a phone call to cut you off."

The next day, the answer came in the form of a write-up; #A69958, where I am charged with a Class I Misconduct: Unauthorized Use of the Mail or Telephone. In the write-up, the following institutional offenses are stated:

> On August 12, 1999, at 0936 hours, Inmate Jamal made a telephone call to a news radio station named Pacifica Radio Network's Democracy Now. Per DC-ADM 009 News Media Relations, it states News Media Requests for inmate interviews by telephone shall be approved at the discretion of the Facility Manager. Inmate Jamal did not request from the Facility Manager permission to be interviewed by the news media. In addition, inmate Jamal placed a news reporter on his IPIN list knowing full well that the person was a reporter. This is verified by the attached documentation. Also, per DC-ADM 6.5.8, all communications between Capital Case inmates and the news media shall be conducted in accordance with DOC AND Institutional policies on visitation and telephone privileges. It should be noted inmate telephone calls are a privilege. As a result of inmate Jamal not requesting permission from the facility manager to be interviewed or speak with the news media, his telephone call was terminated after 11 minutes of speaking with the news media.

This write-up was signed by a Lt. and a Captain of the guards.

In order to produce this write-up, ranking staff members had to ignore their own rules; for example DC-ADM 009-1, Nov. 11, 1996, which states:

> News media are entitled to the same access to specific inmates as the general public. There shall be no special arrangements made for news media interviews with specific inmates. ***All communications between specific inmates and the news media shall be conducted in accordance with the DC-ADM 812 (Inmate Visiting Privileges) and the DC-ADM 818 (Inmate Telephone Calls)***.... [d] If an inmate wants to talk with a news media representative over the telephone, it is his responsibility to place a collect call to the reporter under guidelines set forth in DC-ADM 818 - Inmate Telephone Calls.

There are rules—and there are *rules*, it seems especially when the state deals with Mumia Abu-Jamal. Here, the DOC writes mé up, using a rule that no longer exists! But since when have rules gotten in the way of corrupt bureaucracies which follow the foul winds of their political masters? Clearly, we are not working with "rules": we are working with the state's exercise of its political power to censor a captive who they, once again, have acted to silence. But, like before, it ain't working. I thank Amy and her fervent politically adept listeners at "Democracy Now!" for that great opportunity to show solidarity. You keep on listening...I'll keep on rapping!

14 August 1999

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Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Letter

On "Community Policing"

Los Angeles
29 July 1999

Dear Comrades,

I intended to write this when *WV* No. 715 (11 June) was current. Taking advantage that it is only one issue past, and more important that LAPD cop terror will remain, I'll proceed.

Mainly, I thought that the addition of a sentence or two on "Community Policing" would have given the article "L.A. Cops Gun Down Homeless Woman" a richer quality for those readers we wish to reach. These murderers on bicycles are a direct product of the Christopher *Report of the Independent Commission* stemming from the *Rodney King* beating. The idea being to weed out the "bad apples" from the LAPD, and to replace its "philosophy" of a professional crime fighting priority with one of "service to the public." Or...how to mask the nature of the state by proclaiming reformability of its racist guard dogs.

Aside from children living on the streets or someone like Mumia on Death Row, who else in America would be more vulnerable than a person who is black, a woman, homeless, and mentally ill?

That a shopping cart of someone like Mitchell was the premise for state murder is the epitome of the lie—by those like Michael Zinzun of the Coalition Against Police Abuse, the L.A. County AFL-CIO or the ACLU—that reform via a new philosophy or oversight can be had. As the *Report of the Independent Commission* stated in Chapter 5: "Community policing proponents believe that, as this communication continues, a cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship will develop between the police and the community that will ensure police accountability to the community...and will promote a better understanding by the community of the realities of police work." Later stating, "Recognizing this promise, the chiefs of police of 10 major metropolitan departments, including New York...issued a position paper endorsing community-based policing on April 16, 1991." Chapter 5 ends with the "demand": "Above all, the LAPD must understand that it is accountable to all segments of the community." Here, Ramona Ripston (ACLU), the "left" and all progressive peoples have resolved for a better society.

Additionally, shopping carts in L.A. among the whole of the plebeian mass are as common as Rolls Royces are on Rodeo Drive. This hideous event makes it open season on thousands of homeless and hundreds of thousands of working poor who literally depend on shopping carts to function in daily life on the streets of L.A.

One more point. I thought the mention of Willie Williams as the replacement for Darryl Gates as Chief of Police could have said a couple of more words than that he was "a black man." He was chosen as an "outsider," and as a black. But he was also chosen from one of the most notorious police departments in the country. Williams is from the city, and was from the police department that has imprisoned/bombed MOVE, and put Mumia on Death Row. He was the face of "reform"! The L.A. black nationalist bookstore Esowon had Willie Williams toward the end of his stay in L.A. as Chief of Police be a *guest* at their store for a book-signing!

Comradely,
Benny Rodriguez

No Conditions— Free Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners Now!

The following is an August 28 protest letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to Attorney General Janet Reno and President Bill Clinton.

We demand the immediate, unconditional release of the 16 Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners, including supporters of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) and Los Macheteros, recently offered "clemency" by the Clinton administration. We denounce the outrageous conditions for clemency, including that the prisoners renounce "violence" and refrain from associating with other advocates of independence—a direct attack on the right of political association. We demand freedom as well for independence fighter José Solís Jordán, convicted in Chicago in March in a transparent frame-up trial.

The FALN and Los Macheteros prisoners have already served at least 20 years of prison sentences that range up to 90 years chiefly on the charge of seditious conspiracy—a "crime" which targets the government's perceived opponents for nothing more than exercising their right to political association and activity. Such thought-crime measures were reinforced last week in the New York City court ruling upholding Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman's seditions conspiracy conviction, based solely on his speeches, over the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

That the U.S. government demands that these prisoners renounce "violence" is obscene in its hypocrisy. The U.S. has maintained a grip on its Puerto Rican colony through a century of bloody terror, from the 1937 Ponce massacre of pro-independence protesters to the assassination and imprisonment of countless other fighters for Puerto Rican national rights. The continuing protests against the U.S. Navy bombing range in Vieques demonstrates the deep resentment of the Puerto Rican masses over their colonial oppression.

Free the Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners now!

Capitalist Russia in the "New World Order"

We publish below the third and concluding part of this article. Parts One and Two appeared in WV *Nos. 716 (9 July) and 717 (6 August).*

The capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the USSR was bound up with and driven forward by the fracturing of the Soviet Union along national lines. The vanguard of anti-Soviet nationalism during the regime of Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev was in the Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Under the guise of "independence,"

PART THREE

the fascist-infested Lithuanian Sajudis and the other Baltic nationalists were driving headlong to capitalist counterrevolution in the years before 1991. Nonetheless, the secession of these three small westernmost republics would not in itself have threatened the existence of the Soviet Union.

To understand how the counterrevolution played out in the non-Russian republics of the USSR, it is necessary to have some sense of their history preceding the Bolshevik Revolution. Throughout the Cold War, the tiny Baltic republics in particular were painted by CIA-sponsored rabble as "captive nations" whose centuries-long quest for independence had been snuffed out when they were annexed to the Soviet Union a year before the 1941 German invasion. This is a gross rewriting of history, even leaving aside that the Baltics were finally incorporated into the USSR only after the Red Army drove out the genocidal Nazi occupation forces near the end of World War II.

The Baltic peoples, like the Poles and Finns, had long been subjects of the tsarist empire, which was loyally supported by the local capitalists and landlords. In Estonia and Latvia, the cities were largely Russian, German and Jewish while the countryside was completely dominated by German baronial estates. In Lithuania, which had been part of a powerful kingdom with Poland until the late 18th century, Polish landlords held sway in the countryside while Vilnius was populated by Poles, Jews and Russians. The October Revolution polarized the region along class lines, with the peasant masses of Estonia and Latvia in particular flocking to the red banner of Bolshevism while the capitalists and landlords turned to national "independence," under the aegis of the imperialist powers. Short-lived soviet governments in the Baltics were drowned in blood by German and Polish troops, paving the way for the brutal interwar capitalist regimes which were tiny carbon copies of Baron Mannerheim's Finland and Pilsudski's Poland.

The Central Asian regions of the former tsarist empire, in contrast, were literally catapulted from medieval feudalism into the 20th century in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution. This helps explain why under Gorbachev there was no significant agitation for independence in Kazakhstan, half of whose population was Russian or Russian-speaking, or in the other Turkic-speaking Central Asian republics. The Central Asian branches of the *nomenklatura*, the Stalinist bureaucracy, took advantage of the weakness of the central Soviet government to expand their already considerable autonomy, but were willing to remain in a looser federated state as proposed by Gorbachev's abortive new Union treaty in 1991.

Key to the breakup of the USSR were developments in the Ukraine, with its population of 50 million by far the largest and most important national component of the USSR after Russia. The western Ukraine, which had been dominated by Polish landlords before the revolution and was occupied by Pilsudski's Poland in the interwar years, was historically the center of the most reactionary currents of Ukrainian nationalism. The eastern Ukraine, on the other hand, had been industrialized by Russian capitalists in the last years of the tsarist autocracy, with a largely Russian workforce, and remains to this day decidedly pro-Moscow. Thus, the counterrevolutionary Ukrainian separatist movement which arose during the Gorbachev years had relatively little support in the eastern Ukraine.

As in the case of Russia, the counterrevolution in the Ukraine was *not* led by longtime anti-Communist activists but by a section of the Ukrainian Stalinist bureaucracy. The key figure here was Leonid Kravchuk, who had been head of the ideology department of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (CPU). In that capacity, Kravchuk had devoted his career to denouncing Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in the name of Soviet patriotism. As late as the beginning of 1989, he condemned as "anti-constitutional" the program put forward by the right-wing nationalists of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Restructuring (RUKH).

Kravchuk then did a complete political about-face and steered a course toward a "sovereign" capitalist Ukraine. Calling upon Ukrainians to become "masters of their own land, their own fate," he waged a successful faction fight against the more Moscow-loyal elements of the CPU. He simultaneously stole the political clothing of the anti-Communist nationalists of RUKH while collaborating with them against the central government in Moscow. Immediately after his election as president of the Ukraine in December 1991, Kravchuk joined Russian president Boris Yeltsin in signing the formal death warrant of the USSR.

To understand Kravchuk's rapid transformation from a Soviet Stalinist ideologist-in-chief to the central leader of a Ukrainian capitalist state it is again necessary to bear in mind the Marxist precept that being determines consciousness. Contrary to Western imperialist propaganda, the Soviet Union was not a monolithic state ruled from the Kremlin with an iron hand. The federated structure of the USSR was real and important. The bureaucracies administering the various national republics had a substantial degree of political autonomy and control over local economic resources. Correspondingly, they developed a sense of national identity vis-à-vis Moscow. In the early 1970s, longtime CPU leader Peter Shelest was purged by Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev for "national-autarkic deviationism."

Nonetheless, as long as the privileged social position of the Ukrainian bureaucrats was based on the Russian-centered workers state with its collectivized economy, they professed Soviet "patriotism." However, in 1989-91 a new and more favorable opportunity for them suddenly opened up. The rapid disintegration of the central Soviet government under the Cold War pressures of Western, especially American, imperialism raised the imminent prospect of a Ukrainian capitalist state. At the core of the newly cohered anti-Soviet nationalist wing of the CPU was the "industrial faction" represented by the likes of Leonid Kuchma, head of a rocket factory, and Volodymyr Slednev, director of a metallurgy complex in the Donets Basin. These were the elements of the bureaucracy in the Ukraine best placed to take advantage of the restoration of capitalism. And they expected that with that would come easy access to the money markets of Wall Street, the City of London and Frankfurt.

Financial Times

1992

Boris Yeltsin greeted in Washington by President Bush, rejoicing over capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed Soviet Union and immiserated millions of working people.

1999

As anti-American sentiment deepens in Russian society, *New York Times Magazine* (15 August) rehashes debate over whether U.S. imperialism should have helped Moscow build up strong capitalist economy.

Proletarian Internationalism vs. Great Russian Chauvinism

In a sense it is easier to understand why significant elements of the Ukrainian bureaucracy supported the breakup of the USSR than why their Russian counterparts, who rallied behind Yeltsin, did so. The Russian Stalinist "patriots" and their fascist and right-wing nationalist allies denounced Yeltsin as a traitor to the "fatherland" and an agent of American imperialism. The formal dissolution of the USSR also produced a split in the "democratic" movement in Russia as a number of anti-Communist Russian nationalists who had backed Yeltsin against Gorbachev now turned bitterly against him.

One of these, Mikhail Astafyev, exclaimed: "I will forgive the communists everything if they restore the state which the democrats have destroyed" (quoted in Bruce Clark, *An Empire's New Clothes*). Astafyev and his cothinkers did not, of course, mean by this the nationally federated workers state born of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. They meant a Russian-dominated imperialist state, stretching from the Polish border to the Pacific Ocean, which is how they perceived the USSR. Ironically, Russian Stalinist-derived "patriots" shared with American imperialist ideologues like Henry Kissinger the same *false* view that the Soviet Union was the successor to

AP

August 1991: Bush welcomed in Kiev by Ukrainian Stalinist leader Leonid Kravchuk, who pushed through drive for an independent capitalist Ukraine. In 1993, Ukrainian miners launched massive strike against ravages of capitalist restoration.

Spartacist

the tsarist empire with a thin veneer of red coloration.

But the Soviet Union was *not* a Russian imperialist state. It was a genuinely multinational state—whose planned economy had laid the basis for great strides forward by the more backward peoples subjugated under the former tsarist empire—despite the Great Russian chauvinism embraced by the core of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The Soviet economy was based on extensive economic integration and the Soviet armed forces were multinational in composition and not loyal to Russia as such. But with the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the floodgates of nationalist antagonisms were opened wide.

Trotskyists opposed Great Russian chauvinism and the pro-capitalist secessionist movements in the Baltics and elsewhere. We fought to restore the voluntary federation of Soviet republics envisioned by Lenin, under which all peoples of the USSR would have the right to self-determination except when this was simply a rallying cry for capitalist counterrevolution. The Soviet Union could have been preserved and economically reintegrated only through a workers political revolution based on ***proletarian internationalism***, that is, the same basis on which it was originally established. As we wrote in early 1992:

> "The remnants of the Stalinist bureaucracy—whether military or civilian—have no intention of opposing the drive toward capitalist counterrevolution, despite occasional foot-dragging. Only the working class under a Leninist-Trotskyist leadership can save the Soviet Union from dismemberment, capitalist exploitation and impoverishment, fratricidal war and imperialist subjugation. It is urgently necessary to build a new Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union, uniting the most class-conscious workers with revolutionary Marxist intellectuals. Only the program of proletarian internationalism, carried out by a communist vanguard with a multinational cadre, can reforge the Soviet Union on the basis of national equality and socialist economic planning."
>
> —"Breakup of Soviet Union Spells Disaster," *WV* No. 542, 10 January 1992

In the aftermath of capitalist counterrevolution, however, the call to "restore the Soviet Union" advanced by Stalinist-derived but thoroughly bourgeois-nationalist Russian "patriots" became a fig leaf for support to a Great Russian *derzhava*, or "great power" (see "Why Marxists Do Not Raise the Call 'Restore the Soviet Union'," *WV* Nos. 638 and 639, 2 February and 16 February 1996). In the context that all the states in the area are capitalist, this call would appear to many people in the non-Russian republics as a barely camouflaged version of the open demands for their national oppression and domination that currently emanate from the Kremlin. Such chauvinist appeals are poison to the fight for socialist revolutions to sweep away all the capitalist states in the former Soviet Union.

American Imperialism Weakens Yeltsin's Russia

Yeltsin was no less a Russian nationalist and would-be imperialist than his Stalinist "patriot" and fascist opponents in the "'red'-brown coalition." In agreeing to the independence of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the other Soviet republics, he was engaging in a strategic retreat, to use military terminology. Liberal Russian academic Lilia Shevtsova wrote that Yeltsin "adopted a foreign policy aimed at preserving Russia's status as a superpower and securing Moscow's position as an ally, not simply a partner, of the United States" (Gail W. Lapidus, ed., *The New Russia: Troubled Transformation* [1995]). It would be more accurate to say that Yeltsin aimed to achieve Russian domination over the territories and peoples of the former USSR and to restore Russia as a major world power through an alliance with the U.S.

Capitalist counterrevolution and the concomitant breakup of the USSR precipitated a debate within American ruling circles over policy toward post-Soviet Russia. Should Russia, under the "friendly" government of Boris Yeltsin, be cultivated as an American client state? Or should Russia be regarded as a potential rival power, currently weakened but still formidable, and treated accordingly?

In a sense, this debate paralleled that between the "hawks" and "doves" of the Cold War era. The most vocal anti-Russian hawks were the same—Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger. In contrast, Richard Nixon, a rabid Cold War anti-Communist, argued in 1992:

> "Yeltsin is the most pro-Western leader in Russian history. Under those circumstances then, he deserves our help. Charity, it is said, begins at home and t agree. But aid to Russia, just speaking of Russia specifically, is not charity. We have to realize that if Yeltsin fails the alternative is not going to be somebody better, it's going to be somebody infinitely worse."
>
> —quoted in Karen Dawisha, ed., *The International Dimension of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1997)

Nixon fancied himself a hardheaded strategist of American global interests. But his view of post-Soviet Russia was fundamentally false. He saw the Yeltsin regime as analogous to a right-wing, pro-American government in a major Third World country—Suharto's Indonesia, South Korea under the generals, Iran under the Shah before 1979. But Yeltsin's Russia was not, even potentially, an American neocolony. It had inherited a powerful, nuclear-armed military apparatus from the USSR. And as the reputedly pro-Western foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev stated in 1994, Russia expected to be treated by Washington as an "equal partner." The amount of American financial support necessary to secure Yeltsin's Russia as a politically stable ally would have been massive, many times greater than the money Washington has shelled out over the years to South Korea or Indonesia.

Post-Soviet hawks like Brzezinski and Kissinger recognized that Yeltsin's Russia was not a Third World dependency but an aspiring "great power." In Brzezinski's view, "If not openly imperial, the current objectives of Russian policy are at the very least proto-imperial. That policy may not yet be aiming explicitly at a formal imperial restoration, but it does little to restrain the strong imperial impulse that continues to motivate large segments of the state bureaucracy, especially the military, as well as the public" (*Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1994).

Similarly, Kissinger holds that imperialist expansionism is deeply ingrained in the Russian national psyche: "Even sincere reformers may see in traditional Russian nationalism a unifying force to achieve their objectives. And, in Russia, nationalism has historically been missionary and imperial" (*Diplomacy* [1994]). Like Brzezinski, Kissinger was critical of Clinton (and before him of Bush) for being too soft toward Moscow: "America's leaders have been reluctant to invoke the traditional diplomatic brakes on Russian policy for fear of provoking Yeltsin's (and, before that, Gorbachev's) presumed nationalist opponents." In effect, Brzezinski/Kissinger argued that it didn't matter if an extreme Russian nationalist, virulently hostile toward the U.S., took power in Moscow as long as Russia was and was kept weak.

While the Clinton administration did not openly endorse the anti-Russian hawkish line advocated by Brzezinski/Kissinger, it adhered to it in practice. Thus in 1994 Washington announced its intent to extend NATO to Poland and other East European countries formerly part of the Soviet bloc, a move implemented early this year. U.S. officials claimed NATO's expansion to the borders of the former USSR was important to "safeguard democracy" in Russia. Russian general Leonti Shevtsov responded, "To safeguard the American people, why not let Russia put a few divisions in Mexico, right along the American border?"

While pursuing a policy of military containment, U.S. imperialism made no attempt to buy off the Yeltsin regime, much less a broader layer of Russia's new capitalists. Consider that every year the U.S. gives Israel $3 billion in military and economic aid. By contrast, the total amount of aid given to the Yeltsin government during the first four years of its existence was a mere $2.6 billion, and half of that was tied to imports of American agricultural products. Since Russia's population is 147 million, U.S. aid amounted to *$17 per capita*—the price of two tickets to a Saturday night movie in the U.S.! Or take another comparison. The American capitalist class has been paying Yeltsin & Co. a little over $500 million a year for services rendered. Last year, Disney CEO Michael Eisner alone received $575 million in salary, bonuses and stock options.

"Who Lost Russia?"

The debate over U.S. policy toward capitalist Russia was recently revisited in a *New York Times Magazine* (15 August) cover story headlined "Who Lost Russia?" The article prominently cites Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, architect of the "shock therapy" implemented by Yeltsin prime minister Yegor Gaidar in the early 1990s. Complaining about the paucity of U.S. financial aid to Moscow, Sachs says: "It does make you wonder. Were there people in the Administration who wanted Russia to fail, to be weak?"

Suau/Time

Yeltsin launched October 1993 army assault on Russian parliament in which hundreds were killed.

When Sachs resigned as an adviser to the Moscow regime in 1994 after Yeltsin sacked "radical reformer" Gaidar, he blamed Washington's stinginess for the downfall of his Russian protégé, writing a bitter diatribe, "Betrayal: How Clinton Failed Russia" (*New Republic*, 31 January 1994). The very title indicates a fundamental misconception of the American government, the Russian government and relations between the two. Clinton is, to paraphrase Friedrich Engels, head of the executive committee of the *American* bourgeoisie. No one would contend that U.S. president Harry Truman betrayed or failed Japan when in 1945 he dropped A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But, Sachs would doubtless respond, Japan was then an enemy of the U.S. while Yeltsin's Russia is a strategic ally. That was, to be sure, the official diplomatic line. The reality is that the American bourgeoisie has regarded Russia as a potential rival power.

Echoing the Yeltsin government, Sachs called for American financial aid to Russia on a scale comparable to that provided to West Europe under the Marshall Plan at the beginning of the Cold War in the late 1940s-early '50s. In his 1994 article, Sachs noted how Dean Acheson, U.S. secretary of state at the time of the Marshall Plan, argued for the need to support pro-American governments:

> "The [Russian] reformers also counted on the backing of large-scale Western aid, which never arrived. From a tactical point of view, the Western goal should have been the one articulated by Acheson, to help 'the elements now in control...to retain control'.... We failed at each key turn, and have stood by as the reformers have seen their power slip away in the tumult."

In the late 1940s, the American ruling class feared, and rightly so, the prospect of "red revolution" in West Europe. Hence they undertook the Marshall Plan and other aid programs to prop up the unstable bourgeois regimes in the region. As Truman told a group of American Congressmen in 1947: "We'll have to provide a program of interim aid relief until the Marshall program gets going, or the governments of France and Italy will fall, Austria too, and for all practical purposes Europe will be Communist" (quoted in Philip Armstrong et al., *Capitalism Since World War II* [1984]). But with the destruction of the Soviet Union, the American ruling class was convinced there is no longer a danger of revolution in Russia—or anywhere else, for that matter.

Rise of Anti-Western Russian Nationalism

The main political fault lines in post-Soviet Russia emerged early on as two of Yeltsin's top lieutenants—Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoi (a former Soviet air force general) and parliamentary leader Ruslan Khasbulatov—went into opposition to the "shock therapy" being pushed by Washington, especially through the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In October 1993, backed and indeed prodded by the U.S., Yeltsin deployed army units to shell the parliament building—the same "White House" where he had launched the counterrevolution in August 1991—and consummated a bloody presidential coup. In the aftermath, Yeltsin pushed through a new constitution enshrining a strong presidency and a very weak parliament, whose lower house was appropriately called the Duma, after the impotent "advisory" council under the last tsar. We wrote at the time (*WV* No. 590, 17 December 1993):

> "A revolutionary workers party in Russia would have fought to independently mobilize the working class and its allies against Yeltsin's bloody assault on parliament, which was aimed at consolidating his bonapartist rule and eliminating what was seen as an obstacle to the imperialist-dictated 'free market reforms.' In fighting not only to bring down Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary regime but against all the capitalist-restorationist, chauvinist scum, it was necessary to bloc ***militarily*** with the Rutskoi/Khasbulatov forces defending parliament, but without giving an iota

continued on page 14

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Young Spartacus

Mexico:
Down With Government Repression Against UNAM Student Strike!

AUGUST 29—Facing rising threats of a government crackdown, the striking students at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM) are at a critical point in their struggle. Sparked by a government plan to impose tuition fees that would eliminate even the limited access poor and working-class students currently have to public higher education, the strike at the 270,000-student university has lasted over four months, the longest in UNAM's history. This attack is part of a broader "austerity" plan favored by all wings of the Mexican ruling class, and demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The widespread support the strikers have won among working people, who face a related assault on their livelihoods under the IMF plan to privatize state-owned industries, has been crucial. From the beginning, workers from the STUNAM campus workers union and the Union of Electrical Workers (SME) have been key, joining students on the strike barricades. Yesterday, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists joined in a protest against privatization in Mexico City, overflowing the mammoth Zócalo square.

Government attempts to break the student strike have escalated over the last month. On August 24, hundreds of rightist students, among them many thugs in white bandannas armed with pipes, sticks and shrapnel bombs, attacked over a thousand striking students, who managed to repel them. As we go to press, President Ernesto Zedillo, who has railed against the student strike as "brutal aggression," announced that UNAM must open by September 1. Appealing to right-wing students to break the strike, Zedillo effectively called for more police-sponsored thug attacks on students.

On August 4, Mexico City mayor Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas unleashed riot cops in a vicious attack on students picketing in front of a strikebreaking registration center. More than 100 student strikers were severely beaten and arrested. Defending this brutal repression, Cárdenas said, "The Mexico City police intervened and will do so as many times as necessary." An August 13 march of 50,000, including a contingent of hundreds of STUNAM workers, protested the repression.

Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) and the Juventud Espartaquista (JE) youth group responded to the cop attack with a leaflet the next day headlined "Cárdenas' Police Attack the UNAM Strike—Drop All Charges Against Student Strikers! For Strike Action by the Unions Against Privatization and to Defend Public Education!" The leaflet warned against illusions in Cárdenas' "left" bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), a capitalist party no less committed than Zedillo's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the right-wing Party of National Action (PAN) to imposing the IMF's austerity plans, including through bloody state repression. Our comrades concluded with the demands: "Free, quality education for all! For open admissions and no tuition! Stop the union-busting privatization schemes!"

AP

Strike by UNAM students against government attack on public higher education is now into its fifth month.

For Workers' Strike Action to Defeat Privatization, Defend Education!

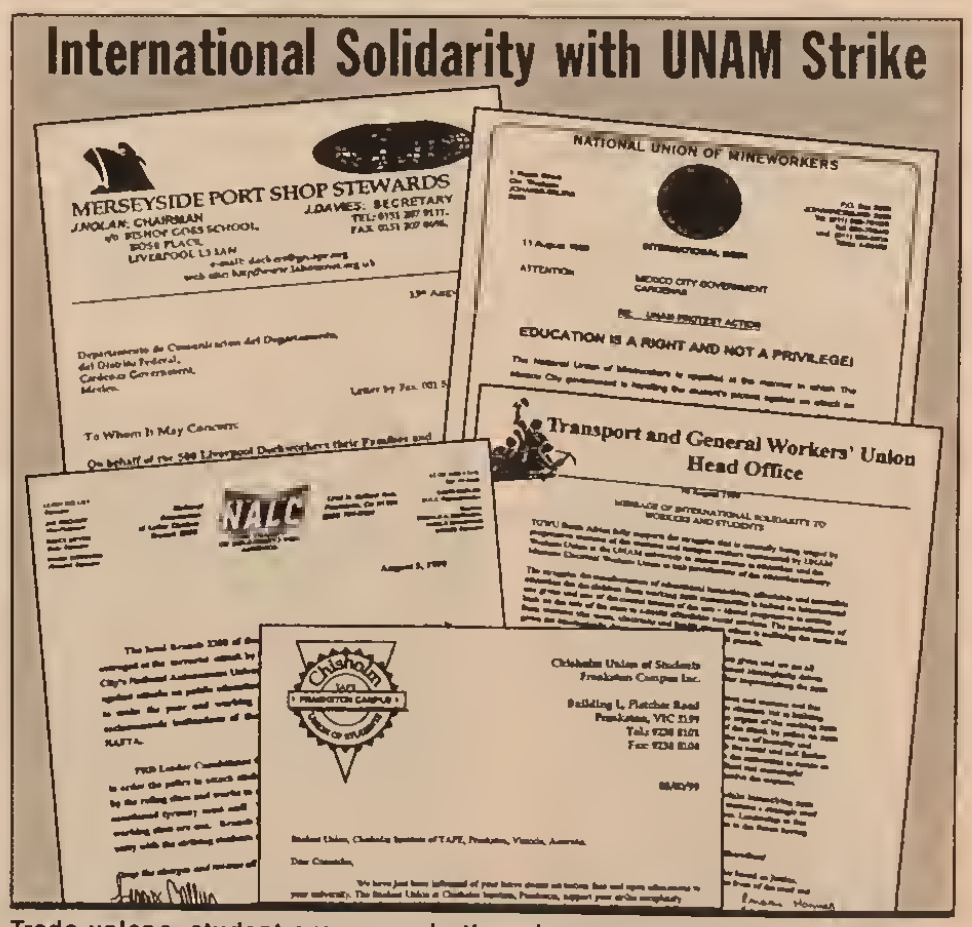
At the same time, the International Communist League elicited statements of solidarity from unions, student organizations and others as part of an international effort to defend the UNAM strikers and the workers supporting them. Particularly noteworthy were statements from the powerful Transport and General Workers' Union and National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in South Africa. The NUM statement headlined, "Education Is a Right and Not a Privilege!" Other statements have come from Australia and France, as well as from the Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and the Pasadena, California branch of the National Association of Letter Carriers, which condemned the attack on the strikers as "state-sanctioned tyranny." The Merseyside Port Shop Stewards of Liverpool, England, themselves pitted for several years in a bitter struggle against union-busting, wrote: "We strongly condemn the Cárdenas Government in Mexico for the brutal oppression of the UNAM student strikers."

In an August 7 interview on KPFA radio in the San Francisco Bay Area, a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee called for messages of support from local unions to the striking students. On August 19, the Spartacus Youth Clubs at the University of California in Los Angeles and Berkeley held campus speakouts in defense of the UNAM strikers. The SYC speaker at UCLA linked our support for the UNAM strikers with our opposition to the imperialist "free trade" rape of Mexico under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), declaring:

> "As Marxists, we combat the economic nationalism which seeks to pit workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters north and south of the border.... We fight for common class struggle by U.S. and Mexican workers against the U.S. imperialist beast—represented by both the Democrats and Republicans—and its PRI, PRD and PAN lackeys in Mexico."

As it attacks and threatens the student protesters at UNAM, the Mexican government is massively escalating its bloody repression in Chiapas, which has been under military occupation since the New Years' 1994 Zapatista (EZLN) uprising launched at the time NAFTA was imposed. The indigenous inhabitants have lived in terror, subjected to beatings, "disappearances" and outright massacres. Now, under the pretext of the construction of a new freeway through the Montes Azules region, Zedillo has shipped in over 10,000 new troops. Many students are enraptured with the EZLN, and have organized marches and aid caravans in their support. While defending the Zapatistas from state repression, the GEM has argued against the petty-bourgeois EZLN's program of pressuring the bourgeois state (via the PRD) for concessions through negotiations.

In its hysterical media campaign against the student strikers, the Mexican ruling class has denounced them as crazed leftist "ultras" who follow the orders of the Zapatistas' subcomandante Marcos. Clearly the intent is to set these student militants up for attack, jailing and worse. Many students who were arrested on August 4 fear there may be criminal



Trade unions, student groups and others have responded to ICL campaign for international solidarity, including (clockwise from top left) Liverpool dockers, South African miners and transport workers, Australian students and California postal workers.

charges still pending against them. As one student remarked, "In Mexico, you learn that you have a legal charge when the police knock at your door to take you away."

Currently, the government, the media and UNAM rector Barnés are hailing a proposal by a group of eight "emeritus" professors as a way to end the strike and give power back to the administration. This strikebreaking proposal was narrowly voted down at an August 14 meeting of the General Council of the Strike. But this proposal continues to be promoted, including by the STUNAM and SME union misleaders. In this way, the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats show how their outlook is counterposed to that of the many workers who have mobilized to defend the UNAM strike.

Throughout the strike, the GEM/JE has warned against illusions in the current misleadership of the student movement and of both the official trade unions tied to the ruling PRI and the "independent" unions, which are no less subordinated to bourgeois nationalism, if often via the more "leftist" coloration of the PRD. The GEM's Trotskyist politics drive some centrist groups crazy. In a shrill and demagogic article in their 3 August *El Internacionalista* supplement, the Internationalist Group (IG) declares that the GEM/JE's exposure of the role of bourgeois nationalism as the chief obstacle to Mexican workers' class consciousness "is nothing else but beautifying the mechanism of white terror with which the semi-bonapartist regime of the PRI-government has propped up its power for more than 70 years"!

The IG claims "it would be enough just to remember the destiny of the hundreds of rail workers, who as a consequence of their strike in 1958 *against* the union bureaucrats were jailed and after a decade in the prisons of the PRI, they were still there when the university students arrested in 1968 arrived there." It is telling that the only examples of violent state repression they list in this article are those perpetrated by the PRI! Indeed, the very day after this article was published, Cárdenas unleashed his riot cops against the student strikers. This reveals the softness toward the PRD which is behind the IG's constant harping on the "Cardenista popular front."

As the GEM noted about the IG in a July 26 leaflet (excerpted in *WV* No. 717, 6 August), "At the core of their politics is a mythical 'popular front' around the bourgeois PRD. The popular front is a specific form of class collaboration, in which the reformist parties of the working class make an alliance with the bourgeoisie in order to impede workers' unrest and the potential for a socialist revolution. But there is no mass workers party in Mexico, and the Mexican proletariat has been tied historically to the bourgeoisie by means of bourgeois nationalism, pure and simple.... Thus, by means of its 'popular front,' the IG tries to obscure the class nature of the bourgeois PRD, dressing it in red." And with the PRD desperately seeking an alliance with the rightist PAN, the IG's camouflaging of this bourgeois-nationalist party as a "popular front" looks even more obviously fake.

In the course of this strike, the GEM/JE have become known as the Trotskyists who advance a revolutionary internationalist program to defend public education and defeat the bourgeoisie's attacks on the working class. A GEM spokesman addressed the rally in the Zócalo at the conclusion of the huge August 13 march. As he rose to speak, our comrade was greeted with cries of "Go, Espartaco, go!" We reprint his speech below in full.

* * *

The Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, greets the thousands of people who gathered today at this Zócalo in defense of free education.

This student strike has gone beyond the boundaries of the university and found sympathy and active support among key sections of the working class, such as SME, STUNAM, SITUAM [campus workers union at Metropolitan University] and others.

The strike is now at a crucial moment. The fight in defense of public education, which is part of a broader struggle against the privatizing schemes directed against the working class, can only go forward if the unions also go on strike. By themselves, students lack any social power. What is needed is that labor flex its muscles through strike actions to stop production and services. That the student strike has lasted so long is due to the support received from university workers, reinforced by brigades of workers from other powerful unions. The rectory's plan to undermine the strike by carrying out "extramuro" classes must be stopped with workers strike picket lines in all the facilities. A strike means: "Everyone stops! Nobody works!"

This attack shows a fundamental point we Marxists have made from the first day of the strike: cops are not "workers in uniform" but the attack dogs of the bourgeois state. The presence of cops in the university, affiliated to STUNAM, is an immediate danger for the union itself and for the student strike, as well as for any action the STUNAM may be involved in. "Auxilio UNAM" cops out of the university and STUNAM!

No illusions in the PRD, a bosses' party! The attack against the strike has been a calculated move by Cárdenas and the PRD, using the cops in the name of law students who were trying to break the strike by registering for the new semester. Breaking the students' heads is the way in which Cárdenas wants to show the Mexican bourgeoisie, its imperialist masters and the rightist PAN that it is the best candidate to represent the interests of the capitalist class in the coming presidential elections through an alliance between the PRD and the PAN. The current situation shows that to achieve even a basic democratic right such as access to education requires a revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

Pushing utopian plans for building a "university at the service of the people," as the Partido Obrero Socialista and En Lucha do at the university, only serves to sow more illusions in the bourgeoisie. Spartacists say: No to the dialogue with the rectory! No to the servile proposal of the "emeritus"! It is necessary to continue the strike until victory is achieved, and that requires allying with the social power of labor. For joint strike actions by workers and students in defense of free education and against privatizations! Free, quality education for all, in the city and the countryside!

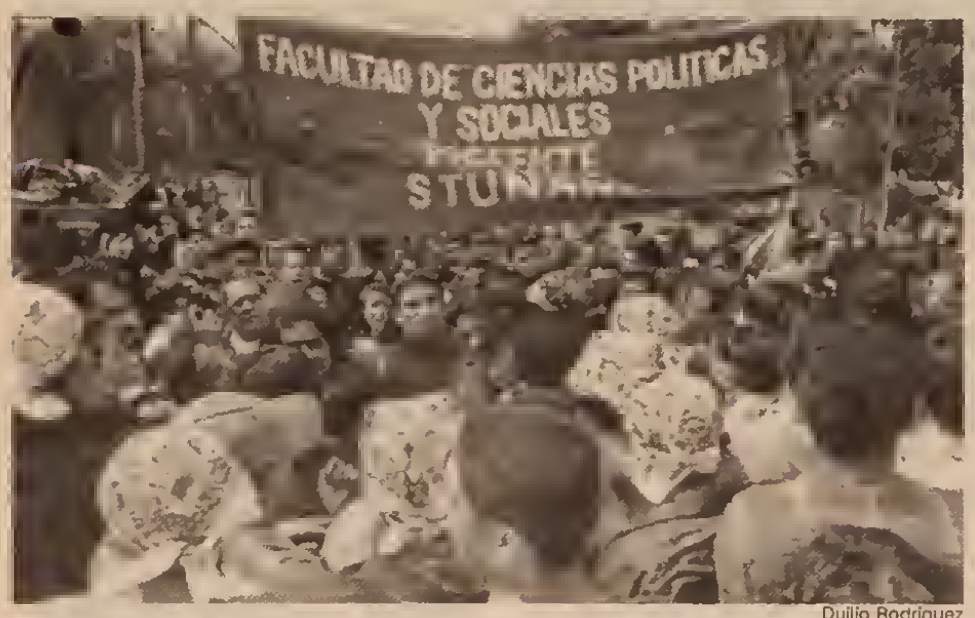
What is needed is the building of a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the working class to state power. The greatest obstacle to this is the ideology of bourgeois nationalism, which aims at portraying everyone as simply "Mexicans." In counterposition, we Spartacists advance proletarian internationalism. As a sample, we bring today greetings to the university strike from powerful unions from South Africa to Canada and the U.S., especially the powerful unions of miners and transport workers of South Africa. The proletariat has no fatherland! Our anthem is not the bourgeoisie's national anthem but the proletariat's *Internationale*!

As American Trotskyist James Cannon said: "Our party is a party of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution is the only solution to the problem of the working class, and all our work must lead to that goal." Such is the basis of Spartacist politics. Break with the bourgeoisie! No illusions in the bourgeois PRD! Forge an international Leninist-Trotskyist party! For new October Revolutions around the world! ■

Fernández/Reforma

García y Gustavo/Imagenlatina

August 4: Student strikers face bloody attack by riot cops unleashed by Mexico City mayor and PRD leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas (near right).



Duilio Rodriguez

STUNAM campus workers have joined in defense of UNAM students. Union contingent on August 24, when rightist students and other thugs launched violent assault on strikers.

Visit the ICL Web Site!

www.icl-fi.org

Spartacist Forum

The Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War

Speaker: Michael Davisson

Saturday, September 18, 7 p.m.

University of Illinois, Circle Center, Room 505, 750 S. Halsted

CHICAGO For more information: (312) 454-4930

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series and Events

NEW YORK CITY

Meet the Marxists on Campus:

NYU: Wednesday, September 8, 4 p.m.; ***BMCC:*** Thursday, September 9, 12:30 p.m.; ***Columbia University:*** Friday, September 10, 4 p.m.

SYC Class Series:

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future

First class: ***Marxism: A Guide to Action***, September 21, NYU, 7:30 p.m.

For room and information: (212) 267-1025

VANCOUVER

SYC Class Series:

Marxism and World Revolution

First class: ***Smash the Capitalist State Through Workers Revolution!***

Tuesday, September 14, 6 p.m.
University of British Columbia
Room 212, Student Union Building

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

BOSTON

Down With State Repression of UNAM Strike

Mexico: Students, Workers Protest IMF Austerity Attacks on Education

Saturday, September 11
Time and place to be announced

For more information: (617) 666-9453

TORONTO

- Eyewitness Account -

Victory to the UNAM Strike!

Mass Student Strike in Mexico

Thursday, September 16, 7 p.m.
U of T, International Student Centre,
Riddell Room, 33 St. George Street

SYC Class Series:

Smash the Capitalist System of Racism and War!

First class: ***Marxism and the State***, Wednesday, 22 September, 7 p.m.

For room and information: (416) 593-4138

Poverty Is Violence—Socialist Revolution the Answer!

Why I Joined the Spartacus Youth Club

We publish below an August 14 statement by a new member of the New York Spartacus Youth Club.

by Anna Woodman

One year ago I was starting work on a photographic documentary on welfare reform in New York City as my senior thesis project at NYU. I was uninvolved with politics at the time, but I was drawn to the subject because I was beginning to understand that the poverty in the city was a systematic violence. Most of the student body successfully ignores the world outside the Village, and I had always been angry at what I saw as apathy in my fellow students. However, I was just as politically inactive as they, because I had no political grounding and found every attempt at action to be a dead end.

When I was really young and knew I wanted to be a photographer, I thought the most valiant kind of work to do would be to travel to Africa and take pictures of sad and starving children, as a way to invoke the consciences of those with the power to help them. Later I moved on to volunteer work and vegetarianism. I came to realize that the problem with this sort of moralistic, self-congratulatory do-gooderism is that it maintains the status quo rather than making a fight to end the conditions one is confronting. It disappears the actual causes from public discourse.

But I still had no theoretical grounding, so I was confused about what effective political struggle was. Political involvement on campus was very limited; for the most part, animal rights activists were rappeling down Main Building, and the rest of us just dyed our hair circus colors or got really extreme piercings as a trendy sort of social protest. So in search of a more concrete approach to reality, I threw myself into research around the national welfare reform law, which had been passed in 1996. I began to meet welfare mothers, interview city bureaucrats and photograph at demonstrations. People were dying and going homeless because of the city reform program, and 52 percent of its children were living in poverty, while the city was saving $500 million a year in labor expenses by forcing welfare recipients to work for under minimum wage.

What this did was to transform my offhanded angst about the state of the world into an awareness of a real and pressing crisis that was caused by the overall economic and governmental system. The welfare situation heightened my awareness, even though the clues had been around me all along. My family had always struggled to get by, and no matter how hard my parents worked or how smart they were, contrary to the popular myth of the infinite possibilities under capitalism, they were never going to have financial comfort or security.

It was never clear how my siblings and I were going to be able to afford college. I grew up in Oklahoma, which was the place where those Native Americans who weren't slaughtered were driven, and where in the present day their remaining descendants face extreme oppression (they have the highest poverty rate of any minority group in the nation) while the remnants of their culture are commodified as a tourist industry. Racism, misogyny and anti-gay bigotry were rampant and open, most rabidly within religious groups operating under the guise of "morality." It was almost impossible to get an education in the public schools, where individuality was frowned upon and many of the brightest students turned away out of boredom and anger. This was the "freedom" that we were constantly reminded we enjoyed under capitalism in the U.S.

A little while into my research my boyfriend told me he was a communist and brought me to a Spartacist League class on basic Marxism. I couldn't tell Trotsky from Stalin at the time and had no idea what a social class was either. What struck me about Marxism was that there is a concrete way to learn to analyze the social forces that create the oppression that is so endemic, and that the working class has the power to overthrow capitalism and create a livable society. This gave me the basis from which to question the assumptions about the natural make-up of society that I had previously held—that the purpose of the state is to mediate opposing groups in order to keep peace, that the police force exists to protect innocent people from criminals, and that the U.S. is a progressive force in international politics.

To argue that Marxism is an outmoded idea, no longer relevant to today, is to refuse to see our epoch in relation to a historical progression. In the French Revolution, the bourgeoisie overthrew feudalism and came to power. The bourgeoisie is still in power in most places, and class society and production based on the profit of a small, powerful minority at the expense of the rest of the population is still in place. The existence of social classes—the division of society based on the relationship to the means of production—means that the bourgeoisie is never going to work in the interest of the working class. Capitalism played a progressive role in its early stages in laying the groundwork for huge technological progress, but the creation of the industrial proletariat, the exploitation of the working masses and whole sections of the planet by the imperialist superpowers, has made possible and necessary the socialist revolution.

The bourgeoisie and the nation-states that work in their interest will not passively give up control of the wealth of the planet; the entire system of capitalism and the machinery of the state must be overthrown. In a socialist society, the wealth can actually be used in the service of the entirety of the world's population. This is not a utopian goal; the means to this end are concrete and attainable. We look to the 1917 Russian Revolution, which created a true workers state in which political power was in the hands of the working class with the Bolshevik Party providing leadership. Its degeneration into Stalinism was not an inevitable consequence of human nature nor of the "failure of communism," but was a result of specific material circumstances.

Trotskyists seek to make new October Revolutions. We understand that the state is, in Lenin's words, "a special organization of force: it is an organization of violence for the suppression of some class" (*State and Revolution*). The irreconcilable antagonism of the two major classes means that the state serves the will of the class in power. In the revolution, we will transform the centralized organization of modern society into a means of accounting and organization rather than of force, but the first step is the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which the working class wields state power over the bourgeoisie on the road to a classless society and abolishing all exploitation. In the present construction of society, the police serve the interest of the capitalist class and not the majority of the people, and the U.S. as a major imperialist power seeks to preserve its own power and wealth—lies about wars fought in the interest of human rights are exposed in instances such as Kosovo, where the U.S. rained terror on the Serbian population under the guise of protecting the Kosovars from the dictator Milosevic.

It is important to note that I came to revolutionary consciousness through an intellectual progression, not out of an experience of struggle. My generation was born at the moment of the end of the Vietnam War, so in our lifetimes in this country we have seen very little social struggle. Counterrevolution in the USSR occurred before we were very mature, so we have never witnessed a world superpower that presented itself as an alternative to capitalism. Because we have experienced no precedent from which to doubt the permanence of the system we live under, we have little impetus to look beyond reformist politics or even to believe that true change is possible. Trotsky describes the youth of revolutionary Russia: the experience of the revolution "cut them free at one blow from conservative forms of life, and exposed to them the great secret—the first secret of the dialectic—that there is nothing unchanging on this earth, and that society is made out of plastic materials" (*The Revolution Betrayed*).

This conception of society is something that is very difficult to learn and internalize in the face of a seemingly contradictory experience. Trotsky's description of the position of youth who were born after the revolution, in a time of political repression and little mass struggle, is strikingly similar to the choices we face today: to participate in the government bureaucracy and make a career, to submit silently and retire into professional careers or personal affairs. We can go back and learn the history we never learned in school and take responsibility for what we know, making it our duty to think and be involved, or we can pretend that the stability we have grown up with will last forever and that those facing specific oppression should fight alone for whatever meager gains they can.

I joined the SYC when I was convinced that the Trotskyist program is the most powerful tool in the hands of the working class to make a worldwide socialist revolution; I want to learn to implement that program in immediate struggles and to build the party that provides the necessary leadership to make a victorious revolution and lay the groundwork for a classless society. ■

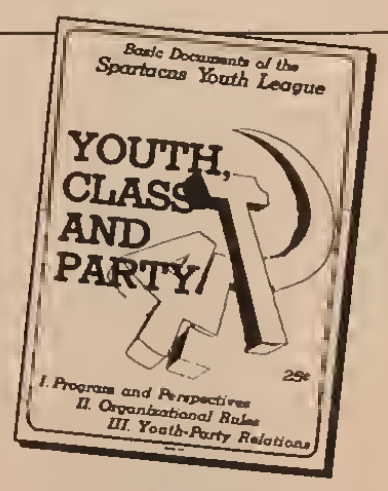
Young Spartacus

Lara/Washington Square News

SYCs in action: April protest against British prime minister Blair in Chicago; March speakout at New York University. Join us in the fight to do away with racism, poverty, imperialist war through workers revolution!

Shames/Focus

Homeless family in Los Angeles. Immiseration and racist oppression are endemic to capitalist profit system.



Originally published in 1971 as the basic programmatic document of the youth group of the Spartacist League/U.S. This edition includes a 1974 introduction.

$.25 (24 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
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Evolution...

(continued from page 16)

We are all part of the human race, descended from common ancestors; race is a social and not a biological concept.

Both leading presidential contenders for the 2000 elections, Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore, now support the teaching of creationism in the public schools. But the bourgeoisie as a whole is not ready to give up on evolution yet. The primary religion of America's ruling class is profits: advances in science increase the profits of the capitalists and, importantly, increase the effectiveness of the imperialist army. A *New York Times* (13 August) editorial declared that "Deep sadness is the most sensible response to this week's decision by the Kansas Board of Education to downgrade the teaching of evolution in the state's public schools." The governor of Kansas, Republican Bill Graves, denounced the decision as "a terrible, tragic, embarrassing solution to a problem that didn't exist."

UPI

In historic 1925 Tennessee trial, Clarence Darrow (right) defended John Scopes for defying state law against teaching evolution. Tennessee ban was not overturned until 1968, as social struggles for black equality and against Vietnam War swept U.S.

"Death of Communism" Fuels Religious Reaction

The drive to eliminate evolution from schools, and promote religious superstition in general, is not just the doing of fundamentalist Christian preachers who see Mephistopheles lurking behind every science book. While the bourgeoisie may mourn a potential loss in American science capacity as harmful to their interests, the rise of the religious right as a political force in American society is the natural outcome of the policy the *whole* bourgeoisie has followed particularly since the end of the Vietnam War and the subsequent Carter administration of the late 1970s.

Maple/Woodfin Camp

Religious bigots in Kansas City besiege abortion clinic, 1986.

The Vietnam War was a disaster for the U.S. ruling class. Not only was U.S. imperialism defeated by the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam, but the bourgeoisie found that they could no longer mobilize the population behind their war aims. The bourgeoisie needed a way to recover from the "Vietnam syndrome" and made a shift to the right, resorting to, in the words of writer Gore Vidal, "the tried-and-true hot buttons: save our children, our fetuses, our ladies' rooms from the godless enemy." The push for increasing religiosity did not come from right-wing Republicans, but rather began under Democrat Jimmy Carter, as a way to "morally rearm" the population so that the ruling class could carry out its program of an anti-Soviet war drive abroad and increased austerity and racist repression at home.

Under Carter's presidency, references to being "born again," sin and Satan entered the political mainstream. In 1977, both Democrats and Republicans joined in passing the Hyde Amendment, which abolished federal funding for abortions just four years after abortion was legalized, essentially eliminating this right for poor and working-class women. This was followed by laws raising the "age of consent," hysteria about teen pregnancy and drives to enforce abstinence—again supported by both Republicans and Democrats. These reactionary attacks on the rights of youth, and especially women, to express their sexuality serve as a powerful lever for social control.

With the Yeltsin-led capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR in 1991-92, both capitalist parties, intoxicated with "death of communism" pipe dreams, moved to enthusiastically slash welfare and public assistance programs, while blaming poverty on the bad morals and lack of "family values" of the poor. Accompanying this was a pronounced shift in liberal opinion, reflected strongly in changed attitudes toward the intrusion of religion into public life. Noted evolutionist Stephen Jay Gould, who initially led the charge against the introduction of "creationism" into educational curricula, now argues in a piece in *Time* (23 August): "Science and religion should be equal, mutually respecting partners, each the master of its own domain, and with each domain vital to human life in a different way." Gould, who once openly acknowledged the influence of Marx and Engels on his thought, was sufficiently shaken by the "death of communism" propaganda to proclaim that the destruction of the Soviet Union proved that "Marx's economics has failed spectacularly" (see "Stephen Jay Gould and the Mismeasure of Marx," *WV* No. 563, 13 November 1992).

Reporting on the retreat in the scientific community in the face of religious obscurantism, an article in *Scientific American* (September 1999) writes: "Now, at the turn of the millennium, comes a movement bent on reconciling science and religion." There are now numerous academic conferences dedicated to this theme and American institutions of "higher" education offer over a thousand courses on "science and faith." The annual symposium of the Society of Neuroscience was treated to a paper on the "God module," a spot in the brain supposedly responsible for religious feelings. What next, psychosurgery as a cure for atheism?! Today's liberals frequently find themselves occupying the same terrain that "creationist" zealots were on in 1985, supporting religious education in public schools alongside science.

The elimination of evolution from the curriculum is part of a general assault on public education, itself part of a broader assault on the living standards of the working class. The destruction of affirmative action programs denies higher education to even a token layer of black and minority youth. Busing programs have been abolished—the bourgeoisie no longer feels the need to make even a pretense of integrating the schools. Inner-city schools are little more than holding pens, complete with armed guards and metal detectors. Prisons are one of the fastest-growing industries in America, since it's easier to jail youth who have no future than to give them one. Heavily promoted by the religious right, school voucher schemes, which will strip away what little resources the public schools have in order to fund private schools, are gaining ground around the country. Education is a right, not a privilege! The SL and the SYC call for: Free quality education for all! Nationalize the private universities—For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all!

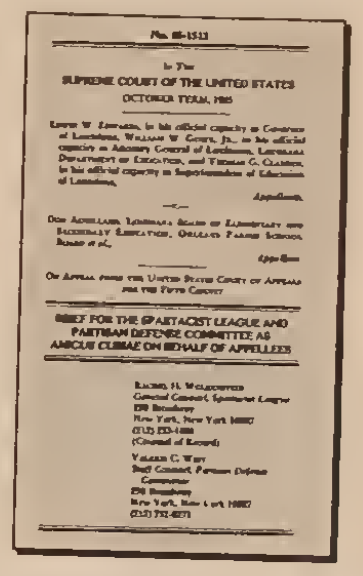
Materialism vs. Religious Obscurantism

The bourgeoisie has not always supported the intrusion of religious dogma into the school curriculum. When the capitalists needed an educated working class to fill skilled jobs, they needed good public schools to train the people who would later work for them. Although the 1950s were rife with religious superstition, after the Soviet Union launched the Sputnik satellite and followed this with the first manned space flight, the frantic American bourgeoisie pushed for a massive increase in public science education in order to keep U.S. technological capacity from falling behind.

Today, the capitalists are not disposed to provide anything but the most rudimentary educational skills to most of the population. Not only do they not want to cut into profits in order to pay to educate working-class and minority youth for whom they can't provide jobs, it's easier for them to rule over an ignorant population in the grip of religious backwardness. Bourgeois criticism of the Kansas decision focuses concern on the difficulties top students may face in winning acceptance to Ivy League schools. The children of the ruling class, for the most part, do not attend public schools; evolution is unlikely to be deleted from the Exeter curriculum, or that of the Ivy League schools, anytime soon.

While adamantly fighting for the separation of church and state, Marxists defend the right of individuals to religious belief as a private matter. But Marxism as an outlook is hostile not only to organized religion but to religious and social backwardness in general. In particular, organized religion—whether Christianity or any other—serves to enslave women and fuel anti-gay bigotry by propping up the family, the chief institution for the oppression of women. A revolutionary vanguard party must be the tribune of the people and fight for all the exploited and oppressed.

Marxists are materialists; we understand that the laws of nature are determined by the motion of matter, not by ideas in men's heads, much less by a mythical supernatural being. We defend evolution not least because we seek to break workers and youth from all forms of religious obscurantism, spiritualism and idealism and win them to a scientific materialist understanding. In the words of Karl Marx, religion is "the *opium* of the people," seeking to solace the dispossessed and downtrodden with the lie that at least things will be better in an imagined afterlife and thus to reconcile them to the poverty and oppression of class society. Against the stultifying narcotic of religion, we advance an understanding of how the physical and social world works in order to arm the proletariat with the knowledge that it can intervene to change society and create the best possible conditions of life for all humanity. Only socialist revolution internationally, placing the proletariat in power and laying the basis for the elimination of class society as a whole, can usher in a world of material abundance and creative development for all.



No. 85-1513

In The
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OCTOBER TERM, 1985

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

1986 *amicus* brief by SL and PDC opposed teaching of "creation science" in Louisiana public schools. Available for $4. Order from: SPC, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

The fact that historic achievements in scientific knowledge are today being pushed aside in the schools by religious gobbledygook is a sign of the advanced stage of decay which capitalism has reached. The fight for free, quality, integrated education for all, for the defense and furtherance of science, for the separation of church and state, can only be fulfilled through socialist revolution. ■

This pamphlet reprinls presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegeliaism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reection, the slruggle to reassert the validity of the program end purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolulions.

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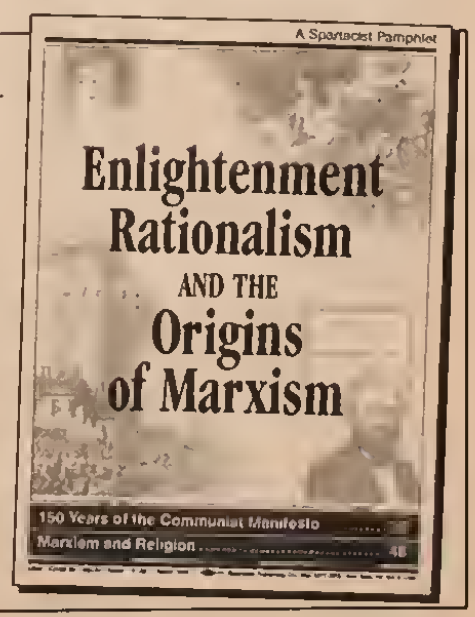

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

workers movement, the ANC would not shrink from seeking to smash the trade unions if this were necessary to defend its class interests. Only a year after the ANC came to power, Mandela unleashed the cops against a 1995 municipal workers strike while his government demagogically denounced nurses for going on strike around the same time. While Mbeki has made no secret of his hostility to the fundamental needs and aspirations of the workers, the left face of the ANC regime is provided by the reformist SACP. To retain its posts in the Mbeki government, the SACP leadership is under increasing pressure to demonstrate its loyalty to the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange and their senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London by supporting the government's assault on the organised working class. The ANC has threatened on more than one occasion to dump the SACP if it did not toe the line in pushing through capitalist austerity measures.

The inner contradictions of the SACP —a bourgeois workers party, as Lenin described such reformist parties based on the working class but committed to a thoroughly bourgeois programme—could not be clearer and more acute. A recent article in the SACP journal *Umsebenzi* (August/September 1999) acknowledged: "Leading Party comrades find themselves (in their capacity as ministers and trade union leaders) on both sides of the public sector wage negotiations. Rather than seeing this as a cause for embarrassment or hesitation, the SACP, along with its alliance partners, sees in this reality a challenge."

Reuters photos

Thabo Mbeki meets with U.S. vice president Al Gore before ANC leader's election as South African president. As Mbeki government moves to intensify austerity, gold miners demonstrate in Pretoria in July against closures and layoffs.

Shopsteward

1995 COSATU conference. Program of SACP-dominated union bureaucracy, which chains black workers to capitalist ANC in name of "national democratic revolution," is counterposed to struggle for socialism.

Worker militants who support the SACP must understand that their leaders are not just pursuing a mistaken policy which can be reversed in the interests of the black toilers. Fraser-Moleketi's austerity measures and union-busting are a culmination of the party's basic programme of *class collaboration* as encapsulated in the slogan of "national democratic revolution" supposedly led by "progressive" bourgeois nationalists like Mandela and Mbeki. Indeed, for many years the SACP itself was part of the core leadership of the nationalist ANC when it was in opposition. And today the SACP encompasses everything from leading elements of the capitalist state apparatus and outright bourgeois nationalists to labour bureaucrats to militant workers at the base looking for a revolutionary perspective.

Class-conscious workers must fight to build a revolutionary workers party—a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party—which will break the black proletariat from bourgeois nationalism and split the working-class base away from the reformist SACP. Proletarian revolution is the only road to national and social liberation in South Africa. Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, fights for the establishment of a black-centred workers government, where there would be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds (mixed-race), Indians and other Asians, and those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working people.

ANC's Neo-Apartheid Regime

Ten years ago, few people in South Africa would have envisioned or even thought possible that Communist Party ministers would be breaking strikes by black unions. How has this situation come about?

During the 1980s, the explosion of mass black struggle, centred on the combative trade-union movement and extending to the township youth, shook the apartheid police state to its foundations. At the same time, the ANC was able to enhance its political authority as recognised leader of the national liberation struggle against white-supremacist rule. This was consolidated in the late '80s with the establishment of the "tripartite alliance" of the ANC, SACP and the newly formed COSATU union federation. We characterised this as a *nationalist popular front*. The SACP tied a new generation of young worker militants, many of whom saw themselves as revolutionaries, to the aspiring bourgeois nationalists of the ANC.

By the early 1990s, decisive sections of the white ruling class and their senior partners in Washington and London had moved to *co-opt* the leaders of the tripartite alliance in an attempt to restore social order and weaken the power of the black union movement. Thus in 1994, Mandela's ANC came to power in a "power sharing" agreement with the white-supremacist National Party, while the legal structure of apartheid (e.g., the pass laws, Group Areas Act) was dismantled. However, the economic basis of the old apartheid system—the superexploitation of black labour by the white capitalists—remained. The "new" South Africa can thus be defined as neo-apartheid.

What is the reality today five years after the proclaimed end of apartheid? Under rigid apartheid based upon the totalitarian suppression of the black proletariat, the capitalists ensured that there was virtually no social spending for the overwhelmingly black majority. It's no different now—hospitals without staff or emergency rooms, clinics with no medicine, schools without electricity or water. In the townships, like Soweto, Lamontville and Gugulethu, schools still have no libraries or laboratories. In the cities and especially in the rural areas, there is no adequate housing, health care, public transportation for the black masses. Black babies die moments after birth in state hospitals which are on the brink of total breakdown. More than a fifth of the South African black working class—including 23 percent of all pregnant women—carry HIV, the virus that causes AIDS.

In the rural areas, the black poor—especially women—are facing savage attacks, and even greater misery and oppression. Rural black labourers are routinely murdered and assaulted, while the white racist perpetrators get off in the courts. A few months ago, a Mpumalanga farm worker's *entire body* was spray-painted with toxic paint by a white farmer who accused him of trespassing.

The situation of the strategic core of the black industrial proletariat is no better and in some ways worse than under the old apartheid system. The industrial murder last month of 18 miners in a methane gas explosion in a Carletonville mine shaft clearly reveals the utter cheapness of black life for the rapacious mine bosses. In fact, three more miners were killed the very day of the funeral for the Carletonville victims.

More than 82,000 miners face retrenchment in an industry where the labour force has already been slashed by 350,000 since 1987. Historic East Rand Proprietary Mine started the avalanche of retrenchments, liquidating in late August and leaving 7,000 jobless, more than 55 percent of whom hail from Mozambique and others from Lesotho. The Randlords like Anglo American can mine gold profitably only by paying slave wages. With the market price of gold dropping beneath U.S. $250 an ounce, well below the cost of extracting it from the mines, about a third of South Africa's 16 mines claim they cannot stay in business.

The Mbeki government's war on labour is matched by its ruthless drive to deprive the masses of the most minimal facilities, with thousands in the townships increasingly having basic services like electricity cut off for non-payment. At the same time, the South African government is currently planning the largest arms purchases in the country's history, as this regional imperialist power prepares for a greater role as gendarme in the wars in Southern Africa, especially in Congo and Angola.

Star

Neo-apartheid means rural masses continue to live in abject poverty five years after end of white-supremacist rule.

Left Apologists for Bourgeois-Nationalist ANC

Given the continuing immiseration of the black masses, how does one explain the ANC's re-election a few months ago with an even larger majority than in 1994? First, the popular-front policy of the SACP ensured that there was no electoral alternative of a mass character opposing the capitalist ANC from the left. Furthermore, almost all of the small "far left" groups likewise supported the ANC while fatuously calling on it to carry out a socialist programme in the interests of the black working people.

Consequently, the main opposition to the ANC in the elections was from the right, from the predominantly white Democratic Party headed by capitalist magnate Tony Leon. ANC spokesmen were thus able to appeal, as in the past, to the deepgoing racial/national solidarity of the oppressed black majority. They evoked memories of the hated apartheid police state with its dogs attacking peaceful demonstrators and black activists routinely tortured and killed. They presented the ANC as the only obstacle to the restoration of white-supremacist rule.

To the left of the ANC/SACP are a number of groups which falsely claim the "revolutionary Marxist" tradition. Most of these supported the ANC while denying or obfuscating that it is a *bourgeois* party. Instead, they maintain that the ANC can be pressured into carrying out the demands of the workers and oppressed. Typical in this regard is the Keep Left group (formerly Socialist

Workers Organisation) affiliated with the British-centred left social-democratic tendency headed by Tony Cliff, which argued: "Only one thing stands in the way of Mbeki's ability to live up to the expectations which have been created—the minority who controls the economy for profit" (*Keep Left*, July 1999). Similarly, a leaflet distributed by the Socialist Forum group during the latest public-sector strike asserted:

> "Our understanding was that the ANC was elected by working people and the rural poor to better our lives. That the rich and the bosses, those who benefited from apartheid cheap labour policies would be taxed to make sure that there was the money needed to uplift our services and those that provide them."

The ANC is not some kind of class-neutral party standing midway between the white capitalists and black toilers which can be pushed or pulled to one side or the other. Basically, it is the party of an aspiring black bourgeoisie, whose aspirations have increasingly been realised in the "new" South Africa. Large numbers of ANC and other black political activists have been recruited into the executive suites of Anglo American and the other big white-owned corporations or have set up their own businesses, usually with the financial backing of white capitalists. Cyril Ramaphosa, former head of the National Union of Mineworkers and subsequently ANC parliamentary leader, for example, is now deputy chairman of New Africa Investments. Mbeki & Co. are just as committed to and materially interested in maximising the exploitation of black labour in South Africa as Tony Leon, the CEOs of Anglo American and the other Randlords. Insofar as there are differences between the ANC leadership and the white bourgeoisie—and there are differences—they involve the division of the profits (who gets how much) extracted from the workers who man the country's factories, mines and farms.

Reflecting growing pressure from the base, one SACP shop steward in the Metalworkers union reportedly distributed a statement recently promising workers that the first stage of the "national democratic revolution" would soon be over and then socialism would come. But the bankruptcy of the Menshevik/Stalinist "two-stage" scheme, which ties the proletariat to the oxcart of bourgeois nationalism, is underscored not least by the current position of the ANC as an integral part of the exploiting class. As Leon Trotsky first laid out in 1905 in elaborating his theory of permanent revolution for tsarist Russia, in the epoch of imperialist decay the bourgeoisies of the dependent countries are incapable of carrying out the historic tasks associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in 17th- and 18th-century Europe. National and social liberation for the toiling masses in South Africa can only be achieved through the proletarian seizure of state power.

Fissures in the Tripartite Alliance

While at first the results of the recent elections appeared to strengthen the ANC's political authority, the actual effects have been just the opposite. Mbeki & Co. quickly moved to implement the programme of economic austerity demanded by international finance capital. This was answered by a massive upsurge of labour struggle and a heightening of social and political instability. The London *Independent* (25 August) pointed to the "deepening tensions within the decades-old alliance between the African National Congress (ANC), Cosatu and the South African Communist Party."

These tensions could clearly be seen at a special COSATU congress held in mid-August to appoint a replacement for former COSATU chief Sam Shilowa, who was elected premier of Gauteng province earlier this year. The congress was convened only as a result of pressure from the base. The government was represented at the congress by Defence Minister Patrick "Terror" Lekota, whose

John Woodruff

Star

Columbus steel strikers in Middelburg face down cops, who attacked picketers and arrested nearly 200 in July, while COSATU leadership welcomes POPCRU police "union" in August 24 labor protest. Cops have no place in labor movement!

mission was to verbally terrorise the delegates. He lashed out at "highly placed comrades criticising or agitating against the movement," accusing them of placing "weapons in the hands of our opponents" and creating an "atmosphere for agent provocateurs." Some of the 2,200 delegates booed his speech, especially when he went on to push privatization, arguing that the government had to look for money somewhere and hinting that the alternative was to raise the Value Added Tax, which labour fought against in the early 1990s as a regressive tax. Lakota's line was strongly seconded by SACP general secretary Blade Nzimande, who endorsed the government's economic policies and directed his fire at "the ultra-left" for policies and actions which threatened to break up the governmental alliance.

While the COSATU leaders bent over backwards to be conciliatory in response to Lekota and Nzimande, the class conflict between the ANC government and the unions could not be completely suppressed. A Mineworkers delegate pointed to COSATU's aim of politicising the members in support of government policies and said, "COSATU cannot politicise members who have empty stomachs." In his concluding remarks, newly elected COSATU president Willie Madisha, formerly a leader of the embattled teachers union, stated, "We will not smooth over cracks in the alliance" and spoke of "genuine fears" that "the tendency by the government to flout agreements and disregard the concerns of labour might become a major obstacle in the way of social transformation."

Going beyond Madisha's mild criticisms, many militants are now calling for COSATU to pull out of the Mbeki government. Some argue for the launching of a mass workers party. COSATU *should* break its ties with the tripartite alliance. And to the extent that workers are feeling the necessity of breaking with the ANC and creating their own independent party, that is the beginning of wisdom. But only the beginning. These workers must understand the kind of party—its principles, programme and organisational character—needed to fight for the workers' interests against the powerful forces of the world capitalist system.

During the early 1990s, there was considerable talk in the labour movement and left about forming a workers party as an alternative to the tripartite alliance. At the time, we emphasised the difference between a reformist party, like the British Labour Party or Brazilian Workers Party, and a revolutionary workers party like the Bolshevik Party which Lenin built in tsarist Russia. The workers in South Africa and elsewhere can achieve a substantial and permanent improvement in their living conditions only by overthrowing the capitalist order and replacing it with a planned, collectivised economy.

Especially in a country like South Africa, this, in turn, requires that the working class, led by its vanguard party, place itself at the head of all oppressed sections of society. What is needed in South Africa is a revolutionary workers party which does not simply defend the particular interests of the working class, especially its unionised sector, but fights to eradicate *all forms* of national and social oppression—the mass homelessness in the black townships, the hideous conditions of the millions of Africans still trapped on the "tribal homelands," the degradation of women and such practices as the selling of women through *lobola* (bride price), the plight of immigrants from neighbouring African states now facing expulsion.

Peter Mogaki

As ANC government cuts off electricity to townships for non-payment of rates, angry residents near Johannesburg march in protest.

The Iron Fist of the "New" South African State

Seizing on the vulnerability felt by large sections of the population in the face of rising crime, including astronomical levels of rape, Mbeki's regime is rapidly strengthening the police and army. Mbeki's real aim in this is to intimidate and crush workers and the oppressed. Just after the elections, the government launched a new national police agency called the "Scorpions," modelled on and trained by the American FBI.

For months, the ANC regime has carried out a military occupation of the coloured townships in the Western Cape. Titled "Operation Good Hope," this repressive action was launched after the "Planet Hollywood" bombing allegedly linked to People Against Gangsterism and Drugs—an "anti-drug" vigilante group—with the ostensible aim of combatting "urban terrorism." The intensification of police repression is seen in the fact that this summer more than 30,000 people were arrested in one month alone in the Vaal Triangle region. Meanwhile, there has been a growing clamour for restoration of the death penalty.

The latest "anti-crime" push to institute gun control laws means that the cops and criminals will be the only ones with arms while, as in the days of apartheid, the black population is disarmed. We defend the democratic right to bear arms and oppose all gun control laws, which are designed to ensure the state's monopoly on the means of violence and keep the oppressed down.

Meanwhile, vigilante murders are on the increase. In the past month, a white vigilante group known as Die Vuis (The Fist), composed of "former" members of the military and police, has sprung up in Cape Town. Its emergence coincided with the arrival in Gauteng of the previously rural-based Mapogo a Mathamaga, a 35,000-strong vigilante army led by black businessmen with ties to hardline white racists. Their recent opening of offices in Pretoria and Alexandra is an ominous development. Their targets are the victims of neo-apartheid capitalism—the working class and all of the oppressed. Ethnically integrated workers defence guards are vital to defend against vigilante terror, by mobilising the urban and rural poor behind the power of labour to sweep away the vigilante scum.

Despite all of these developments,

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South Africa...

(continued from page 11)

illusions in the "democratic" character of the "new" South African state is nearly universal on the left. This is expressed most clearly in the belief that the police, especially black police, are an integral part of the workers movement. Thus the Socialist Forum leaflet cited above called for "a united front of public sector workers that is built across union lines in the hospitals, schools and police stations and every government office." Recently, cops attacked picketing workers in the Columbus steel strike in Middelburg, seriously injuring two and jailing almost 200. Yet large contingents of cops organised by the Police and Prison Civil Rights Union are routinely allowed to participate in labour rallies. Cops, whether black or white, are the bosses' thugs. We say: Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions!

For Proletarian Internationalism!

Mandela's immense moral authority was able to hold in check the country's explosive national and social contradictions. However, if the ANC leaders, abetted by the SACP, cannot contain the workers movement through political demagogy, they are prepared to use other weapons. The invasion and occupation of the small statelet of Lesotho by the South African army last year not only demonstrated the ANC government's role as regional gendarme for the Randlords. The army's mission to "restore order" in Lesotho was also a test run for a similar mission directed at the militant labour movement in South Africa itself.

The "new" South Africa is *not* a stable bourgeois democracy. The privileged white minority continues to enjoy "First World" living standards while the mass of black toilers remains hideously impoverished. The inequality of income and wealth is more extreme in South Africa than in any other country in the world, including the Third World. In 1995, we wrote in a polemical letter to the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, led by Neville Alexander, which held that the ANC-led government was a stable bourgeois democracy:

> "When the current, fragile neo-apartheid order breaks down—and it will break down—if the workers movement does not seize state power, various sectors of the desperate nonwhite population will compete with each other over available scarce resources. Thus the black working class and plebeian masses *cannot simply defend* the gains and positions of organizational strength achieved during the struggles of the 1980s.
>
> "A revolutionary workers party must be built to lead the working class in the struggle for state power, drawing in the rest of the oppressed black African, 'coloured' (mixed-race) and Indian masses, along with anti-racist whites, with the program and perspective elaborated by Trotsky as the *permanent revolution*."
>
> —reprinted in *The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left* (April 1997)

Oscar G

Detention camp for "illegal" immigrants. Neo-apartheid regime whips up chauvinist hysteria against immigrants as scapegoats for mass unemployment.

The concept of permanent revolution holds that the national bourgeoisie in backward countries—even ones which are regional imperialist powers in their own right, like South Africa—is so weak and tied to world imperialism that it cannot play the progressive role that the bourgeoisies of West Europe and North America did in the era of their ascendance. Social and economic modernisation and an end to national oppression in countries like South Africa can be achieved only under the leadership of the working class, through proletarian revolution and its extension to the imperialist centres of West Europe, North America and Japan.

In South Africa, *class exploitation is integrally bound up with national oppression*. Despite a sizable coloured proletariat, especially in the Western Cape, and an urban Indian working class in Natal, the overwhelming majority of workers in the white-owned factories, mines and farms are black Africans. Black Africans make up 80 percent of the country's overall population, more if one takes into account the recent wave of immigration from neighbouring African states.

Our recognition that proletarian revolution in South Africa is also the supreme act of *national liberation* in no way entails support to nationalism as an ideology or to the project of "nation-building." Quite the contrary! To break the chains of the ANC's neo-apartheid order and achieve genuine national and social liberation, the working class must transcend the ideology of nationalism, the false belief that the black African people—brutally oppressed by the white rulers of South Africa—all have a common interest which stands higher than class divisions.

While historically and centrally black African nationalism has been directed at the white ruling elite, developments since 1994 have added another element to the country's explosive national mix: a large influx of immigrants from Mozambique and other neighbouring black states. The ANC-led government has increasingly blamed "foreigners" for rising unemployment caused by the mine closures and layoffs. Speaking at Vista University in May, Mandela told students to "buck up" and improve their grades or else "foreigners from Zimbabwe, Malawi and other African countries will take the top jobs." Such anti-immigrant demagogy has had bloody consequences. For example, in January a lynch mob "necklaced"—burned alive—four Mozambicans in Tembisa township near Johannesburg. The workers movement must combat such murderous anti-immigrant chauvinism. We say: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The pro-ANC labour bureaucracy has joined in pushing chauvinist poison. The National Union of Mineworkers in Rustenburg called for a moratorium on hiring Mozambicans during wage negotiations. Meanwhile, the SACTWU clothing and textile workers union has organised rallies protesting Chinese imports. At the COSATU congress, the bureaucrats raised a furor because some of the caps made for congress delegates had been produced in China. Such anti-Chinese diatribes are not only protectionist but anti-Communist, dovetailing with imperialist threats against the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. It is the duty of South African workers and workers everywhere to stand for unconditional military defence of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. The Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy which is driving the country headlong toward capitalist restoration must be ousted by the Chinese proletariat through political revolution.

The present industrial wealth of South Africa has in good part been created over the decades through the superexploitation of black workers drawn from outside its borders, especially in the gold and diamond mines. The industrial and mineral wealth available to a black-centred workers government in South Africa will not be limited to south of the Limpopo River, but must be used to enable the impoverished masses of all Africa to escape famine and destitution.

Mandela, Mbeki & Co. explain away their drive to hold down wages and privatize state-owned enterprises as well as the failure to carry out the promised reforms by pointing to the pressures of the world capitalist market, low-wage competition from East Asia, the harsh demands of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, etc. In defending the government's anti-labour austerity policies at the recent COSATU congress, SACP leader Blade Nzimande argued that "we do not make history under circumstances of our own choosing." By this Nzimande meant that the South African workers movement and oppressed nonwhile masses had to accept and operate within the framework set by the global domination of capitalist imperialism.

However, the South African working class can *change* the course of world history. We fully recognise that a socialist revolution in South Africa would confront formidable enemies. Emboldened and strengthened by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the competing imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S., are determined to obliterate any obstacles to their domination. Yet a socialist revolution in South Africa, centred on the black proletariat, would immediately find strategically powerful allies. The post-Soviet "New World Order" is anything but stable. A militant young proletariat has emerged in countries such as South Korea and Indonesia, while the powerful working class of West European countries like Italy and France have engaged in sharp struggles which could threaten the control of the reformist labor bureaucrats and go toward a struggle for power.

Millions of union members, students and others around the world actively solidarised with the struggle against white supremacy in the apartheid state. Racial minorities and immigrants facing persecution identified strongly with the black South African masses. A South African workers revolution would have an immediate radicalising effect on the oppressed black masses of Brazil, for example, as well as on American black workers, who have historically tended to be a vanguard of militant class struggle and social activism in the U.S. Thus even within the strongest imperialist bastions, revolutionary South Africa will find a powerful echo.

Precisely because a nationally isolated proletarian revolution in South Africa could not survive, there can be no nationally limited revolutionary workers party in South Africa. The struggle for world socialist revolution, wherever the first breakthrough occurs, is inseparable from the struggle to build an international communist vanguard through reforging a Trotskyist Fourth International. ■

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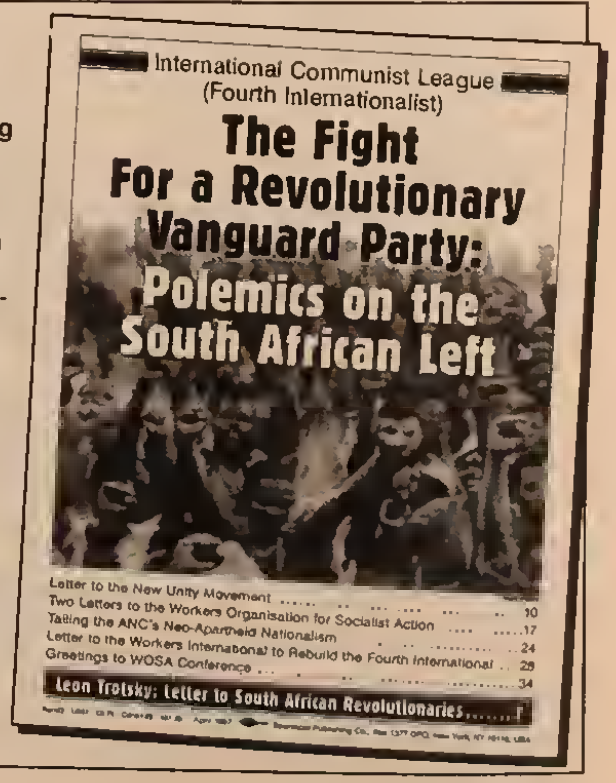

Fascist Murder...

(continued from page 16)

country to defend fascist rallies and set up counterdemonstrators for arrest and victimization. As the LBSL statement points out, when the KKK/Nazis who inspire and frequently nurture lone racist killers like Buford and Smith crawl out from the sewers to try to organize on the streets for racist terror, what's needed to stop their race-hate rallies is the mobilization of labor/black power, with the trade unions marching at the head of all the fascists' intended victims, to sweep the racist scum off the streets.

Mobilize Labor and Blacks to Crush Genocidal Fascists!

For two days a known fascist named Benjamin Smith cruised the streets of metropolitan Chicago, downstate Illinois and Indiana, calmly shooting down blacks, Jews and Asians. As the cops were complacently denying the racist character of the Chicago-area attacks, including the one that killed the former coach of the Northwestern basketball team, Ricky Byrdsong, Smith managed to drive his light blue Taurus across the state to Springfield, Decatur and Urbana, shooting and wounding three more people on the way. Smith killed a Korean American student in Bloomington, Indiana before finally shooting himself during a police chase.

Smith's Fourth of July rampage came as America's racist rulers were celebrating their victory over Serbia. In step with such imperialist adventures abroad, the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties have waged a racist war at home against working people and minorities. From the police execution of Amadou Diallo in the Bronx to the recent shootings of black motorists by Chicago cops, the bosses' state has essentially declared "open season" on blacks and other oppressed groups in the United States. This reactionary social climate has emboldened right-wing terrorists from Jasper, Texas—where a black man was dragged to his death behind a pickup truck—to Wyoming, where gay student Matthew Shepard was lynched. Also in the fascists' cross hairs have been abortion providers and the women they serve.

Smith was not just some lunatic gone berserk but an active member of the World Church of the Creator, a fascist group headed by one Matthew Hale, who says its goal is to drive Jews and nonwhites "off the planet." This group has left a trail of violent attacks showing how serious they are about doing just that. At Indiana University and in Wilmette, Illinois, where he was arrested this spring after distributing World Church literature, Smith attempted to shield his race-terror organizing under the cover of "free speech." But Smith's murderous rampage—like the lynch-mob terror perpetrated for decades by the Klan and Nazis—showed that fascists are organized not to circulate ideas but to carry out *genocidal action*.

Civil libertarians who defend "free speech" for fascists promote the dangerous illusion that it's possible to "debate" with lynch mobs. But equally dangerous is the notion, put forward by liberals and pro-Democratic Party "leftists" like the so-called Communist Party, that the government should outlaw the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis and other race-terror groups or, as the reformist International Socialist Organization demands, deny them permits to march. Such state intervention to suppress "extremist" groups inevitably falls hardest on working people and minorities fighting *against* racist terror. In the aftermath of these racist killings, a hue and cry has been raised for stricter gun control laws. We are against gun control, which would give a monopoly of force to the bosses' state, and for the right of armed self-defense. The government, the primary agency of racist capitalist rule, will always coddle the fascists, who stand as a paramilitary reserve against labor/black struggle.

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., 1982: 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by Spartacist League stopped Klan provocation.

The threat of fascism will exist until the working class eliminates the profit system and erects its own state through socialist revolution. The Labor Black Struggle League, and the socialist Spartacist League which initiated and is fraternally allied to the LBSL, are fighting to build the revolutionary workers party that is needed to lead that revolution. The elimination of racial oppression, which is built into the very foundation of the American capitalist system, requires the program of *revolutionary integrationism*: the full integration of blacks into all areas of life, in an egalitarian socialist society.

The organized labor movement has the power, leading all those targeted by fascist terror, to stop hate-terror mobilizations and drive the racist vermin back into their sewers. When Matthew Hale emerged as a Klan organizer at Bradley University in Peoria in 1990, the Spartacus Youth Club fought for students to ally themselves with the union power concentrated in the area's factories, which could provide the backbone for mass labor/black mobilizations against the fascist scum (see "Anti-Klan Protest in Peoria," *WV* No. 497, 9 March 1990).

The Trotskyist Spartacist League and LBSL fought to implement this program in January 1994, when the KKK staged a race-hate provocation against Martin Luther King Day at the State Capitol in Springfield. Some 500 people—blacks, trade unionists, gays, leftists, students—turned out for a united-front mobilization in an arctic snowstorm determined to stop the Klan. This labor/black mobilization in particular tapped into the fighting spirit of workers in Peoria and Decatur facing union-busting attacks from the bosses at Caterpillar, Firestone and Staley. The Labor Black Struggle League spokesman at the rally said: "Out of militant, integrated working-class actions like today's against the racist, bomb-throwing KKK, we will assist in building this integrated Trotskyist leadership. A revolutionary American workers party will keep its feet on these racist killers' necks, their faces in the mud, the racist KKK fascist menace nipped in the bud!" We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Join the Labor Black Struggle League!■

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

WV Photos

The first Labar Black Leagues were farmed os a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strang labar/black mabilizatian that stapped the Ku Klux Klan fram marching in Washingtan, D.C. in November 1982. We stand far mabilizing the masses af minarity and warking peaple in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system af racist oppressian that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartocist League, a multiracial revolutianary Marxist arganizatian, the Labar Black Leagues are part af the revalutianary mavement of the workers and appressed against the basses and far sacialism.

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

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Russia...

(continued from page 5)

> of political support to Yeltsin's bourgeois opponents."

While Yeltsin's power was thus greatly enhanced, the combination of economic immiseration and political violence produced a popular backlash against Tsar Boris. The main immediate beneficiary was Vladimir Zhirinovsky, whose fascist party received almost a quarter of the vote in the December 1993 Duma elections. The Stalinist-derived "patriots" of the Communist and Agrarian parties also made a good showing, polling over 20 percent of the vote. The big loser was Gaidar, whose Russia's Choice party was chosen by only 15 percent of the electorate. Yeltsin then dropped Gaidar and embraced the more conservative prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, a former top-level *apparatchik* in the last Soviet government.

While the large and unexpected vote for Zhirinovsky captured headlines the world over, his appeal turned out to be relatively ephemeral. In the next Duma elections two years later, Zhirinovsky's vote was halved while the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) gained over a third of the seats, thereby becoming the "official" opposition to the Yeltsin regime. In presidential elections the following year, KPRF leader Gennady Zyuganov was Yeltsin's main challenger, ending up with 40 percent of the vote in the second round.

What is the nature and appeal of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation? In a number of East European countries (e.g., Poland, Hungary, Lithuania), elements of the deposed Stalinist bureaucracies reorganized themselves into electo-

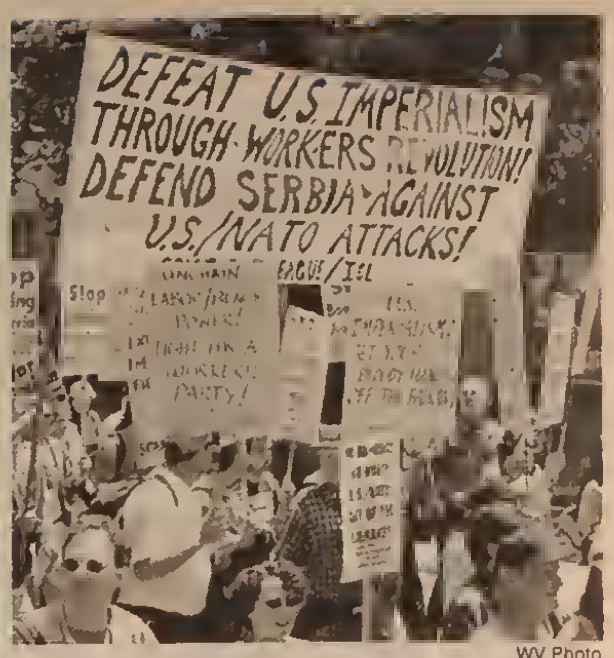
Economist

Great Russian chauvinist KPRF leader Gennady Zyuganov, at left.

rally successful social-democratic parties with ties to both the trade unions and a section of the new capitalist operators. The KPRF, however, represents a quite different political species. In its social base, ideology and program, it is a bourgeois-nationalist party using populist demagogy, more akin to fascism than to social democracy, i.e., labor-based reformism.

The KPRF's lack of support among the working class is admitted and lamented by its own spokesmen like Valentin Kuptsov, who stated in 1996: "So far the basic mass of trade unionists and, consequently, their leaders have not viewed our party as a reliable partner" (quoted in Joan Barth Urban and Valerii D. Solovei, *Russia's Communists at the Crossroads* [1997]). The core of the KPRF consisted of factory directors and regional administrators. Apart from old-age pensioners, popular support for the KPRF is concentrated in the countryside. Significantly, Zyuganov himself is the son and grandson of village school teachers in central Russia. The constituency of this grotesquely misnamed Communist Party thus comes from the most traditional-minded and culturally backward sections of contemporary Russian society. This is expressed in the KPRF's glorification of the Russian Orthodox church combined with pronounced anti-Semitism.

AP



WV Photo

NATO bombs destroyed passenger train in April in U.S.-led war of imperialist domination against Serbia. Spartacist League fought for revolutionary proletarian opposition to U.S./NATO imperialists.

During the 1996 presidential campaign, much of the Western bourgeois media and political establishment portrayed Zyuganov as someone who would return Russia to "Soviet-era Communism." The reality was entirely different. For all the rhetoric about the "socialist" nature of Russian national culture, KPRF spokesmen insisted that they were not at all hostile to Russia's new capitalist exploiters. The party electoral platform stated that "the task of communists is not to liquidate property-holders" and went on to denounce "the old leveling of incomes" in the former Soviet Union. In his 1994 tract *Derzhava*, Zyuganov defines his party's task as combining the "'red' ideal of social justice" with the "'white' ideal of a nationally conceived state." Insisting that such a state would include "unconditionally all the territories in which a compact Russian or Russian-speaking population lives," Zyuganov calls for a "Greater Russia" which would extend to the boundaries of the former USSR.

As the Kremlin bureaucracy collapsed and the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1989-92, the great bulk of the Western left supported the "democratic" counterrevolutionary forces around Boris Yeltsin in the name of "anti-Stalinism." In the aftermath, however, many of these same groups turned around and supported Zyuganov's KPRF, contending that these erstwhile Stalinist "patriots" were now defending Russia's working people against the predations of Western imperialism. Typical in this regard was the British Workers Power group, which advocated a "critical vote" to Zyuganov as "an instrument of pressure for workers immediate needs and demands" (*Workers Power*, June 1996). And the small British Socialist Action group praised the KPRF's "progressive patriotic demands, such as opposing NATO expansion and rejecting IMF interference in economic policy" (*Socialist Action*, April/May 1996).

Against such views we wrote at the time (*WV* No. 649, 2 August 1996):

> "Far from being some sort of ersatz 'anti-imperialism,' the KPRF's chauvinist program reflects the real interest of the new Russian bourgeoisie, which understands that to build a capitalist state strong enough to play a world role requires that it dominate and exploit the industrial and agricultural resources of the Ukraine, the oil fields of the Caucasus, the mineral wealth of Kazakhstan and the cotton fields of Central Asia. And that is the ***common program*** of Yeltsin, Lebed, Zyuganov and Zhirinovsky."

Two years later, leading members of the KPRF became ministers in Yeltsin's government.

A major declared goal of U.S. policy toward Russia has been to strengthen the "democratic" (i.e., pro-Western) forces. But the actual effect of American policies has been just the opposite. All of the main contenders for Yeltsin's throne have adopted a more nationalistic and anti-Western posture—the Stalinist-derived Zyuganov, the fascist demagogue Zhirinovsky, former Soviet general and would-be bonaparte Aleksandr Lebed and Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov. And the Yeltsin regime, for all its Byzantine cliquism and merry-go-round of ministerial posts, has itself tended toward more strident denunciations of the NATO powers, especially the U.S.

Russia, the NATO Powers and the Balkan Wars

Russia's great-power aspirations have clearly expressed themselves in Moscow's interventions and maneuvers in the wars precipitated by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The Balkans have been an arena of both close collaboration and potentially dangerous conflict between capitalist Russia and the Western imperialist states.

The terminal crisis of Yugoslavia came in early 1991, when the newly reunified German imperialist state pressured its European allies into recognizing the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. The U.S. then threw its weight behind an independent Bosnia. With the breakup of the multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state, the large Serbian minorities in Croatia and Bosnia confronted hostile nationalist regimes under the fascistic Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb and Muslim nationalist Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo. Serb fears of being driven from their homes, combined with chauvinist sentiment for a Greater Serbia promoted by the Belgrade regime of Slobodan Milosevic, ignited a new series of Balkan wars.

With the Serbs initially gaining the upper hand in the three-cornered civil war, the West European imperialists favored a de facto partition of Bosnia between a Greater Croatia and a Greater Serbia, which would obviously benefit Germany's new client state in Zagreb. For their part, Britain and France were less hostile to Serbia, which had been their ally against Germany in both World Wars I and II. Moreover, France in particular saw the Bosnian imbroglio as an opportunity to pursue a European foreign policy independently of the Americans not only at the diplomatic but also at the military level. Hence London and Paris, generally backed by Bonn, put forward a number of "peace plans" (e.g., Vance-Owen, Owen-Stoltenberg) which would have been policed by a European military force *outside* the structure of the American-dominated NATO alliance.

But the U.S. had no intention of allowing this to happen. As two left-wing intellectuals, James Petras and Steve Vieux, pointed out:

> "The success or failure of European projection of power in Bosnia had implications far beyond the immediate conflict. From the beginning, the US understood what was at stake in a successful European-based military operation: the loss of leverage and the enhancement of European strategic decision-making."
>
> —"Bosnia and the Revival of US Hegemony," *New Left Review*, July/August 1996

Washington encouraged the Izetbegovic regime to reject the various European-sponsored "peace plans" by promising to support better terms and the means to achieve them. The period of 1992-94 was thus one of military stalemate in Bosnia and diplomatic stalemate in the Western imperialist camp.

It was these conditions which enabled and encouraged Russia's move to reassert itself as a major European "power" in the Balkans. Donning the mantle of traditional Slavophile nationalism, Yeltsin's Russia postured as the great-power protector of "our little Serb brothers." However, Russia "defended" the Serbs within the terms set by Western imperialism, basically acting as "soft cop" in extracting concessions from the Serbs on behalf of the NATO powers.

This is not to say that Washington and Moscow had similar interests and policies in the Balkans and that their expressed differences were mere diplomatic play-acting. U.S. imperialism was bent on reasserting its role as "cops of the world" by smashing the Serbs. Russia's pretensions to be an independent power rested on blocking, through diplomatic maneuvers, decisive U.S./NATO military action against the Serbs. Thus when in the

AFP

Russian contingent in U.S./NATO-led imperialist occupation force in Kosovo.

spring of 1994 NATO bombed Serbian forces around Goradze, Russian deputy prime minister Sergei Shakhrai called it "a slap in the face of Russia's prestige." The Americans were determined to demonstrate that not only Russia but also its own NATO partners had *no* "prestige"—i.e., no real power—in the Balkans.

Beginning in late 1994, Washington moved to alter the balance of forces on the ground by building up the Croatian military with the Bosnian Muslims acting as their auxiliaries. The following summer, Croatian forces drove out hundreds of thousands of Serbs in the biggest single "ethnic cleansing" operation in the Balkans to date, and NATO launched massive air attacks on the Serb forces. Clinton then offered to lift economic sanctions against Serbia if Milosevic abandoned support to the Bosnian Serbs. This deal laid the basis for the Dayton Accords, which established a U.S./NATO protectorate in Bosnia. The Russians were pieced off with token participation in the "peacekeeping" force in the American sector and under the command of an American general. While opposing all sides in the fratricidal bloodletting among Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims, Marxists called for military defense of the Serbs against U.S./NATO attack. Down with the imperialist embargo against Serbia! Down with the imperialist occupation of Bosnia and Kosovo—All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!

The Bosnia takeover set the stage for the U.S./NATO air war against Serbia last spring under the pretext of defending the Albanian Kosovars. And Russia's role as "soft cop" for Western imperialism has been even more transparent in Kosovo than it was in Bosnia. At the same time, the U.S./NATO devastation of Serbia clearly showed up the current impotence of Russia even in one of its historic spheres of influence. In doing so, the war has enormously intensified anti-Western nationalism in Russia not only among the military and other ruling circles but in Russian society at large. The *New York Times* (16 June) reports: "Ordinary Muscovites frequently express the conviction that NATO and the West have Russia in their gunsights, and that the Yugoslavia war was merely a test run for a larger conflict."

At present, Russian nationalist ambitions to become a major world power might seem nothing more than a self-aggrandizing illusion. The country is an economic basket case amid anarchic political conditions. In fact, the London *Economist*'s annual survey, *The World in 1999*, predicted: "1999 will be the year of Russia's disintegration." Yeltsin is increasingly erratic and his central government is unstable and widely discredited, as seen in the fact that he has now appointed his fifth prime minister in 17 months. Real political power, such as it is, has in large measure devolved to regional political bosses. Notable in this regard is the new political lash-up, "Fatherland—All Russia," bringing together Moscow mayor Luzhkov, a number of regional governors and former prime minister Yevgeny Primakov in opposition to Yeltsin and the KPRF.

Laski/Gamma

Capitalist Russia is hell for workers, women, national minorities. With poverty deepening and workers unpaid for months, striking miners protest in Red Square, 1998.

Nonetheless, it would be wrong to assume that the present conditions in Russia will continue indefinitely. As shown by the furor in American governmental and financial circles in response to allegations that billions of dollars of Russian capital outflow were laundered through the Bank of New York, the U.S. imperialists are not about to start investing heavily in Russia. But it is entirely possible that changes in the world political situation during the next period would result in substantial financial support to and economic investment in Russia by other Western powers, such as Germany. In 1994, Zhirinovsky told a West European journalist: "One day, greater Germany, a new Russia, and India will form a new entente. Then there will be no problems for the world any more.... Russia and Germany can control Europe." In his own crazed and fantastical way, Zhirinovsky was expressing a rational calculation of Russia's would-be imperialist rulers: that deepening rivalry between the United States and Germany will escalate to a point where the latter would move to build up Russia as a strategic ally, enabling Russia to re-emerge as a major world power.

For a New October Revolution!

Popular hostility toward and fear of the NATO powers in Russia—certainly justified in its own terms—are today being exploited by the advocates of *derzhava* nationalism. Antipathy toward American or, more generally, Western imperialism is not at all equivalent to opposition to imperialism *as such*. Lenin described imperialism as "the highest stage of capitalism." Russia is a capitalist state with its own imperial aspirations and potential.

This is today being demonstrated as Russian troops are sent to crush Islamic separatists in the Caucasian region of Dagestan, as it was earlier in the brutal colonial war waged by Moscow in 1994-96 against the secessionist regime in neighboring Chechnya. In a statement headlined "Smash Yeltsin's Invasion of Chechnya!" (*WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995) at the outbreak of that war, the International Communist League declared:

> "The principles of proletarian socialism are fundamentally antagonistic to bourgeois nationalism in all forms. Thus we oppose not only the imperial-minded Great Russian chauvinism of Yeltsin & Co. but the Chechen nationalism of strongman Dudayev and the Islamic fundamentalism that he seeks to promote.... We are for class opposition to Russian aggression in Chechnya, for organized working-class action against it. The defense of Chechnya's people is in the interest of the multinational working class of Russia!"

Proletarian internationalism, as opposed to anti-Western Russian nationalism, means opposition to Moscow's domination over the non-Russian peoples of the Caucasus and also Central Asia. Within Russia itself, the Great Russian chauvinism purveyed by all from Yeltsin and Luzhkov to Zyuganov and Zhirinovsky means intense anti-Semitism and vile racist terror against the darker-skinned and predominantly Islamic minorities from the Caucasus and Central Asia. An internationalist Bolshevik party would seek to mobilize the multinational proletariat to combat every manifestation of social reaction and racist and nationalist oppression. No less than the IMF-style neoliberalism earlier promoted by the pro-Western "democrats," *derzhava* nationalism serves to legitimize the exploitation of the working people of Russia and the other former Soviet republics by a new class of capitalist parasites.

Capitalist counterrevolution has wrought enormous devastation on the former homeland of the October Revolution of 1917. The once massive industrial proletariat has been decimated and in good part pauperized. Even hundreds of thousands of highly trained scientists and engineers have been reduced to scrounging for a living as best they can.

It is the proletariat—and only the proletariat—which has both the social power and vital interest to destroy the capitalist system of exploitation through a new October Revolution. This demands the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party based on the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. As we wrote shortly after the Yeltsin regime had consolidated a capitalist state, albeit weak and highly unstable:

> "To free itself of its would-be exploiters and oppressors, the working class must assert itself as a 'tribune of the people,' opposing every manifestation of anti-Semitism and anti-woman and anti-homosexual bigotry, rising to the defense of all those—including African and Asian students, and the Central Asian peoples in Russia—who are increasingly exposed to violent racist terror. What is required above all is a revolutionary leadership capable of overcoming the divisions inspired by chauvinism and nationalism, clearing away the decades of false consciousness fostered by Stalinism, and linking the struggles in the ex-USSR to that of the world proletariat."
>
> —*How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* (August 1993)

Only as part of the struggle to reforge an authentic world party of socialist revolution—the Trotskyist Fourth International—can the workers of Russia and the other former Soviet republics cohere the leadership they need to sweep away the manifold horrors wrought by capitalist counterrevolution. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Separation of Church and State!

Evolution Banned in Kansas Schools

On August 11, the Kansas Board of Education voted to delete any mention of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and the Big Bang theory of the origins of the universe from the state-mandated curriculum. While the decision does not explicitly outlaw the teaching of either, it will essentially strip this scientific knowledge from the curriculum, while opening the door to the teaching of "creationism," a religious dogma based on a literal interpretation of the book of Genesis. The Board of Education decision is being met with opposition from many teachers, especially in the urban Topeka area. Courageous teachers who continue to teach evolution will be opened up to attacks by the religious bigots.

Young Spartacus

Evolution is fundamental to modern science. As noted by Steve Angel, a chemistry professor and president of the Auburn-Washburn school board in Topeka, "If you take away evolution because it's a theory, you can't teach science. All science is theory." The religious fanatics ignorantly seize on the fact that evolution is described as a theory to argue that it is unproven speculation, as though evolution were no different than their belief in angels. Counting up "begats" in the book of Genesis does not a scientific theory make. Creationism is inherently incompatible with a scientific mindset. Evolution is a theory only in the sense that Einstein's theory of relativity is; both are sets of principles which explain certain phenomena and have been tested and proven to be true through research and experiment. Both relativity and evolution are *facts*. There is no debate among scientists whether or not evolution occurred; there is disagreement only on the exact mechanisms of evolution.

The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs defend the theory of evolution and fight against the assault on the separation of church and state. In 1986, the SL and the Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amicus curiae* brief on behalf of the Louisiana Board of Education in its opposition to the State of Louisiana's "Balanced-Treatment Act" mandating the teaching of "creation-science" whenever scientific evolution is taught (see "In Defense of Science," *WV* No. 410, 29 August 1986). Taking a stand on the side of science and against religious obscurantism, we wrote:

> "Before this Court is a challenge to a fundamental principle of the American republic and one of the most basic gains of the American Revolution of 1776—separation of church and state. The battlefield on which this is being fought is the public schools. The weapon being used is the religious dogma of biblical creation against scientific theorizing about evolution. The potential casualty is not only the separation of church and state, but the education of masses of children in the science and culture of the world.
>
> "The gains of the American bourgeois democratic revolution of 1776 and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, codifying the defeat of slavery during the Civil War, were progressive developments in the history of mankind. They are part of the outcome of a long and complicated, and in the case of the Civil War, bloody struggle during which feudal fetters on political freedom, economic freedom, religious freedom and scientific freedoms were broken or transcended.
>
> "During the Age of Enlightenment the basis was laid for the eradication of medieval superstition by scientific knowledge—for defeat over the forces of obscurantism. The current battle poses the defense of the gains of the American Revolution, Civil War—and the Enlightenment."

(We note, with satisfaction, that Louisiana's efforts were held to be unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court.)

Not coincidentally, the strongest opponents of teaching evolution are the strongest proponents of racist reaction and anti-Semitic bigotry. Hardcore Genesis literalists push racist crap about nonwhites being the descendants of the Biblical Ham and therefore being cursed by god, giving a justification for racist terror to the Klan and Nazis. As the SL/PDC brief noted,

> "Evolution, the science of man's 'descent with modification,' is the particular object of the fundamentalist religious attack. The reasons for this lie in the fact that evolutionary theory deprives man of a mythical 'special' status in nature, and exposes the lack of scientific basis for the various religions and other justifications for belief in racial inferiority."

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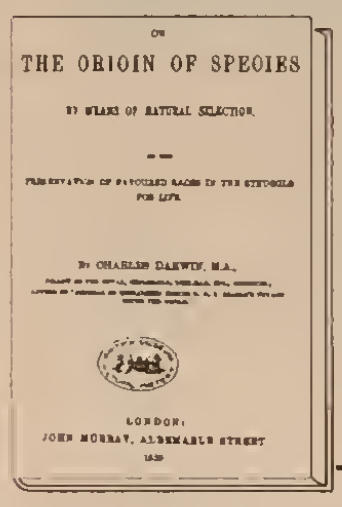
In Defense of Science!



Culver

Charles Darwin's groundbreaking exposition of the theory of evolution, *On the Origin of Species*, published in 1859.

Chicago, L.A. Fascist Trail of Murder

In the latest of a series of heinous fascist murders this summer, Aryan Nations Nazi Buford Furrow Jr. let loose with an automatic weapon in a Jewish community center in a Los Angeles suburb on August 10, wounding five people, including three children. An hour later, he walked up to Filipino letter carrier Joseph Santos Ileto and fired nine shots at him, several in the back as Ileto lay dying. Several hundred postal workers in their uniforms attended Ileto's funeral to honor their slain coworker. The month before, Benjamin Smith of the white-supremacist "World Church of the Creator" went on a killing rampage in Illinois and Indiana, while two men with links to the same outfit were charged with the murder of a gay couple in Northern California and implicated in arson attacks against Sacramento synagogues. We reprint below a statement by the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League issued shortly after the Midwest killings.

The Clinton administration immediately responded to the L.A. shootings with calls to vastly strengthen gun control laws and to implement "hate crimes" legislation. Meanwhile, an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (12 August) by Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League—which has repeatedly tried to sabotage anti-Klan labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee—called for strengthening the powers of the FBI and other police agencies to infiltrate and repress "hate groups," among which the Zionist ADL also includes communists and black militants.

Gun control and other measures which strengthen the powers of the capitalist state are aimed not against the fascist killers but against the working people and minorities who are in the gunsights of the KKK and Nazis. The role of the cops in ***protecting*** the fascists was particularly clear in Washington, D.C. on August 7 as over 3,000 local and federal police were deployed to protect a planned march by the Nazi "Knights of Freedom/American Nationalist Party" and to suppress the few hundred counterdemonstrators who turned out. When the four Nazis who showed up turned tail, the D.C. police chief responded by threatening a lawsuit against the fascists for not carrying out their racist provocation!

Reuters

Joseph Ileto, murdered by Aryan Nations Nazi in L.A. Hundreds of fellow postal workers attended his funeral.

AP

Two weeks later in Cleveland, Ohio, black Democratic mayor Michael White turned much of downtown into an occupied area so that the Ku Klux Klan could rally in that city for the first time since the 1920s. Anti-racist protesters were herded into police holding pens, a technique now regularly employed by cops around the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 719

17 September 1999

East Timor

No Imperialist Intervention!

Reuters

AFP

Independence Now!

Indonesian police attack East Timorese on eve of massive vote for independence. Right: Cynically seizing on massacres of East Timorese, Australia prepares "peacekeeping" invasion force under UN fig leaf.

SEPTEMBER 13—Yesterday, the Clinton administration announced that the U.S. would join in an imperialist intervention force in East Timor. As the number of East Timorese massacred by Indonesian army-sponsored "militias" grew to the hundreds and with the capital of Dili virtually depopulated through forced expulsions in the past week, there has been a growing clamor internationally for imperialist "peacekeeping" troops. As the Spartacist League of Australia wrote in a September 4 article in *Australasian Spartacist* (Spring 1999) reprinted below, "Imperialist military intervention means continued neo-colonial oppression, death, destruction and terrible poverty."

Imperialist military intervention in East Timor has no more to do with defending the population there than did the U.S.-led war against Serbia and occupation of Kosovo with "humanitarian" concern for the Kosovo Albanians. Only days before the U.S. announcement, Clinton aide Samuel Berger cynically declaimed, "Because we bombed in Kosovo doesn't mean we should bomb Dili." Indeed, the only reason the U.S. laid waste to Kosovo and Serbia was to achieve its longstanding aim of inserting a sizeable American military force there. In East Timor, Washington's principal concern is to maintain neocolonial "stability" in Indonesia through propping up the blood-drenched police-state regime buffeted by two years of political upheaval and economic crisis. Fearing further turmoil throughout Indonesia as the army and its militia gangs run amok, the U.S. is promoting a military force spearheaded by its Australian imperialist ally, which has its own very real interests in the region.

Even more flagrantly than over Kosovo, liberals and reformists have embraced "human rights" imperialism in East Timor. Liberal academic Noam Chomsky argued for economic sanctions against Indonesia and declared in a recent Internet statement, "There is also no reason to shy away from peacekeeping forces to replace the occupying terrorist army." The Workers World Party's International Action Center participated in a New York City protest on September 9 called by the East Timor Action Network to demand, "The United Nations must immediately send armed peace enforcement personnel to East Timor." In France, Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, which pushed for a European-dominated military intervention in Kosovo, now embraces the call for "intervention by an international peace force" in East Timor (*Rouge*, 9 September).

In Australia, there has been a growing frenzy in favor of imperialist intervention, as more than 10,000 rallied in Sydney on September 11. The day before, some 25,000 marched on the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne, burning Indonesian flags and chanting, "Indonesia out! UN in!" Marching in lockstep behind the Australian capitalist rulers in this orgy of "human rights" chauvinism has been an array of fake-left groups, notably including the International Socialist Organisation (ISO). As the article below points out, the ISO has pushed for sanctions against Indonesia under the guise of trade-union bans by the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), whose Laborite leadership has stood at the head of demands for troops into East Timor.

Now, ***the ISO has explicitly lined up behind military intervention***, endorsing a Melbourne demonstration call with the slogan, "Indonesia Out—Peacekeepers In," confirming that their call for trade-union bans was no expression of proletarian solidarity with the East Timorese but purely a "labor" gloss for *Australian imperialist* economic sanctions. Thus the ISO aids the ACTU bureaucracy in chaining the Australian proletariat to its class enemy and to the enemy of the East Timorese and Indonesian masses. We say: No to imperialist sanctions!

While the fake left marches for imperialist intervention, the ICL uniquely and urgently fights for internationalist unity in struggle by the proletarians of the region *against* the capitalist rulers. We struggle to win Australian workers to the understanding that the capitalist class which busts their unions can bring nothing but more bloodshed to the East Timorese. Australia and the U.S. are the very imperialist powers which helped orchestrate the 1965 slaughter of *hundreds of thousands* of Indonesian workers, peasants, leftists, women and ethnic Chinese which installed the Suharto dictatorship. Today, they are the chief patrons of Suharto's hand-picked successor Habibie.

Imperialist intervention is counterposed to mobilizing the powerful Indonesian proletariat, which has waged bitter struggles against the austerity and mass unemployment dictated by the International Monetary Fund. Even under the guns of military terror, there have been regular protests in Jakarta—including running battles with baton-wielding police—over the Indonesian army massacres in East Timor. One student protester told a BBC reporter, "We feel for the people of East Timor. They deserve their freedom." Proletarian revolution is the only road to liberation for Indonesia's myriad oppressed peoples. As Marxist revolutionaries in the U.S., our struggle is to build the internationalist vanguard party which can lead the proletariat in ending the rule of the world's most powerful and deadly imperialist ruling class.

* * *

It has just been announced that an overwhelming 78.5 percent of East Timorese have rejected a sham autonomy deal offered by Indonesia in a United Nations-sponsored "popular consultation," clearly opting for independence. In the months before the August 30 vote, pro-Indonesia death squad "militias" killed hundreds and forced tens of thousands from their homes. In the wake of the vote, dozens have been killed while parts of Dili, the capital, and the towns of Maliana and Liquica have been burned, in an orgy of spiralling violence.

These atrocities are being used as the pretext for imperialist intervention in East Timor. Already more than 300 Australian cops and military advisers are there, part of a 1,000-strong UN force. Thousands of Australian troops are on 30-minute standby in Darwin, the largest Australian military force mustered since the Vietnam War. Currently, 7,000 U.S. troops are taking part in "Exercise Crocodile 99" manoeuvres off North Queensland along with 15,000 Australians. A British warship in the South China Sea is reportedly ready to sail to East Timor. As proletarian revolutionaries and implacable foes of our "own" ruling class, we demand that the Australian imperialists, the U.S., the UN and all their lackeys and camp followers get out of East Timor and stay out!

The idea that military intervention by Australian and U.S. imperialism will bring independence and "freedom" to the East Timorese is a horrible lie. These same imperialists backed Indonesia's annexation of the former

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Australasian SPARTACIST

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Teachers Defy No-Strike Law, Union Tops Scuttle Walkout

Labor/Black Detroit Rallies Behind Teachers Strike

AP

September 3: Detroit teachers strike rally.

For over a week, 11,500 members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) struck in open defiance of Michigan "no strike" laws and union-busting "school reform" plans. The walkout began on August 30, as a union meeting erupted in open rebellion when DFT head John Elliott presented a "tentative" giveback contract and called on teachers to keep working while he negotiated a final deal. The teachers shouted Elliott down, took over the mierophones and voted overwhelmingly to strike, marching out to picket at the Board of Education. Having opposed the walkout in the first place, the union tops scrambled to bring it to an end as the government threatened to impose punitive fines mandated by a 1994 law banning all strikes in the public schools. They finally corralled the teachers back to work on September 8.

Even after two decades of capitalist devastation, Detroit remains a union town. While the bourgeois politicians and media tried to whip up popular hostility to the teachers, the city's overwhelmingly black and working-class population rallied solidly behind the strike by this integrated union. They knew that this strike was directed against a drive to further gut a school system in whieh 90 percent of students are black and half live below the poverty level. The *New York Times* (1 September) observed: "There is nothing like a last-minute teachers strike to throw parenthood into chaos, but in this heavily unionized city, many parents lined up today to support the strike that left lots of them unexpectedly spending the day with their ehildren." Passing drivers honked their horns in solidarity with picketing teachers. Despite having to look after five kids at home, one woman said typically, "I think the teachers deserve more money, and they shouldn't work without a contract."

On Labor Day, September 6, the striking teachers marched at the head of several thousand trade unionists, including contingents of the United Auto Workers (UAW). What particularly rattled the city rulers was that the teachers strike took place in the shadow of the pending expiration of UAW contracts with the Big Three. A Michigan Chamber of Commerce spokesman worried aloud of the prospect that "there's an illegal teachers strike and that is followed by the UAW going on strike later this fall." Militant class struggle, particularly by the powerful UAW, is precisely what's needed to reverse the attacks which have driven down wages, slashed jobs and pushed through massive speedup from heavy industry to the publie sector. But the UAW misleaders are wedded to the program of class-collaborationist "partnership" with the auto bosses. On the eve of the Septemher 14 contract expiration, the UAW bureaucracy is working overtime to *prevent* a nationwide auto strike.

Doing his share to further "class peace" with the bosses, DFT head Elliott sold out the strike only hours after the Labor Day march, announcing a new deal with the Board of Education. The teachers succeeded in beating back an attempt to extend the workday an hour and a half with no eommensurate pay hike. But the board could nonetheless brag that it had won two-thirds of its union-busting "school reform" demands. With 40 students crammed into schoolrooms built for half that many, and with classes overflowing into the hallways, the teachers' central demand was to reduce class size. All they got was a token reduction in class size in just 44 of 271 schools. Otherwise the pact is virtually identical to the one teachers rejected a week earlier.

While the teachers remained solid throughout the strike, the leaders of the 17 other school unions without contracts ordered their members to scab on the strike. It is a measure of the labor bureaucracy's kowtowing to bourgeois "legality" that this was the first teachers strike in Michigan in five years, ever since the 1994 anti-strike law was passed in the wake of a DFT walkout in 1992. Such cringing before the bosses' anti-labor laws was also what killed the long, bitter strike against the *Detroit News* and *Free Press* which began in July 1995, as the bureaucrats hid behind strikebreaking eourt injunctions to disperse mass pickets and channel the struggle into impotent consumer boycotts.

The attacks on the Detroit school unions are part of a concerted assault nationwide against teachers unions—carried out with the connivance and complicity of the pro-Democratic Party leadership of the American Federation of Teachers—as education for working-class and minority youth is slashed in favor of more spending for prisons and cops.

Two decades of savage attacks on the living standards of the working class have led to an unprecedented redistribution of wealth in favor of the capitalist class. A recent Congressional Budget Office study reveals that since 1977 the

continued on page 10

TROTSKY

LENIN

Proletarian Unity and Defense of Immigrant Workers

At its Fourth Congress in 1922, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky directed its member parties to vigorously champion the rights of immigrant workers. This was in stark contrast to the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracies, whose anti-immigrant chauvinism served then, as it does today, to further the capitalists' aim of dividing the working class along national, ethnic and racial lines. In the midst of renewed attacks against foreign-born workers in the U.S. and elsewhere, the International Communist League demands full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fights to mobilize the proletariat in defense of all the exploited and oppressed.

The communist parties of America, Canada, and Australia must conduct an energetic campaign against laws prohibiting immigration and must explain to the proletarian masses of these countries that such laws, by stirring up race hatred, will in the end bring injury to themselves.

The capitalists on the other hand are prepared to dispense with laws against immigration, in order to facilitate the free entry of cheap coloured labour power and thus lower the wages of white workers. Their intentions ean only be successfully frustrated by one thing—the immigrant workers must be enrolled in the existing trade unions of white workers. At the same time the demand must be made that the wages of coloured workers must be raised to the level of the wages of white workers. Such a step by the communist parties will expose the intentions of the capitalists and at the same time clearly show the coloured workers that the international proletariat knows no race prejudice.

—"Theses on the Eastern Question," quoted in Jane Degras, *The Communist International 1919-1943: Documents, Vol. 1* (1971)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Tha closing date for news in this issue is September 14.

No. 719 **17 September 1999**

Spartacus Youth Club Forums

The Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War

CHICAGO

Saturday, September 18, 7 p.m.

University of Illinois at Chicago
Circle Center, Rm. 505, 750 S. Halsted
For more information: (312) 454-4930
spartacist@iname.com

MADISON

Sunday, September 26, 2 p.m.

University ol Wisconsin at Madison
See "Today in the Union" for location
For more information: (312) 454-4930
spartacist@iname.com

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BAY AREA

First class: ***The Marxist Understanding of the Capitalist State***
Thursday, September 23, 7 p.m.
UC Berkeley, Room 222 Wheeler
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

CHICAGO

Meet the Marxists on Campus:
Tuesday, September 21, 6:30 p.m.
University ol Chicago, location TBA

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Sunday, September 26, 1 p.m.
Marxist Materialism vs. Idealism
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
(near Clinton stop on Blue Line)
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Meet the Marxists on Campus:
Tuesday, Oetober 5, 4 p.m.
UCLA, 2408 Aekerman Union
For information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

The Fight for a Socialist Future
First class: ***Marxism: A Guide to Action***
Tuesday, September 21, 7:30 p.m.
New York University, room TBA
For room and information: (212) 267-1025
or nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Smash the Capitalist System of Racism and War!
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
September 22: ***Marxism and the State***
U ol T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College St.)
For room and information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Marxism and World Revolution
Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.
September 28: ***War in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay: Down With Imperialist Occupation of Kosovo!***
U of B.C., Room 212 Student Union Bldg.
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Proletarian Internationalism in Balkans War

International Fund Drive Aided Yugoslav Workers

The following article is adapted and abridged from the current issue of Spartaco *(No. 54/55, July 1999), published by the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the International Communist League.*

ICL Said: Defeat U.S./NATO Imperialism Through Workers Revolution! Defend Serbia!

From the U.S. to Japan, sections of the International Communist League actively participated in the campaign of material aid launched by the COBAS (Rank and File Committee) at the Arese, Milano Alfa Romeo plant, whose goal was to collect a billion lire, some $550,000, for the workers of Zastava and other factories in Yugoslavia bombed by NATO (see "As NATO Bombs Factories—Campaign Launched for Aid to Yugoslav Workers," *WV* No. 713, 14 May). We participated in this campaign of material aid to the Yugoslav workers in line with our military defense of Serbia against the U.S./NATO attack. This campaign gave many workers in the countries where we are present the possibility of making a concrete internationalist gesture in defense of the Yugoslav workers and *against* their "own" imperialist rulers, without giving an iota of political support to the Serbian capitalist regime of Slobodan Milosevic. Throughout the war, the ICL raised the call: Defeat imperialism through workers revolution—Defend Serbia!

no credit

Zastava auto plant destroyed by U.S./NATO bombing in April. September 9 COBAS letter confirms receipt of "funds collected by the sections of the International Communist League (ICL) and its fraternal defense organizations...equal to 19,690,713 lira and it has been entirely deposited in the fund for the Yugoslav workers (at Zastava)." Top letter from Zastava to COBAS confirms receipt of fund drive collections.

We oppose the predatory imperialist "peace," dictated by the world's bloodiest mass murderers, which has turned Kosovo into a NATO protectorate. This was NATO's goal from the beginning, despite its cynical pretense of protecting the Kosovo Albanians. As we warned, the NATO occupation has led to pogromist terror against Serbs and Roma (Gypsies) and the forcible expulsion of the overwhelming mass of the Serbian population, while placing the Albanian majority directly under the thumb of the imperialists. Today we demand: Down with the imperialist occupation—All U.S./NATO/UN troops out of the Balkans now!

The campaign of material aid initiated by the COBAS was an expression of broader proletarian opposition to the imperialist war against Serbia, particularly in Italy. More than a million workers took part in the May 13 strike called by the COBAS against the war; opposition to the war was also evident at the national metal workers demonstration for the renewal of their contract and in many other workers' struggles at a local level. On May 28, pacifist groups in Trieste stopped a military train transporting arms in preparation for a threatened land invasion. In an internationalist gesture, workers in Veneto published leaflets in Italian, English, Serbian and Albanian that said: "This is not an 'American' war; the European governments, in large part headed by social democrats, are involved in it" (*Liberazione*, 30 May).

The leading trade-union bureaucrats supported this war, carried out in Italy by a government led by the reformist Party of the Democratic Left (PDS). But many worker militants, local branches of the reformist Rifondazione Comunista (RC) and others enthusiastically participated in the campaign of aid to Yugoslav workers. Meanwhile, the leadership of RC, which until last year had been a key prop of the capitalist popular-front government, preached confidence in the United Nations and called for a conference of European capitalist powers to resolve the Balkans crisis when the NATO bombing started. The bureaucrats of RC did not lift a finger for this campaign *when it counted*, during the imperialist bombing. Only after the NATO occupation began did RC's *Liberazione* and the CGIL trade-union federation publicize a tour of Italy by Zastava workers appealing for solidarity.

Sections of the ICL and their fraternal legal and social defense organizations raised a total of nearly $12,000 for the campaign of aid to Yugoslav workers. More importantly, while the campaign was launched by the COBAS mainly as a national effort, the ICL fought to extend this important campaign *internationally*. As a comrade of the LTd'I said at the May 15 meeting in Bologna setting up the Committee for Aid to Yugoslav Workers:

> "The proletariat must be mobilized as an international class and as a revolutionary opposition to the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Italy, the United States and Germany are capitalist powers, but they are also societies divided into classes in which the workers, ethnic and racial minorities and immigrants suffer the exploitation and oppression of the dominant capitalist classes and have every reason to desire the defeat of 'their' bourgeoisie. In spite of the anti-American chauvinism of the Italian left, the proletariat and the oppressed of that country are the best allies of the Serbian and Italian working class."

In Germany, Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder—whose government sent German troops into combat for the first time since World War II—tried to stifle popular opposition to the war against Serbia, which had suffered under Nazi occupation. On May 18, Berlin police detained two *Spartakist* salesmen in front of the Daimler-Chrysler factory to stop them from collecting funds for the campaign (see "Support Fund Drive for Yugoslav Workers Under U.S./NATO Attack!" *WV* No. 714, 28 May). Meanwhile, they allowed thousands of buckets to be passed around for the Kosovo refugees, because that bolstered the government's pretext for this murderous war. A Spartakist Workers Party protest statement pointed to the Zastava workers' history of class struggle, including an important strike two and a half years ago against the bourgeois-nationalist Milosevic regime, which had fired more than half of the workforce in the wake of capitalist restoration. The statement declared that the "murderous act of NATO terror against them—like the bombing of other key factories that have so far destroyed the workplaces of a half million workers—was intended as a warning to the proletariat throughout the Balkans."

In the imperialist "belly of the beast" in the U.S., our comrades collected funds from trade unionists outside workplaces and union meetings, including among the heavily black and immigrant New York City transit workforce. In Britain, where Tony Blair's Lahour government distinguished itself as the most bellicose of the NATO powers, shop stewards from the Cowley car plant, workers at Ford Dagenham near London and London Underground transit workers contributed. So, too, did immigrant workers—in Britain and elsewhere in Europe—who are on the receiving end of racist state repression and the fascist terror it spawns and did not buy into the cynical "humanitarian" pretext for NATO's Balkans war.

In Mexico, the Grupo Espartaquista was invited to address and pass the hat among 600 delegates of the trade union of workers at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City, which has been rocked by militant protests against the imposition of tuition. In Japan, at a 50,000-strong protest on May 22 against revisions to the Japan-U.S. security treaty, metal workers, medical workers and rail workers reached into their pockets to give to the campaign—as did youth supporters of the Communist Party, despite their leaders' attempts to exclude and silence us. And students from the Chinese deformed workers state studying in the U.S., Canada and Australia donated to the fund drive, at protests against NATO's bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade.

Fake-Left Drummer Boys for Imperialist War

While anger and revulsion against the NATO slaughter were widespread, the capitulation of an array of so-called "socialist" outfits to their "own" bourgeoisies and their social-democratic lackeys was limitless. A case in point is Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its international co-thinkers, including the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. and, in Italy, supporters of the newspaper *Comunismo dal Basso* (who are buried inside RC). When our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain first collected for the fund drive at a May 8 London antiwar protest, a number of SWP members contributed. But the SWP leadership soon brought a halt to this.

After the war, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (30 July) declaimed, "U.S. and NATO talk of 'humanitarianism' was a cover—for committing the worst war crimes of this disgusting war." But while

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Money Sent by ICL Sections and Fraternal Defense Organizations to COBAS Account for the Zastava Campaign

Itemization by country of funds collected by the ICL and fraternal organizations and confirmed by COBAS in their receipt dated 9 September 1999.

Country	Defense Group or ICL Section	U.S. $ Total*
Australia	Partisan Defence Committee	834.49
Britain	Partisan Defence Committee	2,359.23
Canada	Partisan Defense Committee	756.25
France	Comité de défense sociale	420.71
Germany	Komitee für soziale Verteidigung	1,104.30
Ireland	Partisan Delence Committee	404.77
Italy	Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria	348.26
Japan	Partisan Defense Committee	520.86
Mexico	Grupo Espartaquista	351.09
Poland	Platforma Spartakusowców	79.03
South Africa	Spartacist South Africa	18.07
U.S.	Partisan Defense Committee	3,534.40
Total		**$ 10,731.46**

* At September 9 rate of exchange for Italian lira, amounting to a total of 19,690,713 lira.
In addition to the above, another US$ 686.30 was wired from New York by the Partisan Defensa Committee on 7 September, which has not yet been received in the COBAS account.

Chinese Immigrant Workers in Racist America

Saffold/Sipa

Michael Schwartz

Coast Guard seizes Chinese immigrants aboard *Pai Sheng*, San Francisco, 1993. Garment workers rally against sweatshops in Manhattan's Chinatown, August 1998. Labor must organize immigrant workers and combat anti-immigrant racism.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Throughout its history, the American capitalist class has amassed untold riches through the blood, sweat and toil of wave after wave of immigrant workers. From Michigan auto plants and Chicago slaughterhouses to New York City garment factories, immigrant workers laboring in grimy, debilitating and life-threatening conditions have helped produce the vast wealth which pays for the yachts and mansions of the Rockefellers and Kennedys, and for the vast police and military forces which exist to repress any rebellion by capitalism's wage slaves. Today, a mere five-minute walk from the glittering skyscrapers of Wall Street, immigrant workers from China slave away in garment sweatshops and restaurants under conditions on a par with those faced by their predecessors a century ago.

The plight of these workers is graphically depicted in a recent book titled *Forbidden Workers: Illegal Chinese Immigrants and American Labor* (1997) by Peter Kwong, chair of the Asian American Studies Program at New York City's Hunter College. In this book centering on New York City's Chinatown sweatshops, the third in his series of histories of Chinese workers in America, Kwong tells a story that has seen the light of day as rarely as the workers themselves did. He focuses on the most recent wave of Chinese immigrants—from the coastal province of Fujian—who literally mortgage their lives to human smugglers known as "snakeheads." Kwong describes how, after arriving in the U.S., these immigrants are "exploited by their employers, mistreated by the snakeheads, misunderstood by their fellow Chinese, unwelcomed by the Americans, and unprotected by the law."

Peterson/SABA

Garment sweatshop in Manhattan. UNITE labor tops betray interests of these mainly women immigrant workers, collude with sweatshop bosses.

The main catalyst for this latest wave of immigration is the economic desperation on the Chinese mainland fostered by the Stalinist bureaucracy's program of "market reforms." With collectivized agriculture destroyed in the 1980s and with whole swathes of industry being privatized, the "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed jobs, housing and benefits has been shattered. As Trotskyists, we call for unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically deformed workers state in China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. The social gains of the 1949 Revolution are under increasing attack by the Beijing bureaucracy as it rushes headlong toward capitalist restoration. As China teeters on the brink of capitalist counterrevolution, what is urgently needed is a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, revive and defend the nationalized economy and fight to promote socialist revolution internationally. The International Communist League seeks to forge the Trotskyist party needed to lead that political revolution to victory.

The horrific conditions suffered by Chinese smuggled into the U.S. were highlighted when the *Golden Venture* ran aground off Rockaway Beach in the New York City borough of Queens in 1993. The 286 Chinese immigrants on board were immediately arrested; many remained in Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) prison hellholes for years. Coming just two weeks after the arrest of 200 Chinese immigrants disembarking in San Francisco from the freighter *Pai Sheng*, the grounding of the *Golden Venture* added fuel to the virulent, bipartisan anti-immigrant campaign pushed by the Clinton White House and Congress. In defense of these immigrants, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee initiated protests outside INS offices in New York City and San Francisco, which received coverage in the Chinese-language press. The protests demanded: Free the Chinese immigrants—Stop racist INS deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Deprived of legal rights, undocumented Chinese immigrants are forced to slave away for crumbs, serving to drive down wages and worsen conditions for *all* workers. In our protests, we stressed the need to mobilize the labor movement to take up the fight against anti-immigrant racism and to bring these immigrant workers into the unions. But the pro-capitalist trade-union tops join the capitalist rulers in pushing calls for stronger anti-immigrant laws. In his book, Kwong graphically depicts how Chinese immigrant workers in the garment sweatshops have been ignored, betrayed, vilified and sold out by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) misleaders, giving Chinatown bosses fertile ground to warn workers to stay away from the "white man's unions."

As we noted in the ICL Declaration of Principles (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating the workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison the class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."

Labor Must Champion Immigrant Rights!

Seeking escape from the devastation wrought by "market reforms," many Fujianese fork over up to $5,000 to the snakeheads as a down payment, promising under penalty of death to pay as much as $30,000 later. This is so far beyond their means that it requires years of

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San Francisco, CA Phone: (415) 395-9520

indentured servitude to pay off. To evade U.S. immigration agents, the immigrants travel under conditions Kwong likened to the Middle Passage of the African slave trade. He describes the ordeal of Mrs. Lin and her husband as representative:

> "Some 217 people were squeezed under the deck, lined up head to head with barely enough space to lay down. Most passengers suffered from seasickness as soon as the ship sailed into open water, but there were no adequate bathroom facilities. They were not allowed to get fresh air on deck because the snakehead enforcers feared detection and escape. They were given only a few mouthfuls of rice, some pickled vegetables, and a small glass of water a day."

This nightmarish journey is just a rehearsal for what's in store once the immigrants reach U.S. shores to partake of the "American Dream." The Fujianese interviewed by Kwong said they would never have made the decision to come to the U.S. if they had known what things would be like. While some have found jobs in construction or in electronics shops in New York City, the vast majority of men are farmed out to work in restaurants as dishwashers and making deliveries, while most women end up in small garment factories. In the Chinatown garment sweatshops, which generally work under contract to major designers, these women work such long hours—often with their children beside them—that they sleep in the factories or bring work home. They are paid below minimum wage, if they see their pitiful wages at all. The Department of Labor, which is responsible for "enforcing" what minimal labor laws exist, acts in cahoots with the INS by reporting workers who complain about their hideous exploitation.

Kwong describes how these immigrants typically have such little interaction with anyone outside of their ethnic enclave that some of them refer to native-born Americans as *lao wai*—"foreigners." Preying on and fostering this isolation, Chinatown bosses wield fears of anti-immigrant repression and anti-Asian racism to quell class conflict in the name of "ethnic solidarity." The Chinese sweatshop owners justify the starvation wages they pay by pointing to the low prices they get from the *lao fan* (barbarian) manufacturers they produce for.

Conditioning the drastic decline of conditions in this industry has been the surrender by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy of hard-won union gains in major industries like steel, auto and trucking. In an industry with many small shops engaging in cutthroat competition, garment workers who demand better wages and conditions face threats of closure or "bankruptcy" from the employers. With debilitating piecework the norm, the price per garment is constantly plummeting. Kwong cites the case of a typical New York Chinatown worker who now labors 12 hours a day for $30. In the early 1980s, she averaged $40-50 per day. Practices like home work and child labor, outlawed long ago, are widespread. Kwong reports that several Hong Kong manufacturers have relocated their operations to New York City to take advantage of cheaper labor costs!

Despite self-serving appeals to "ethnic solidarity" by Chinatown capitalists, Fujianese immigrants often face vicious reaction from bourgeois layers in the Chinese community. Currently in Vancouver, Canada, Chinese businessmen and professionals are in the forefront of a chauvinist campaign for stricter immigration laws sparked by the arrival of hundreds of mainland immigrants smuggled into the country this summer by ship. Everywhere they turn, the message is clear: immigrant workers have no rights.

The Fujianese are but one segment of the growing immigrant component of the U.S. proletariat, from Haitians and Dominicans on the East Coast to Mexicans and Asians throughout the country. Hispanic immigrant workers played a crucial role in UNITE's recent organizing victory at Fieldcrest Cannon in Kannapolis, North Carolina, whose owners had repulsed repeated unionization efforts for 93 years. As the basic defense organizations of the working class, the trade unions must take up the demand that everyone who makes it to the U.S.—"legal" or "illegal"—has the right to stay here, and must champion the call for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants. Successful struggle against the exploiters requires a fight to defend and organize foreign-born workers into the unions *with full rights and protections*.

The defense of immigrant rights is necessarily intertwined with the fight against the racist oppression of black people, which is central to American capitalism. To prop up their system of exploitation, the racist rulers seek to pit white against black, and all against the desperate immigrant. Aggressive union organizing drives, with special measures to recruit black, immigrant and other minority workers, are crucial to revitalizing the labor movement. But this requires a struggle inside the unions against the chauvinist, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy and for a new, class-struggle leadership which recognizes that the interests of capital and labor are counterposed.

UNITE Tops' Partnership with Garment Bosses

Immigrant garment workers, mostly women, have played a vital and inspiring role in building the unions in this industry which gave rise to the epithet "sweatshop." The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) was built largely by young East European Jewish and Italian women, many of them socialists, who braved arrests, court injunctions and imprisonment. Their struggles are commemorated around the world by International Women's Day, March 8, which originated in a march in Manhattan's Lower East Side in 1908 by women needle trades workers demanding an eight-hour day, an end to child labor and equal suffrage for women. In 1909, some 20,000 seamstresses walked off their jobs in protest against horrific work conditions. Two years later, 146 seamstresses perished in the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire because the exits had been locked by the employer. Popular outrage in response to this heinous crime of capitalist greed compelled the bourgeoisie to implement the country's first factory reform laws. By the end of World War I, clothing workers were among the best-organized in the U.S., with 100,000 dues-paying union members by 1920 and over double that a dozen years later.

But the gains won through courageous battles were squandered by the class collaborationism of the union's anti-Communist leaders, exemplified by right-wing social democrats David Dubinsky of the ILGWU and Sydney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACWA), who tied the unions to Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" Democratic Party. While occasionally spouting "socialist" rhetoric, Dubinsky was a practiced master in class collaboration who feared any sign of labor militancy like the plague. Despite massive upsurges of labor struggle in the 1930s and '40s, the ILGWU did not have a single major strike from 1933 to 1958. Hillman was, if anything, even more slavishly pro-Democrat, serving on a government anti-labor board under Roosevelt during World War II.

As the garment workforce in New York became largely Puerto Rican and black in the 1950s, the ACWA and ILGWU tops increasingly abandoned even the pretense of representing the workers' interests. Today, Chinese women workers make up a significant part of the membership of UNITE, which resulted from a 1995 merger of the ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (itself the product of an earlier merger of the ACWA and the Textile Workers Union). These Chinese immigrant workers have demonstrated tremendous courage and fighting capacity, braving the cops and the Chinatown gangs who act as the bosses' capos as well as the hated INS. In 1982, 20,000 workers poured out for an ILGWU rally in Chinatown. Kwong estimates that almost 90 percent of seamstresses working in Manhattan's Chinatown are members of UNITE Local 23-25.

But the UNITE leadership under Jay Mazur carries on the Dubinsky/Hillman tradition of class treachery, working in concert with the garment bosses and shunning any fight for their members' most basic rights. While the union has won health care for its members, a 1992 survey showed that non-union workers earn on average $4.97 per hour while *ILGWU members made only $3.73*. The UNITE bureaucracy has literally sold out its members in pursuit of class peace—through a scheme called "liquidated damages"—with top American clothing retailers and designers who regularly grace the pages of *Cosmopolitan*, *Vanity Fair* and the *New York Times*. The *Village*

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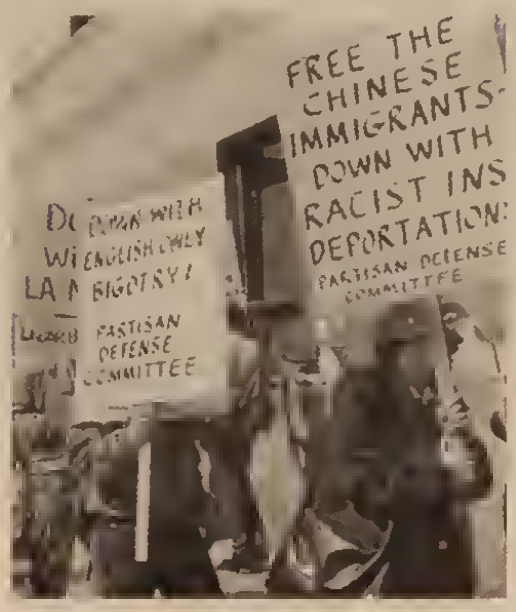

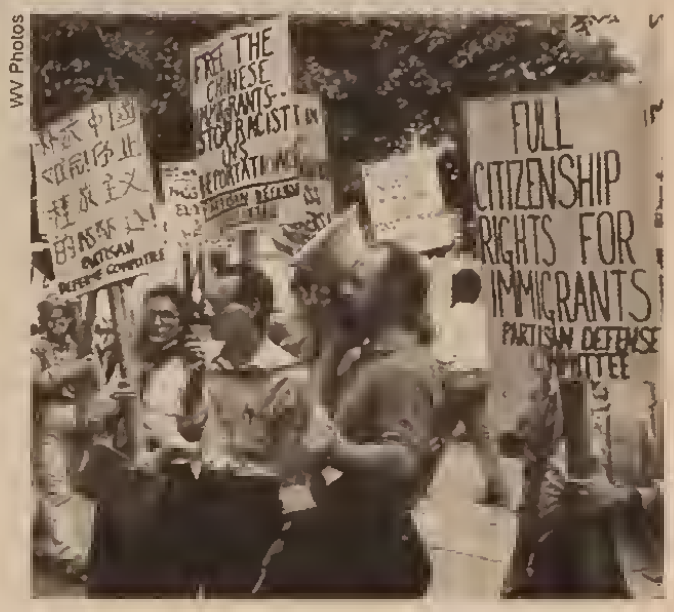

WV Photos

1993 Spartacist/PDC protests in San Francisco (left) and New York City following arrest of Chinese immigrants aboard *Pai Sheng* and *Golden Venture*.

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East Timor...

(continued from page 1)

Portuguese colony in 1975, leading to the deaths of more than 200,000 East Timorese. For 30 years they supported and armed the bloody dictator Suharto while training the Indonesian army, including the Kopassus special forces killers. These are the imperialists who devastated tiny Serbia and are now occupying Kosovo, overseeing brutal ethnic cleansing and pogromist terror against Serbs and Gypsies there. These are the imperialist mass murderers who slaughtered millions in their losing effort to defeat the Vietnamese revolution.

Imperialist military intervention means continued neo-colonial oppression, death, destruction and terrible poverty. For the imperialist rulers, who make fabulous profits exploiting the masses of the Asian region, an overarching purpose of military intervention is to prop up capitalist rule and suppress social struggle, particularly in Indonesia with its militant working class. In the context of the drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China and imperialist sabre rattling over Taiwan, a move into East Timor raises the spectre of a military threat to China and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states in Asia, Vietnam and North Korea. For the racist Australian rulers, occupation of East Timor would not only forcibly assert their "interests" in the region, but would also provide a means of keeping out desperate refugees. Portugal wants its piece as well.

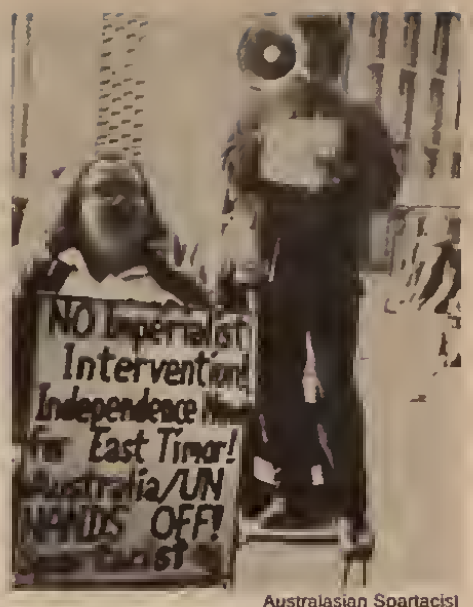
In laying the basis for what they want to ensure is stable neo-colonial rule, the imperialists are assisted by the East Timorese petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders who have been demanding armed imperialist intervention. Agreeing that East Timor should become a UN "protectorate" for the next five years, they are bidding to become frontmen in the exploitation of their "own" people.

We say that the real and only allies of the desperately poor people of East Timor are the international working class, from the multi-millioned proletariat of Indonesia to the workers of the imperialist countries in the region, Australia and Japan. This is the program of *proletarian internationalism*. The Australian workers movement has a particular duty to oppose the intervention of its "own" rulers, racist overlords of oppressed neo-colonies from Papua New Guinea to Fiji. We fight for union bans on *Australian* military goods as part of the struggle to defeat imperialism. The maritime workers refusing to handle war goods destined for the imperialists' attack on Vietnam stands as a proud example of internationalist solidarity.

In Indonesia, a prison house of peoples, the proletariat must struggle to transcend the dominant Javanese chauvinism fostered by the bourgeoisie. A Trotskyist party in Indonesia would fight to mobilise the working class in urgent protest and struggle to demand Indonesia get out of East Timor, while opposing imperialist intervention. Championing independence for East Timor, it would fight for the right of self-determination of all the oppressed peoples in the archipelago.

In Indonesia, a country of belated capitalist development, *all* wings of the bourgeoisie are so tied to imperialism and fearful of the proletariat, that they are incapable of fulfilling the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution—national liberation, agrarian revolution, legal equality for women and political democracy. Achieving these tasks and putting an end to the brutal exploitation of the masses requires the *proletarian* seizure of power—the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*. To consolidate proletarian rule in the face of hostile imperialism and lay the foundation for socialist economic development in backward Indonesia requires a struggle for socialist revolution internationally, in imperialist Australia, Japan and the U.S., and throughout the Asian region.

John Reid



Australasian Spartacist

Social-chauvinism vs. Trotskyism In Australia: DSP/Resistance at September 11 Sydney rally and leaflet for Melbourne demo demanding imperialist "peacekeepers" endorsed by *Socialist Worker* (ISO); right, September 9 Spartacist campus speakout.

Laborite Left: "Critical Support" to Imperialism

The Labor Party, notably its foreign affairs spokesman Laurie Brereton, has been the most hawkish in demanding the Australian military go into East Timor, while the ACTU union bureaucrats have called for 5,000 troops to be sent and the Northern Territory Trades and Labor Council calls for economic sanctions against Indonesia. This is chauvinism and class treason, the effect of which is to call on the Australian rulers to wage war on neo-colonial Indonesia. In the wake of the ALP/ACTU come the Laborite left. These leftists do not oppose imperialism as a system, but instead seek to pressure the capitalists into adopting a "progressive" foreign policy. They are purveyors of the deadly fiction that there can be "humanitarian" imperialism.

The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) has long demanded that Australia "act" in defence of the East Timorese, and their paper *Green Left Weekly* has featured regular calls for UN intervention. Now, in the person of Jon Land, spokesman for their front group Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET), the DSP openly calls for a UN military force:

> "In the context of the unrelenting violence by the pro-integration militias, a UN peacekeeping force for East Timor should be given critical support. An armed UN peacekeeping force would act as a deterrent to the destabilisation campaign by the militias and the Indonesian military."
>
> —*Green Left Weekly*, 1 September

The DSP's support is "critical" because, they say, "Interventions by UN forces elsewhere have often had disastrous consequences." This is a revolting alibi for UN-sanctioned slaughter, starvation and political subjugation. Look at Iraq. In the name of the UN, this country was bombed to oblivion in 1991, and since then, the UN's embargo has killed well over a million people. Australian navy vessels to this day patrol the Persian Gulf enforcing UN sanctions against Iraq. From the Korean war to the Congo, Somalia and Cambodia, UN "peacekeeping" interventions are aimed at imposing the diktats of the imperialist powers.

The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) have said they are opposed to Australian troops to East Timor, but they *refuse* to call for the Australian cops and military advisers there now, much less the UN, to get out. Prettifying Australian imperialism, they write, "Instead of sending troops, the government should be sending unconditional aid" (*Socialist Worker*, 12 March) and they back the union tops' pro-imperialist calls to ban all trade with Indonesia.

Workers Power (WP) claims to oppose Australian imperialism, but they too, do not demand Australia get out. In fact they give tacit approval to the UN presence in East Timor, demanding the recent vote be overseen "by representatives of not just the UN, but of the world labour movement" (*Workers Power*, August-October)! WP seems to think that imperialist occupation is a pre-condition for workers revolution. As in Kosovo, where WP's British co-thinkers conjure up the possibility of socialist revolution under NATO bayonets, in East Timor they call for a "popular militia," "councils of workers', peasants' and students' delegates," and "a Workers' and Peasants' Government," all under the eye of the UN!

The DSP have long been the local press agents for the People's Democratic Party (PRD) in Indonesia. Recent months have seen waves of worker protests and strikes in Indonesia, and in this volatile situation the PRD has grown. PRD militants have shown great courage in the face of heavy state repression, and workers must demand freedom for all PRD, trade-union and East Timorese militants from Jakarta's dungeons! However, the PRD's central strategy is to pressure Megawati Sukarnoputri's bourgeois Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (PDI-P). PRD leader Dita Sari, recently released from prison stated: "We must and will demand that the PDI-P meet its responsibilities to the people who voted for it. We will put forward our program for what any new government must achieve for the workers in its first 100 days!" (*Green Left Weekly*, 11 August).

Tailing Megawati, a vicious Javanese chauvinist who has long insisted that East Timor belongs to Indonesia, underscores that the PRD's program of petty-bourgeois nationalism is counterposed to the perspective of mobilising the Indonesian proletariat against the army's butchery in East Timor and anywhere else. Pushing illusions in the good offices of the imperialists, as early as 1996 the PRD called for Indonesia "to hand [East Timor] over to multinational peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the UN, as we have seen in Bosnia, Ethiopia and Cambodia" ("Resolution on East Timor," 26 July 1996).

UN officials are suggesting that a "Kosovo-style intervention" into East Timor of U.S., New Zealand and Australian troops would be quicker to mount than a UN operation. Just as the fake left, who spewed the imperialists' propaganda about Kosovo as a pretext for the war on Serbia, bear a share of responsibility for the imperialist destruction there, so too will they bear responsibility for what an imperialist occupation of East Timor will bring.

As the Australian section of the International Communist League, we understand that proletarian solidarity with the Indonesian and East Timorese masses means, *above all*, mobilising proletarian opposition to Australian and all imperialist intervention in the region, part of the struggle to overthrow this vicious, racist ruling class. Independence now for East Timor! For workers revolution in Indonesia! Down with Australian imperialism! ■

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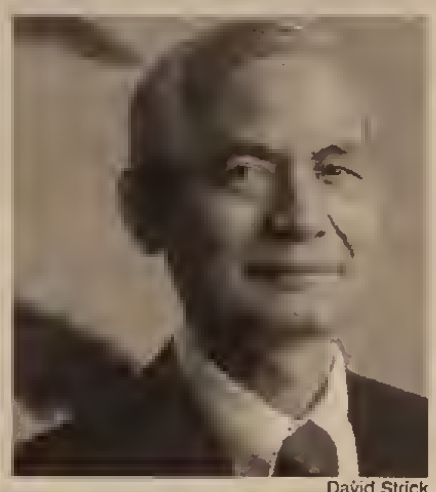
Defend China Against Imperialist Attack and Internal Counterrevolution!

"Chinese Spy" Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism

The months-long witchhunting campaign against Taiwanese-born scientist Wen Ho Lee, fired from Los Alamos National Laboratory in March on suspicion of providing classified information on the W-88 U.S. nuclear warhead to China, has now fizzled out in the absence of even a shred of evidence of espionage. Lee, an American citizen, was the central (but unnamed) focus of the recent report of the House select committee headed by California Republican Congressman Christopher Cox. Released in late May, the Cox Report, which was endorsed by every Democrat on the committee, labeled each and every one of the tens of thousands of mainland Chinese students, scientists and others residing in the U.S. as potential "Communist agents." This McCarthyite witchhunt was championed in particular by the mouthpiece of the "liberal" wing of the American ruling class, the *New York Times*.



David Strick

Amid witchhunt over Chinese "espionage," Los Alamos scientist Wen Ho Lee was driven out of his job.

The manufactured hysteria over Chinese espionage is patently aimed at increasing belligerence toward the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. Even if Lee had, with purpose or not, given military secrets to the People's Republic of China, this is no crime from the standpoint of the international working class. The peasant-based 1949 Chinese Revolution led to the expropriation of the domestic and imperialist bourgeoisie in China, ushering in a planned, collectivized economy providing jobs, food, housing and education to all. Although the working class was excluded from political power, the 1949 Revolution was a gain for the proletariat internationally. Our unconditional military defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution necessarily includes defense of the right of these states to amass and test nuclear weapons and to obtain them by whatever means necessary.

We recall the persecution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg at the height of the Cold War. Driven to frenzy when the Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb in the late 1940s, America's rulers targeted, not by accident, this Jewish couple as supposed Communist spies, to serve as sacrificial victims for their loss of a nuclear monopoly. Amid a harrage of anti-Semitic agitation, the Rosenbergs were electrocuted in 1953 in the face of worldwide opposition to this lynching. Heroically, the Rosenbergs spurned government offers to call off the executions if they "confessed" and "named names" (see "The Death Penalty, Anti-Communism and Anti-Semitism: The Political Execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," *WV* No. 626, 28 July 1995).

There is little doubt that Wen Ho Lee did nothing except engage in U.S. government-sponsored junkets of American scientists meeting with their peers in China. There is *no* doubt that he was targeted because of his Chinese origins. Robert Vrooman, who himself faces disciplinary action for failing to unearth the supposed security breach while counterintelligence chief at Los Alamos, noted that "a lot of Caucasians" were not investigated even though they had access to weapons secrets, "and they made contact with the same people that Lee was in contact with."

Wen Ho Lee is not just without a job; he is now without a future in this country. And he is not alone. All those of Chinese extraction—whether they are graduate students from the mainland or Taiwan or American citizens—are facing exclusion from government-connected jobs requiring some level of security clearance. A Singapore-born physicist at the City University of New York remarked, "It would take a brave lab administrator to hire someone with a Chinese name." We say: Hands off Wen Ho Lee! Give him back his job!

Anti-Communism and "Yellow Peril" Racism

The timing of the Cox Report—released only weeks after the U.S. bombed Beijing's embassy in Belgrade, touching off furious protests in China—no doubt conditioned the Chinese government's spirited response. With rare humor and panache, at a May 31 press conference in Beijing, the regime brought out a young computer engineer named Fang Nan, who proceeded to click onto the Web site of the Federation of American Scientists. As described by the *Washington Post* (1 June): "The results of Fang's efforts, including a list of every U.S. nuclear weapon and its specifications, were projected on a large screen. He then searched for W88. Up popped the explosive yield, weight, length and diameter of the warhead, as well as a description of the specific materials used and its key design features."

Ironically, it was an earlier "Chinese spy" scare that led to the development of China's nuclear weapons capacity. In the aftermath of the 1949 Revolution, Chinese-born Qian Xuesen, perhaps the foremost jet propulsion expert in the U.S., was stripped of his security clearance and removed from his missile research for supposedly heing an undercover member of the American Communist Party. This seemingly baseless charge relied on Qian's personal associations with suspected "reds" at the California Institute of Technology, where he was employed and had been educated. Hounded and threatened with deportation, he requested that he be allowed to return to China, a country he had left 20 years earlier. In 1955, the U.S. finally agreed, swapping him for Americans held in Mao's China. The leading role in the U.S. missile program fell to "former" Nazi Werner Von Braun, a choice far more congenial to the rulers of racist American imperialism.

Taking four other Chinese-born scientists with him, Qian soon organized and built virtually from nothing the Chinese missile program. In 1960, China launched its first rocket. Lacking even metalworking lathes, workers forged its large circular frame by pushing against it manually. (An interesting account of this little-known episode in the Cold War can be found in Iris Chang's 1995 book, *The Thread of the Silkworm* [BasicBooks].) Today, China has the capacity to take out Los Angeles should the U.S. attempt a nuclear first strike, making Washington think twice about exerting its "human rights" pretensions over Tibet against the People's Republic as it did against Serbia in the name of the Kosovo Albanians.

Despite this history, the racist assumption implicit in the Cox Report is that the Chinese are incapable of matching the scientific achievements of (white) America. Interviewed by the *New York Times* (7 September), Cox arrogantly dismissed the notion that China could "indigenously" develop a miniaturized nuclear warhead akin to the W-88 even though other countries like France did. The official Chinese response to the Cox Report, published in *Beijing Review* (26 July), pointedly observed that "Cox and others have underestimated the creativity of the Chinese people and Chinese scientists. Even today, they still cling to this manifestation of racial discrimination."

The "yellow peril" racism surrounding this spy scare goes right back to the first wave of Chinese immigration to the U.S. some 150 years ago. It found extreme expression when 120,000 Japanese Americans were interned in concentration camps in the western U.S. following the outbreak of World War II in the Pacific. Forced to work in slave-labor conditions, many had everything they owned, including some of America's most valuable farmland, confiscated and sold by the government, without recompense, to white entrepreneurs. Only the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and the Quakers, opposed this racist atrocity.

Among those spearheading the current spy furor is the consummately racist Republican Senator Jesse Helms. It is no accident that the anti-Communist, anti-Asian witchhunt against Lee has been promoted by those with the most obvious sympathies for the Ku Klux Klan. At base, American capitalism rests on the cornerstone of the race-color caste oppression of black people. Attacks against Asian and Hispanic immigrants necessarily lead to intensified racism against the black masses. With its chauvinist protectionism—directed at the "threat" of cheap lahor in Asia, Mexico and elsewhere—the labor burcaucracy fuels racist reaction not only against immigrants in the U.S. but also black people. The first loyalty of the AFL-CIO tops lies with the U.S. imperialist ruling class, as witnessed not least by their virulently anti-Communist tirades against China.

Promoting Counterrevolution in China

The attempt to recreate a McCarthyite "red scare" over China was launched by yahoo Republicans seeking to further the ongoing campaign to discredit Clinton. The Cox committee, in fact, was initially formed to investigate supposed contributions by the Chinese regime to Clinton's 1996 election campaign. But for all the right-wing histrionics, Clinton's "soft line" toward China was U.S. policy under his Republican predecessors Reagan and Bush. Indeed, it was initiated by Republican Richard Nixon in the early 1970s, when he sealed an alliance with

continued on page 10

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Immigrant Workers...

(continued from page 5)

Voice (14 April 1998) reports: "Giant companies like Liz Claiborne, Donna Karan, Calvin Klein, and Anne Klein pay millions each year to UNITE for the right to produce garments more cheaply overseas. And it's allowed the union to bank well over $100 million in pure cash flow." Meanwhile, the corrupt labor tops cynically scream about "foreign sweatshops."

Last year, when Liz Claiborne closed a Brooklyn plant, the UNITE Local 600 leadership pushed through a deal in which the workers who lost their jobs got a mere $1,200 apiece while the union received $20.5 million from the company for services rendered. Indeed, according to the *Voice*, "Dues from members now count for only about a quarter of UNITE's revenue. Earnings from a $225 million securities portfolio along with liquidated damages enable UNITE to run the highest administrative expenses of any U.S. union." Less and less beholden to their members even as a dues base, the UNITE misleaders increasingly act simply as labor contractors for the bosses.

The labor tops' cynicism was evident when UNITE members fought to prevent a factory in Lower Manhattan from shutting down in late 1997, a tactic commonly used by Chinatown bosses to avoid paying workers after withholding months of wages. Two dozen workers camped out in front of the factory to try to block the removal of machinery and the garments their labor had produced. The union brass showed their faces only after the workers appeared on the *Good Morning New York* TV show. A union official named May Chen told workers to move away from the building entrance to a police pen down the block and to shout "Boycott sweatshops!" for the TV cameras as they impotently watched movers take out the factory's machines.

Facing hellish conditions, feeling besieged and sensing no interest from the racist, pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, many of these Chinese workers look to the chimera of "community organizing." This strategy separates workers from their potential power as part of the integrated labor movement and leads them to look to the capitalist government for redress. Typical in this regard is the community-based Chinese Staff and Workers Association (CSWA). In the early 1980s, the CSWA was instrumental in organizing pickets against the Silver Palace restaurant management and later against that at Jing Fong, two of the largest restaurants in Manhattan's Chinatown. But lacking a perspective of mobilizing workers across ethnic lines throughout the city, the CSWA leaders look to the capitalist state, relying on enemies of labor and immigrants like the New York State Attorney General's office and the Department of Labor.

In December 1997, Congressional right-wingers held hearings on UNITE and the sweatshops at which some disgruntled workers testified against the union, while some Southern California UNITE members have sued the union. At New York University (NYU), the Chinese Construction Workers Association has regularly protested at construction sites to demand a quota of Chinese workers. This effort included appeals to the NYU administration to force construction unions to comply—an implicit call on the bourgeois university administration to bust the unions. The racist, job-trusting practices of the craft union bureaucracies, particularly entrenched in the construction trades, must be combatted and reversed through a political fight *within* the unions. Instead of anti-union "community organizing," what is needed is a union fight against discrimination, for union-run minority recruitment programs and for jobs for all.

In his book, Kwong states that "protection of the rights of immigrants" is "the ultimate challenge for labor," rightly arguing: "The only way American unions can survive is by organizing the unorganized; the only way unprotected working people can look to a better future is by being part of the larger American labor movement—a revitalized one." But to revitalize the unions, Kwong looks to the likes of AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney, who follows in Dubinsky's and Hillman's footsteps (and is himself a member of the Democratic Socialists of America), and to "reform" outfits like Teamsters for a Democratic Union which specialize in dragging the unions into the bosses' courts. Placing his hopes on such ardent advocates of class collaboration, Kwong not surprisingly hails the community-based CSWA and himself appeals to the good graces of the capitalist state to enforce labor standards as well as measures to prevent runaway shops and calls for "an international convention against forced labor migrant trafficking." You can pass all the laws you want, but the economic laws of capitalist production mandate that capital will seek out labor wherever it is cheapest.

To do away with the hellish sweatshops, here and abroad, requires sweeping away the entire system of capitalist exploitation. We fight to mobilize labor in defense of the rights of immigrants and all the exploited and oppressed as part of the struggle for socialist revolution in the U.S. and around the world.

Bancroft Library

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Depiction of 1885 massacre of Chinese miners in Wyoming. Chinese railroad workers in California, 1889. Over 1,200 died in building of transcontinental railroad.

Hideous Exploitation of Chinese Workers in America

Chinese workers, one of the earliest immigrant groups, have always faced brutal racism and discrimination in the U.S. The first significant numbers of Chinese workers in the U.S. came to California in the 1840s—spurred by massive social turmoil inside China—to work in the gold mines, where they worked in segregated work gangs. Chinese immigrants were denied citizenship and the most minimal rights.

From the time of the initial influx of Chinese immigrants before the Civil War, their treatment was largely conditioned by the defining issue of slavery and the status of blacks. The Civil War smashed the slavocracy in the South, ushering in the most democratic period in American history, Radical Reconstruction (see "Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877: The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism," *WV* No. 701, 20 November 1998). It also allowed industrial capitalism to develop throughout the U.S. The Northern bourgeoisie's betrayal of Reconstruction—sealed by the withdrawal of the last Union troops from the South in 1877—also initiated a period of intense anti-Chinese racism. As Kwong wrote in the first book in his series, *Chinatown, N.Y.* (1979):

> "In the congressional debates over Chinese immigration during the 1870s, the issues and antagonism of the war years remained very much alive, and any question affecting the Chinese was apt to raise the whole complex specter of black liberation. Without a single exception, the anti-Chinese measures were carried in Congress by a combination of southern and western votes."

The years after the Civil War were marked by a tremendous increase in the power of American capitalism, most notably in the development of the railroads. In the mid-1860s, the Central Pacific Railroad hired thousands of Chinese workers to do the hardest, most dangerous work for less pay than white workers. Describing the deadly conditions in which the Chinese workers were forced to slave by the railroad magnates, Kwong writes: "The Chinese carved a path out of the perpendicular cliffs above the American River by lowering one another in wicker baskets by a pulley system to drill holes, inserting gunpowder in the rocks, and then lighting the fuses, quickly hoisting themselves up the line before the explosion." More than 1,200 Chinese died while building the transcontinental railway.

This was also a period of intense class war, as the "Robber Baron" capitalists fought tooth and nail against the nascent working-class movement. In June 1867, 5,000 Chinese railroad workers struck, demanding equal wages with white workers, a reduction in hours, the abolition of whipping and the freedom of any worker to quit at will. The workers surrendered only after the Central Pacific cut off food supplies to the workers' camp in the Sierra mountains. Chinese workers also organized strikes during the late 1800s in various other industries.

With the connivance of the newly fledged labor bureaucracy, Chinese workers were made scapegoats for a series of economic crises during the late 19th century. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) leadership, especially in California, campaigned to ban Asian immigration. Rallies in support of the

Boenzi/NY Times

1985 NYC garment workers rally. "Made In U.S.A." protectionism pushed by union tops is poison to class struggle.

Just Out!

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

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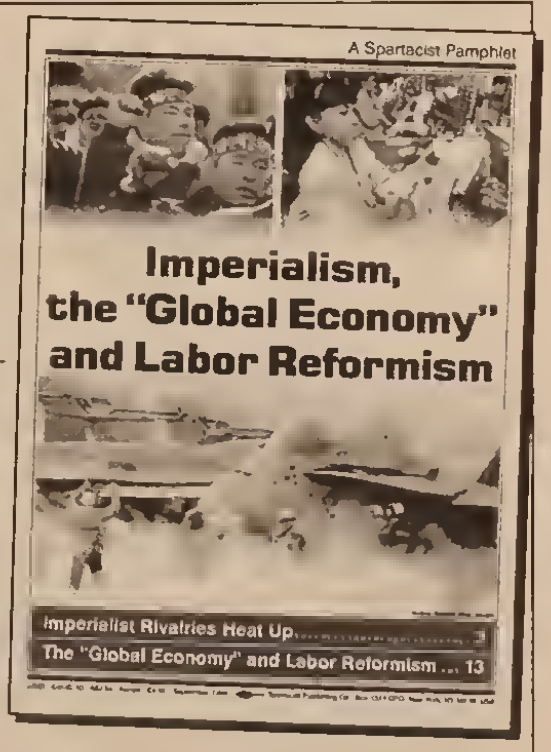

Great Railroad Strike of 1877 degenerated at times into anti-Chinese pogroms. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which all but cut off Chinese immigration and banned naturalization of Chinese immigrants. AFL chief Samuel Gompers, an outright racist who is lionized today by "progressive" AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney, argued that the "maintenance of the nation depended upon maintenance of racial purity and strength." Gompers strove to exclude both black and Asian workers from the unions. "Yellow peril" xenophobia ran deep in the early American labor movement. Thus, the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869 as one of the first national trade-union organizations, accepted black workers into membership but barred Chinese workers.

Gompers represented what Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described as the aristocracy of labor—a stratum which developed with the advent of the imperialist stage of capitalism in the late 19th century. Gompers & Co. derived their privileges as a labor bureaucracy parasitically resting atop the workers movement by acting as the agents of U.S. imperialism within the working class. Starting with the 1898 Spanish-American War, where the U.S. captured Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, the American rulers' imperialist wars of racist conquest abroad were accompanied by the intensification of racist repression at home, marked by the consolidation of Jim Crow segregation, and the cultivation of the chauvinist labor bureaucracy. In 1904, the Exclusion Act was made permanent, and in 1907 the U.S. government signed a "Gentlemen's Agreement" with the Japanese government cutting off Japanese immigration. It was not until the middle of World War II that the Chinese Exclusion Act was dropped.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racist Discrimination!

While Gompers and his ilk were virulent in their anti-Asian chauvinism, there is also a history of interracial class struggle against discrimination and exploitation. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), founded in 1905 with the understanding that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common," organized across ethnic and racial lines. Their motto was "An open union and a closed shop." In contrast to Gompers' AFL, the revolutionary-syndicalist IWW fought for *industrial* unions which organized all the workers in an industry, irrespective of skill or race. An IWW pamphlet, *Japanese and Chinese Exclusion or Industrial Organization, Which?* stated:

> "We the Industrial Workers of the World have organized the Japanese and Chinese in lumber camps, on the farms, mines and railroads, and the United Mine Workers of America have organized Japanese in the coal fields of Wyoming. This is proof that they can be organized."
>
> —quoted in Philip S. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* (1965).

Many of the best IWW militants, such as James P. Cannon, joined the early Communist Party (CP) following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky, founded two years after the Bolshevik Revolution, waged a merciless struggle against the chauvinist and class-collaborationist policies of the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracies and the social-democratic parties. In the "Theses on the Eastern Question" passed at its Fourth Congress in 1922, the Comintern specifically warned against the poisonous influence of anti-immigrant racism within the workers movement in the U.S., Canada and Australia. Noting that anti-immigrant "legislation deepens the antagonism between the coloured and white workers, and splits and weakens the workers' movement," the theses instructed the CPs in those countries to "conduct an energetic campaign against laws prohibiting immigration" (quoted in Jane Degras, *The Communist International 1919-1943: Documents, Vol. 1* [1971]).

Breaking down racial and ethnic barriers was integral to building the mass CIO industrial unions at the height of the Great Depression. This included a successful attempt to organize Chinese workers by the National Maritime Union (NMU). When thousands of Chinese seamen were stranded in New York during the 1936-37 NMU strike, the union strike committee approached the Chinese seamen's organization to urge its members to join the strike. The Chinese seamen agreed, asking in return for equal treatment, equal wages and the right to shore leave. When the NMU agreed to fight for these demands, 3,000 Chinese seamen joined the strike. By fighting for the rights of black and Asian seamen, the NMU soon surpassed the corrupt and racist AFL seamen's union.

ACWA

ACWA

M.E. Sharpe

1915 garment strike in Chicago. Unions built in heroic struggles were shackled to capitalists by pro-Democratic Party bureaucrats Sydney Hillman (far left) of ACWA clothing workers and David Dubinsky of ILGWU.

But the Stalinist leadership of the NMU, as elsewhere in the CIO, chained the union to Roosevelt's Democratic Party. In their support to U.S. imperialism in World War II, the Stalinists joined in pushing the vilest anti-Japanese chauvinism, even ordering their Japanese American members to go into the concentration camps set up by the U.S. government and hailing the A-bomb incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the close of the war.

Labor Tops in Service of U.S. Imperialism

The formation of the industrial unions was a historic gain for the multiracial American working class. But these gains have been undermined by the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. In the red purges of the late 1940s and '50s, thousands of militants were driven out of the unions, with social democrats like Dubinsky and Hillman and Walter Reuther in the United Auto Workers taking the lead in the Cold War witchhunt. Today, the Sweeney AFL-CIO bureaucracy turns a blind eye to sweatshop labor in the U.S. while spearheading a chauvinist campaign on behalf of the capitalist rulers to "buy American" and boycott clothing made abroad, especially in China.

In a speech to college students last year, Sweeney paid lip service to the plight of sweatshop workers in the U.S. but reserved the bulk of his talk for a tirade against China. Expressing the AFL-CIO tops' concern for the profits of the American capitalists, Sweeney lamented the unfairness of sweatshop labor to "the corporations that live up to their responsibility to share the wealth." "Made in the U.S.A." protectionism is deadly poison for workers in the U.S., spreading the illusion that their enemies are the workers of other countries and not the American capitalist class. Wielded against China, it also serves the imperialists' drive for capitalist counterrevolution and the reopening of that society to unbridled exploitation.

In their appeals to boycott products made by foreign sweatshop labor, the AFL-CIO and UNITE bureaucrats conveniently hide the fact that the "code of conduct" they push for U.S. capitalists operating abroad is routinely violated *in shops organized by UNITE*, where garment workers work 70 hours at subminimum wages and without overtime pay. Moreover, in their role as "labor lieutenants" of U.S. imperialism abroad, the AFL-CIO tops have helped to create the slave-like working conditions which draw American manufacturers to repressive, anti-labor regimes like Indonesia and the Philippines. Beginning with the close of World War II, CIA "labor" operatives like Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown waged war on Communist-led and other militant unions from France and Italy to South Korea at the behest of American imperialism. Dubinsky long helped funnel funds and personnel into CIA anti-Communist plots like the splitting of the French union movement after World War II. One Harry Goldberg was an operative for Lovestone in Indonesia in the period leading up to the bloody anti-Communist 1965 coup, which was backed by the CIA.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe has resulted in utter destitution and fratricidal slaughter for the proletariat, while emboldening the imperialists to engage in ever bloodier military adventures, like the recent U.S./NATO war against Serbia. At the same time, the capitalist rulers have sought to drive down workers' living standards worldwide.

This only serves to underscore the urgency of the fight to stop the drive toward capitalist restoration in China, which would plunge a fifth of all humanity into counterrevolutionary chaos and bring to a white heat growing rivalries among the major imperialist powers, especially the U.S. and Japan, as they compete for the spoils. Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's protectionist tirades have served to fuel anti-Asian racism in the U.S., which has historically run deep particularly in California. Amid a huge growth nationwide in racist attacks against Asian Americans, two years ago a white street gang in San Francisco carved swastikas into the storefronts of Asian businesses in the Sunset District.

The pro-imperialist labor tops chain the workers' power to the capitalist class enemy, chiefly through their support to the Democratic Party. The working people need their own party. The Spartacist League seeks to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the exploited and oppressed as part of the struggle for proletarian revolution. We fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and construct an egalitarian socialist society. Only when those who labor rule can the tremendous wealth of this society be used to provide a decent life for working people, the poor, blacks, the young, the aged and immigrants. As we wrote at the time of the *Golden Venture* (*WV* No. 578, 18 June 1993):

> "From the chemical-drenched farmlands and orchards to the dangerous anti-union sweatshops and factories throughout the country, immigrants and 'illegal aliens' have built this country. The answer to the horrendous conditions these workers labor and live under is not racist INS imprisonment or more corrupt cop patrols against 'crime.' We need a fighting labor movement that will launch massive campaigns to organize the unorganized workers. It will take revolutionary socialist leadership to break from the racist traitors in the labor movement and build an international workers movement that will be a powerhouse for social justice."■

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"Chinese Spy"...

(continued from page 7)

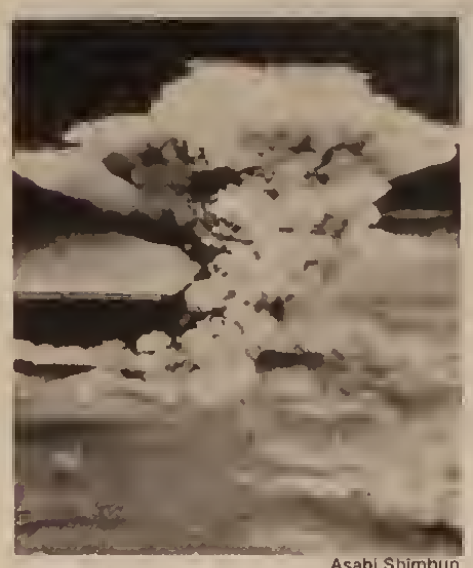
Mao's China aimed against the Soviet Union. With the Soviet degenerated workers state destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution, U.S. imperialism has been increasingly brazen in its threats against China.

The furor over "Chinese nuclear spies" and the supposed missile threat from impoverished North Korea, which last year launched a ballistic missile that passed over Japan, was used to push through a bipartisan hill to revive a limited version of the "star wars" anti-missile defense system Reagan had tried to get. The Clinton administration is simultaneously promoting a "theater missile defense" including China's closest neighbors—Japan, South Korea and possibly Taiwan. Such "defense" schemes are aimed at preventing China—as well as, in the future, Washington's imperialist rivals—from targeting the U.S. in response to an American nuclear first strike.

The bipartisan outrage over espionage which emanated from Congress was the purest theatrics. Every government spies, and everyone knows it. Among its innumerable covert operations against China, U.S. imperialism (with the "AFL-CIA" in the lead) promotes anti-Communist "free trade unions" in the service of counterrevolution. And the cause of "independence" for Tibet has long been sponsored by the CIA as a potential lever to smash the Chinese workers state. U.S. imperialism threatened to invade China during the 1950-53 Korean War and has maintained Taiwan (and South Korea) as a heavily armed fortress targeting the mainland.

The "hard line" toward China advocated by both the Republican right and liberal Democrats and their lackeys in the labor officialdom and the "engagement" strategy favored by much of corporate America are complementary, not counterposed policies. Their shared goal is the overturn of the 1949 Revolution. With the Stalinist bureaucracy driving headlong toward capitalist restoration, American imperialism has, for the present, opted for a carrot-and-stick policy toward the Beijing regime. Although a U.S. military attack on China is not currently in the cards, this could quickly change if, for example, a full-scale counterrevolution is met by proletarian resistance.

The Beijing bureaucracy has been clamoring for membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO) to facilitate further capital investment. In holding out



Asahi Shimbun

1945 A-bomb incineration of Hiroshima by U.S., world's deadliest nuclear power.

WTO membership—which would entail even deeper encroachments by foreign capital and further privation of the Chinese masses—the imperialists look to encourage the bureaucratic caste holding political power in China as it continues to reintroduce capitalist "discipline" into the economy. Having already destroyed a wide swath of state-owned industry, the Stalinist regime under Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leader Jiang Zemin now projects further slaughtering of the state sector of the economy, with 1.2 million textile workers alone scheduled for the scrap heap.

The bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration poses a clash with the powerful Chinese proletariat. The CCP bureaucracy has made very clear its intent to squash opposition by the proletariat, which has displayed its capacity to speak and act militantly in its own name. In the events around Tiananmen Square in 1989, it was the workers who, throughout China, raised demands which challenged the rule of the venal bureaucracy and militantly resisted the regime's repression. The most savage repression, including summary executions, was exerted against the workers who dared to rebel.

Buffeted by the centrifugal forces arising from its capitalist market measures, the CCP bureaucracy lashes out at *anything* in society that raises its head. Recently, the regime has cracked down on the reportedly millions-strong Falun Gong meditation sect, which has a substantial membership in the growing petty bourgeoisie and in the ranks of the CCP itself. At the same time, the working class has continued to wage struggles against the ravages of "market reforms." Defense of the workers' interests demands, with immediacy, a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. Crucial to this prospect is the building of a Chinese section of the International Communist League, firmly grounded in the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky and armed with a perspective of promoting socialist revolution to overthrow the neighboring capitalist states, particularly by the powerful Japanese proletariat.

For New October Revolutions!

Despite the anti-Communist hue and cry by American imperialist reactionaries over Chinese espionage, breakthroughs in nuclear weapons technology—as in science generally—are never the exclusive preserve of one nation-state. As Princeton academic Frank von Hippel observed in response to the spy furor, "No secret stays secret forever" (*Scientific American*, June 1999). In any case, spying itself is at bottom simply a mode of information exchange, an exchange which would be open in a world socialist order.

One measure of the power of the planned economies created by the revolutionary social transformations in backward Russia and China is that scientists were able in the space of two generations to achieve the pinnacles of theoretical prowess in the hard sciences. But, as Trotsky emphasized in his book *The Revolution Betrayed*, in the absence of proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, the isolation of the USSR would inexorably lead to the throttling of the October Revolution. Promoting the utopian and self-serving notion of building "socialism in one (their) country," the Stalinist bureaucracy opposed proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and instead offered a mutual co-existence pact to the imperialists. In 1941, Stalin preferred to rely on German "promises" of "non-aggression" rather than accept the hard evidence of the impending Nazi invasion secured by heroic Soviet spies Leopold Trepper and Richard Sorge. A half century later, Stalin's heirs led the capitalist counterrevolution in league with imperialism.

While the Soviet Union existed, its nuclear arsenal acted to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism, which had incinerated 200,000 civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki when it had a nuclear monopoly and repeatedly threatened to launch nuclear attacks to "contain Communism" during the Cold War. Today, the march of U.S. imperialism's military juggernaut has all-sided support in both ruling-class parties. It is aimed not just at the remaining deformed workers states but at the imperialist competitors of the American capitalist class, despite their current status as U.S. "allies." Born within the confines of the nation-state, the imperialist powers can only expand in competition with each other, a competition ultimately realized in interimperialist war, the next of which can only end in nuclear holocaust.

The human debris of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union—the jobless, the homeless and those sick and dying with no access to medical care—are living testament that the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defense of these states against imperialism and counterrevolution was, in fact, a fight for the progress of humanity. No less, it underscores the urgency of the fight to stop capitalist restoration in China today. The only road to a secure, plentiful future for humanity is the overthrow of the capitalist order—centrally U.S. imperialism—through proletarian revolution, laying the basis for an internationally planned socialist economy. But to begin on the road to such an order, it is necessary for those who detest oppression, exploitation and injustice to embrace the program of Trotskyism and join the fight for a reforged Fourth International to lead the proletariat to state power internationally. That is the purpose of the ICL.■

Detroit...

(continued from page 2)

income of the richest 1 percent of Americans doubled, while the average take-home pay of the poorest 20 percent of households dropped from $10,000 to $8,800. While American workers are making less money, they are working longer hours than workers in any other industrialized country.

The attacks on labor take a double toll on black workers, who are "last hired, first fired"—segregated at the bottom of American capitalist society, generally consigned to the worst jobs, the worst housing, the worst schools. The Detroit area is one of the most segregated in the country. Racist state legislators use "Detroit" as a code word for "black." A recent study rated the city one of the three worst in the country in which to raise a child, while white suburban Livonia received an "A plus." Capitalist Detroit offers youth no future except a lifetime of grinding poverty and unemployment, or death at the hands of racist killer cops like the ones who beat Malice Green to death in 1992.

The contingents of black and white workers who marched down Woodward Avenue on Labor Day went past vacant lots and hulks of abandoned buildings. The devastation of Detroit speaks to the truth that labor and black rights march forward together or they will surely fall back separately. The trade-union bureaucracy has let these racist, anti-labor assaults continue unabated because of its allegiance to the capitalist system, expressed through their political support to the Democratic Party. The anti-union role of black Democratic Party mayor Dennis Archer was obvious to many striking teachers. As one black striker told *Workers Vanguard*, Archer "is a stooge for big business and the corporate structure." Yet even strikers who despise Archer still hark back to the "good old days" of black Democrat Coleman Young, whose "progressive" reputation was promoted by the labor tops and their reformist tails like the Communist Party.

Young presided over the devastation of Detroit in the 1970s and '80s, with the able assistance of the UAW tops in particular, who helped ensure that the capitalists would get away with their attacks without a massive explosion of class struggle. While the streets were flooded with cops, 200,000 auto jobs were lost, thousands of city workers laid off and social services and school funding slashed. In 1982, Young went after the teachers union, demanding an 8 percent pay cut. As we wrote in "Coleman Young: From CIO Union Organizer to Overseer for Auto Bosses" (*WV* No. 689, 24 April 1998; reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15):

> "The 'Motor City' was not only the center of American capitalism's principal industry, but also the bastion of a powerful and combative black proletariat. When Young was elected mayor in 1973, Detroit had experienced years of labor ferment and social struggle—from the 1967 ghetto upheaval to a wave of wildcat strikes. Young was installed in office precisely in order to put a lid on the city's rebellious black population and to quell the multiracial workforce in auto, as the bosses moved to dismantle and decimate the plants which had once provided a livelihood for tens of thousands of unionized workers. By the time he left City Hall in 1993, Detroit had been transformed into a crumbling shell, emblem of the Midwest 'Rust Bowl' devastated by plant closures and runaway shops."

What is needed is a new, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, one which understands that the interests of labor and capital are counterposed, which actively champions the fight for black freedom, and which fights to break workers and minorities from any illusions in the Democratic Party. The fight for a socialist future—for free, quality, integrated education for all, for an end to racist oppression and unemployment—requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party to lead the multiracial proletariat to power through workers revolution.■

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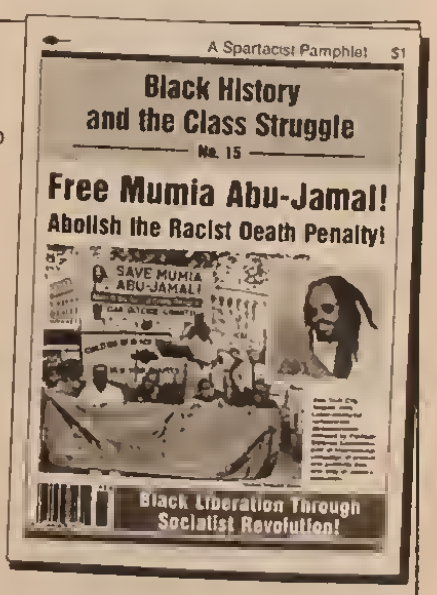

Waco...

(continued from page 12)

since the government wiped it out, they have brandished the Waco holocaust as a rallying cry for their own sinister cause. That cause includes support for expansion of the racist death penalty, attacks on immigrants, elimination of welfare—all of which Clinton has pushed through.

To the capitalist rulers, the masses of the ghettos and barrios are a surplus population, with wide layers consigned to homelessness, disease and starvation. As the living standards of the working class have been driven down and the poor plunged into even deeper misery while the stock market soars, the ruling class has moved to intensify state repression in order to stifle, contain and suppress the seething discontent which it fears will sooner or later explode. Billions are poured into new prison construction, thousands more cops roam the streets, and a goodly part of a generation of black and Hispanic youth have been ensnared in the criminal "justice" system through the racist "war on drugs." In California, for example, five black men are behind bars for each one in a state university. Over 1.8 million men and women—more than 60 percent of them black or Hispanic—inhabit the nation's prisons and jails, a 300 percent increase over the past 20 years.

Deliberate Mass Murder

The lie that the FBI and BATF had not used incendiary devices, and therefore could not have caused the fire, was at the centerpiece of the government's line that Branch Davidian leader Koresh had led the sect into a mass suicide. We responded then: "We doubt it, but even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls, the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government."

The Feds were determined to exact revenge for the deaths of four BATF agents and the wounding of 16 others when they staged a Gestapo-like raid on the commune that February to arrest Koresh on false charges of illegal weapons possession. Like a street gang asserting its turf, the government decided to show the Branch Davidians who was top dog. We warned that "the government assault is designed to create an atmosphere in which dissidents can be mowed down with impunity" (*WV* No. 571, 12 March 1993). For over seven weeks, hundreds of state police, National Guard, FBI and BATF agents with M1A1 tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles laid siege to the compound. Now it has come out that the Army's elite Delta Force commandos were also there.

UPI

Barger/WCAU-TV

1985 bombing of Philadelphia MOVE commune killed eleven, destroyed entire black neighborhood. MOVE massacre was signature of Reagan years, Waco inferno was signature of Clinton administration.

At 6:04 a.m. on April 19, the FBI unleashed its combat engineering vehicles. M-60 heavy tanks rigged with bulldozer blades and huge booms smashed gaping holes in the side of the farm buildings and drenched the inside with CS gas, which is banned in international warfare. Six hours later, the fire began. The FBI waited eight minutes to even call the Fire Department, and then waited another 21 minutes after the fire engines arrived before allowing them into the compound. Millions of TV viewers watched in horror as the flames enveloped the commune.

The Feds claimed that the fire originated nowhere near where the tanks were tearing the building to shreds. But the truth was that smoke first came out of a second floor window, above and right next to where the M-60 had been smashing the building. As the first flames appeared, a CNN correspondent on the scene reported, "For the last 15 minutes we've watched this M-60 vehicle...make large holes in the side of this building and pump tear gas in there. And at times, as you well know, tear gas can be incendiary and apparently this is what's happened." Government spokesmen cynically claimed that Koresh and his followers could have escaped from the gas through an underground tunnel, but the Feds had also pumped gas into the hallways leading to that escape route to make sure this wouldn't happen. In short, this was coldblooded mass murder.

When Reno subsequently appeared at a Senate committee hearing on Waco, Republicans and Democrats alike joined in a lovefest to praise her handling of the situation. But the recent disclosures brought forth calls from many corners for a new and "independent" investigation. Bowing to the pressure, Reno set up an inquiry to be headed by former Missouri Senator John Danforth, a rabid defender of the reactionary Clarence Thomas when he was nominated for the Supreme Court by Bush. Republicans hope to use the Waco inquiry to embarrass Clinton and bolster their electoral fortunes. But while some heads may roll for perjury and concealing evidence, both capitalist parties see the primary mission of the Danforth "investigation" as restoring the "credibility" of the government and its political police.

Waco, Clinton and the Left

The Waco massacre illustrates the barbaric lengths to which this country's capitalist rulers will resort to bolster their class rule. While the reformists and liberals preach faith in the capitalist state, the blaze which consumed those 80-plus men, women and children again illuminates the basic Marxist understanding that the bourgeois state is an instrument for murderous repression against the workers and oppressed which must be smashed through a socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state. In contrast, the liberals embrace the capitalist state as their own, while the reformist "socialists" foster the illusion that it can be pressured to serve the interests of the working class and minorities. With a Democrat in the White House for the first time in over a decade, the response of the liberals and reformists to the Waco massacre ranged from backhanded support to muted "protest."

The rad-lib *Nation* lamely called the Waco holocaust "disgraceful," but on the eve of the assault they practically scripted the Feds' case, painting Koresh as a crazy, gun-toting polygamist. The reformist Communist Party was even more blatant in pushing Clinton's line, grotesquely reporting: "The Waco cultists, armed with a .50-caliber machine gun and assault rifles, engaged in a firefight in which cultists and FBI agents died" (*People's Weekly World*, 24 April 1993). The self-styled "revolutionary left" was no less obscene. Thus the tiny Revolutionary Workers League wrote not a word about the massacre in its press at the time while its supporters at the University of California at Berkeley amnestied Clinton by comparing the integrated Branch Davidians to anti-abortion terrorists and even the KKK!

The International Socialist Organization (ISO), whose reformist view of the state is exemplified by its claim that the cops can be allies of the workers as well as its support for government intervention into the trade unions, said not one word about Waco for months during the siege. After the slaughter, they "condemned" the "government-orchestrated massacre" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1993), meanwhile going on about the many peaceful ways Clinton could have averted "the Waco fiasco." Ever attuned to petty-bourgeois public opinion, the ISO conspicuously avoided the question of gun control, implying that the Branch Davidians brought the massacre on themselves by depicting them as an "armed religious cult" which "would consider either mass suicide or taking a final stand as its options for ending the siege." Even today, *Socialist Worker* (10 September) writes of "the FBI's botched raid" and attributes the "deadly violence at the core of the U.S. government" to "professional killers accountable to no one," letting Clinton/Reno off the hook for mass murder and obscuring the elementary Marxist understanding that this murderous bourgeois state is nothing other than the "executive committee" of the capitalist class as a whole.

We understand that only when the racist American bourgeoisie is swept away through proletarian revolution will we put an end to the mass murder—from MOVE and Waco to Iraq and the Balkans—which it perpetrates to maintain its rule. As we wrote following the massacre:

> "The Branch Davidians' 'crime' was to want to be left alone to live as they chose on their 77-acre piece of Texas. We understand that religious superstition in all its variants is at best a fanciful refuge from—and more often, a cynical apology for—the horrors of this capitalist world. As communists committed to forging a party that can bring workers and the oppressed to power through a socialist revolution, in this country and around the world, we intend to make sure that those who carried out the holocaust in Waco will be brought to justice by a future workers government."■

Zastava...

(continued from page 3)

the bombs were raining down on Serbia, the ISO worked assiduously to help provide this cover under the guise of aiding the Albanian refugees, pleading with the imperialist rulers for "Money for refugees, not for war!" (*Socialist Worker*, 7 May). The Cliffites did not defend Serbia against the NATO assault, nor did they oppose their own ruling class. Indeed, leading SWP spokesman Alex Callinicos was a signatory to a statement in the *New Statesman* (10 May) calling for imperialist military intervention in Kosovo by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as an alternative to the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance.

Much of the reformist and centrist left demonstrated their support to the war aims of the imperialists by clamoring for "independence for Kosovo" and supporting the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), which acted as a U.S./NATO pawn. The British Workers Power (WP) group went all the way with the UCK, joining an April 10 "Workers Aid for Kosova" demonstration in London which was shot through with slogans like "NATO Good Luck" and co-sponsoring a May 11 London meeting which prominently featured two unvarnished pro-NATO spokesmen. After NATO bombs and missiles had reduced much of Serbia to rubble, an August 11 statement by WP's League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) crowed, "In the aftermath of NATO's victory in Kosova, a pre-revolutionary situation is maturing"! This is thinly veiled support to the Serbian pro-imperialist opposition to Milosevic hailed by Western capitals. At the same time, the LRCI statement conspicuously avoided any mention of opposition to British imperialism.

March Separately, Strike Together

In spite of profound political differences with many of the organizations that participated in the campaign, including the COBAS, we participated in this campaign in the spirit of the united front: march separately, strike together! Our participation in the aid campaign necessarily meant a political struggle against the reformists and the centrists who served their bourgeoisie. As Leninists, we understand that opposition to imperialism abroad means class struggle at home, that socialist revolution, which requires the instrument of a revolutionary party to lead it, is the only way to put an end to the capitalist system which breeds war.

The ICL did not join the committee set up on May 15 by many of the groups adhering to the campaign because we did not agree with the programmatic basis on which it was constituted. For example, the committee called for "working to force the government and Italian institutions to stop the aggression against Yugoslavia, to stop the bombing and to end the war, as well as to withdraw from NATO and to close all foreign bases on our territory." This means trying to pressure the Italian bourgeoisie to be less warlike and more independent from the American bourgeoisie. NATO is a military pact between imperialist states. In contrast to the fake left, we seek to smash NATO through workers revolution. Intervening at the meeting, our speaker called for "strikes and workers actions against the bases...from which the bombers leave."

One of the groups at the May 15 meeting, the Comunisti Autorganizzati, wrote in its leaflet that Serbia "by embodying the inheritance of anti-fascist and anti-imperialist Yugoslavia, is an obstacle to Western expansionism," and did not raise the slightest criticism of the nationalist Serbian regime in Belgrade. (A similar line was pushed in the U.S. by the Workers World Party.) Our military defense of Serbia did not mean even the most minimal political support to the capitalist Milosevic regime; and we long defended the right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians. This question became subordinate to military defense of Serbia against NATO imperialism as the UCK became a puppet of imperialism. As we said in our intervention in Bologna:

> "Milosevic personifies the connection between murderous nationalism and counterrevolution, like Tudjman in Croatia who adores the Ustashi fascists of Ante Pavelic and the Islamic reactionary Izetbegovic in Bosnia. Against the poison of nationalism, we of the ICL fight for the class unity of the workers of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, etc. to overthrow all the bloody regimes of the region. ***For a socialist federation of the Balkans!***"

Our internationalist opposition to the U.S./NATO war against Serbia was part of the fight to overthrow capitalism around the world. The indispensable instrument for this is a revolutionary proletarian and internationalist party, a reforged Fourth International.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Clinton/Reno Cover-Up Unravels

Waco Was Government Mass Murder

Crowley/NY Times, Vissel/Sygma, Fort Worth Star Telegram

Clinton and Reno ordered 1993 assault which killed over 80 men, women and children at integrated Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas.

For over six years, President Bill Clinton, Attorney General Janet Reno and the FBI have peddled the obscene lie—dutifully echoed by the capitalist media—that they were not responsible for the fiery holocaust which killed at least 80 people, including 25 children, in the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas on 19 April 1993. For 51 days before the massacre, an army of FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agents had laid siege to that racially integrated religious group, tormenting them, trying to starve them out, finally unleashing a full-scale military assault on their home. Even as flames engulfed the house, Clinton and Reno took to the airwaves to justify the slaughter, wielding outlandish charges of "child abuse," denouncing the Branch Davidians for possessing "illegal weapons," finally blaming the victims for having started the blaze themselves.

Now the disclosure of long-concealed FBI tapes confirms that the Feds fired at least two incendiary tear gas canisters at the Branch Davidian home before it burst into flames. For those who wanted to see, it didn't take FBI tapes six years after the fact to know that the government had lied. In denouncing this horrendous mass murder, the biggest government slaughter of American civilians this century, we wrote that the Big Lie cover-up pushed by Clinton/Reno and the media "would have made Nazi propagandist Goebbels jealous."

In contrast to the liberals who stood by their man in the White House, and the reformist "leftists" who said barely a word, the Spartacist League immediately organized demonstrations of outrage in response to the Waco holocaust. Four hours after the Branch Davidians' compound went up in flames, the SL picketed Justice Department offices in New York City with signs including, "We Will Not Forget: MOVE Massacre, Desert Slaughter in Iraq, Waco Holocaust." In the days that followed, we staged protests outside the FBI building in Washington, D.C. and outside federal government offices in Boston, Chicago and San Francisco.

In a protest letter to Reno the day of the massacre of this small religious group, the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—noted that "their only 'crimes' were to exercise rights guaranteed under the first two amendments of the U.S. constitution—freedom of religious worship and the right to bear arms—and the inherent right of all individuals to defend themselves from a brutal assault." The PDC statement declared:

> "The history of American capitalism is strewn with mass graves—from the massacre of Sioux at Wounded Knee to the invasion of Panama. Today's massacre immediately calls to mind the Mother's Day 1985 bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, ordered by Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode with the aid of the Reagan White House. Eleven black people were burned to death, five of them children, and an entire block of homes burned to the ground as a government message to all who stand up for their rights."

As communists fighting for workers revolution to sweep away this racist capitalist ruling class, we have sought to sear the MOVE and Waco atrocities into the memory of the working class.

With the Feds' transparent cover-up over Waco now unraveling, Clinton, Reno & Co. are frantically scrambling to put a fresh gloss on their lies by ordering yet another government "investigation." But whatever comes out of this whitewash, what happened at Waco was not a "mistake" or an "aberration." Rather, it was a gross example of the normal workings of capitalist state repression. As we wrote in "Waco and the White House: First the Massacre, Now the Lies" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993): "Like the massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in 1985, the Waco holocaust was intended as a deadly warning to all those who 'have a hostile attitude' toward this racist ruling class."

That warning was especially aimed at black people, leftists and trade-union militants, and ultimately the working class as a whole. The "final solution" at Waco came at the time of a massive police-state occupation of South Central Los Angeles and other inner-city areas. The aim there was to crush in blood any protest following the second trial of the four L.A. cops who had brutalized black motorist Rodney King and whose acquittal in 1992 had triggered a massive plebeian upheaval.

The killing fields of Waco provided a defining moment for the first months of the Clinton administration as it moved to strengthen the forces of repression which had already burgeoned in the Reagan/Bush years. In the past seven years, Clinton has presided over an assault on civil liberties—including widespread expansion of wiretaps, drastic curtailment of the right of *habeas corpus*, use of secret trials to deport immigrants, acceleration of the racist death penalty—that Reagan and Bush only dreamed of. A key element in this has been the drive for ever stricter restraints on the right to bear arms, a right which was at the core of the siege in Waco. The purpose of gun control is to ensure that it is the bourgeoisie and its state which maintain a monopoly on the means of violence while the working class and oppressed minorities are left defenseless. Marxists oppose all restrictions on the right to bear arms.

It is particularly their opposition to gun control that has led the far-right fringe of the Republican Party and the fascistic militia types to play a prominent role in going after Clinton for the Waco massacre. A racially integrated commune such as the Branch Davidians is considered an abomination by racist right-wingers, but

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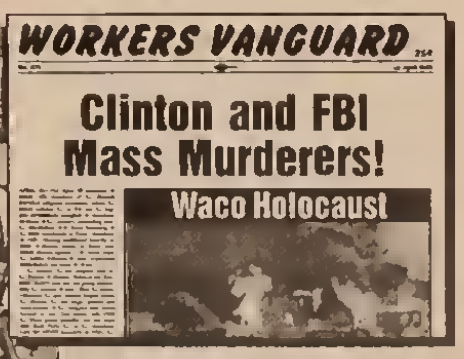
WV Photo



Workers Vanguard **told the truth: Waco massacre was state murder! Spartacists protested outside Federal Building in New York City within hours of Waco holocaust.**

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 720

1 October 1999

East Timor Independence Now!

All Indonesian and All UN Imperialist Troops Out Now!

AP

Australian-led United Nations occupation force lands in East Timor capital of Dili. Imperialists use "human rights" as cover for bloody repression.

The following article was written for Workers Vanguard *by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Australia.*

SYDNEY, September 27—In the largest Australian military operation since the Vietnam War, thousands of troops with tanks, armoured personnel carriers and helicopters are now occupying tiny, impoverished East Timor. Under the guns of frigates stationed offshore, the first troops to land were the notorious killers of the SAS special forces. They are joined by contingents from neighbouring Asian states as well as units from the U.S. and other major powers, while Britain and New Zealand are supplying warships. Against the concerted drum beating for this latest United Nations "peacekeeping" force, the International Communist League declares its unambiguous opposition to this neocolonial invasion.

The imperialist military occupation comes one month after the people of East Timor voted by an overwhelming majority in favour of independence from Indonesia. That vote was followed by a systematic campaign of terror by death squad "militias" sponsored by the Indonesian army which killed hundreds and drove hundreds of thousands from their homes. Australia and its allies cynically seized on the scenes of men, women and children being slaughtered or having their homes burned down as a pretext for yet another military intervention in the name of "humanitarianism." Thus the bloody-handed regimes from Washington to Canberra which have sponsored, armed and trained the Indonesian government's military butchers are now supposed to "save" the East Timorese from the militias which their ally in Jakarta unleashed in the first place!

Under threat of Western economic sanctions, the Jakarta regime of President B. J. Habibie and General Wiranto agreed to "invite" UN "peacekeepers" while keeping some 1,500 troops there. In the upshot, this means that the subjugation of the people of East Timor is now enforced by the bayonets of the Australian/UN forces rather than those of the Indonesian army. Meanwhile, Australia is sponsoring a "government in exile" in Darwin headed by independence leader Xanana Gusmao. The precondition for East Timorese independence today is the immediate withdrawal of all Indonesian *and all UN imperialist forces.*

Beginning with the 1990-91 U.S.-led war against Iraq, also carried out under the auspices of the UN, missile strikes, starvation blockades and military interventions have become ever more frequent. Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the U.S. has sought to assert its pre-eminent position in the "New World Order" by throwing around its military might with numbing regularity, including the continued terror bombing of Iraq. The occupation of Somalia in 1993 and of Haiti in 1994, the bombing and occupation of Bosnia in 1995, the full-scale air war against Serbia earlier this year followed by the introduction of tens of thousands of NATO-led occupation forces—all of these acts of imperialist terror were carried out in the name of "human rights," generally under the blue flag of the United Nations. Now, with troops pouring into the East Timorese capital of Dili, UN general secretary Kofi Annan—to the applause of U.S. president Clinton and other Western leaders—calls for a "new commitment to intervention."

The Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Laborite misleaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) have been in the forefront in clamouring for the racist Australian state to send troops to East Timor and cloaking this in the garb of "human rights." In their wake comes the self-proclaimed left, from those who openly demanded that Australia go in—the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), Communist Party and Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)—to the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), Workers Power (WP), Socialist Alternative, Militant Socialist and the Socialist Equality Party, which endorsed and/or joined pro-imperialist demonstrations demanding "Australia/UN In."

All these social-chauvinists will bear their share of political responsibility as Australian troops move to secure "order," including by shooting down starving "looters" on the streets of Dili. The Australian-led occupation force is emboldened to perpetrate terror under "rules of engagement" more lax even than those applied to the NATO-led troops in Bosnia.

The UN intervention has nothing to do with defending the East Timorese people and everything to do with defending the interests of the imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S. and its Australian junior partner. The UN mission's name—"Operation Stabilise"—captures its true intent: to enforce neocolonial stability in Australia's "backyard" and prop up the Indonesian police-state regime in the face of massive social unrest. To this end, the U.S. relies on its ties to the Indonesian military—cemented in the blood of up to a million workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese killed in the 1965 anti-Communist massacre—while Australia acts as Washington's "deputy sheriff" in Asia, as Prime Minister John

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Ulmonen/Corbis Sygma

East Timorese victims of death squad "militias" sponsored by Indonesian army. Militia rampage following independence vote in August was cynically used as pretext for imperialist intervention.

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Freightliner, Alabama Mercedes

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Organize Southern Auto!

Mark Gooch

Workers at Mercedes plant in Vance, Alabama sign up to join UAW.

As we go to press, the United Auto Workers (UAW) is pursuing negotiations with General Motors aimed at a contract agreement similar to that reached with DaimlerChrysler earlier this week. Hailed as a "great package" by one UAW official, the four-year contract provides for an annual 3 percent wage raise on top of cost-of-living increases, as well as increased retirement benefits. In exchange, the UAW leadership agreed to allow DaimlerChrysler to continue slashing jobs by attrition to as low as 80 percent of its current workforce—a large drop from the 95 percent level in the previous contract—and to carry out further job cuts during business downturns. Two days after this agreement was announced, the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) reached a similar wage pact with Ford, knifing a possible strike there.

Wall Street breathed a sigh of relief over the settlement with DaimlerChrysler. Noting that "the Big Three's sales and profits are booming," the *New York Times* (23 September) reported that "the last thing Detroit wanted was a strike." Last summer's walkout by two Flint UAW locals—the costliest strike ever in the U.S., which shut down virtually the whole of GM's North American operations—gave a taste of the social power the UAW has at its command. But the UAW tops squander and subvert that power in pursuit of their "partnership" with the capitalists, from "teamwork" schemes on the shopfloor to political support to the Democratic Party. Thus, when UAW members at GM's Saturn assembly plant in Tennessee voted overwhelmingly in favor of strike action during the Flint walkout, Solidarity House ordered the Saturn workers to stay on the job for fear of shattering the "labor peace" institutionalized in the "teamwork" system there.

Meanwhile, a potential clash still looms with Ford's American operation over plans to spin off its Visteon parts division—opening it up to non-union labor—as GM did with Delphi last year. To defeat the Big Three's job-slashing, anti-union offensive through solid strike action, the UAW must be broken from the class-collaborationist policies which have led to a situation where barely 40 percent of U.S. auto workers today are unionized.

A graphic illustration of the union tops' ties to the companies came when UAW president Stephen Yokich, himself a member of the DaimlerChrysler board of directors, trumpeted a contract provision pledging management to "neutrality" in union organizing efforts at the Mercedes' sport utility vehicle plant in Vance, Alabama and Freightliner truck plants in North Carolina and South Carolina. Preaching reliance on the good graces of the capitalist class enemy, the UAW tops oppose wielding the sort of class-struggle tactics—mass pickets, sit-down strikes, secondary labor boycotts, etc.—which built the union in the first place.

Particularly in the "open shop" South, where pervasive racist terror and "right to work" laws have kept wages down and unions out, a serious organizing effort would be confronted by the cops and courts of the capitalist state and their KKK auxiliaries. What is needed is a mobilization of union power not only to win economic demands but to actively defend black rights and stop the KKK nightriders who are murderous enemies of integrated labor struggle.

Flush with profits, the auto bosses are willing to shell out a few more dollars now—including to induce older workers to retire—while wringing ever more labor out of a smaller and older workforce. The *New York Times* (17 September) cited a financial analyst exulting that the new "contract will allow the companies to build more cars with fewer workers." With almost half of all UAW members at the Big Three eligible to retire within the next five years, newhires at DaimlerChrysler make only 70 percent of full pay. Many other production workers in unionized assembly plants are "85 percenters," so called because as "temporary" workers that is what they get paid compared to others.

Such multi-tier wage schemes—which pit younger workers against those with more seniority—go hand in hand with intense racist discrimination. One longtime black UAW member in Detroit told *WV* that the management in his plant doesn't even make a pretense of hiring blacks and other minorities and women into the skilled trades, and the union tops do nothing to fight this. Refusing to combat such discrimination not only weakens the union where it exists but is death to any attempt to organize unions in the South and elsewhere.

Thanks to more than two decades of such givebacks, workers in the U.S. now work longer hours than in any other major industrial country. (And despite CAW chief "Buzz" Hargrove's occasional verbal militancy, labor costs in Canadian auto are one-third lower than in the U.S.) At the same time, the attacks on wages and working conditions have fueled widespread pro-union sentiment among working people, reflected in the popularity of the 1997 UPS Teamsters strike, last year's Flint GM strike and the walkout last month by Detroit teachers. The corporations have amassed a huge arsenal of intimidation measures, including an army of anti-union lawyers and security outfits, in order to keep unions out and save literally hundreds of billions of dollars in increased wages and benefits.

To reverse the assault on labor requires first and foremost a fight inside the unions against the class collaborationism of the pro-capitalist misleaders—from their racist, chauvinist protectionism to their support to the Democratic Party. There must be a fight for a new, class-struggle leadership of labor based on the independence of the unions from the capitalists, their political parties and their state. Workers need a party which fights for their class interests and the rights of all the oppressed as part of a program for socialist revolution.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

U.S. "Democracy" and the Dictatorship of Capital

It has become common for many so-called leftists to join with liberals in campaigning for the U.S. government to intervene around the world to defend "human rights" and to act on behalf of workers and oppressed minorities at home. In counterposition, we fight to mobilize the proletariat for socialist revolution to expropriate the rapacious U.S. bourgeoisie. As elaborated in the 1938 founding principles of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, the "democratic" American state is an instrument for enforcing exploitation by the U.S. bourgeoisie in this country and internationally.

In any society, the real power is held by those who own and control the means whereby that society lives, the instruments of production, distribution, and communication. In capitalist society, such ownership and control is held and exercised by the big bourgeoisie, by the bankers and industrialists. Through its hold on the major natural resources, the factories, mines, banks, railroads, ships, airplanes, telegraph, radio, and press, the big bourgeoisie effectively dominates capitalist society, runs society in such a manner as to secure and maintain its own interest and privilege, and upholds the system of the exploitation of the great majority. The state or government, far from representing the general interests of society as a whole, is in the last analysis simply the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power, enforces the property relations which guarantee its privileges, and suppresses the working class. In these essential functions all of the organs and institutions of the state power cooperate—the bureaucracy, the courts, police, prisons, and the armed forces.... In the United States, as in all capitalist nations, we live, in actuality, under a capitalist dictatorship; and the possibilities for purely legal and constitutional change are therefore limited to those which fall within the framework of capitalist property and social relations, which later are severely curtailed by the circumstances of the decline of capitalism and in the long run, if the capitalist dictatorship continues, involve fascism for the United States as elsewhere. Genuine freedom can be realized only in a society based upon the economic and social equality of all individuals composing it, and such equality can be achieved only when the basic means of production, distribution, and communication are owned and controlled, not by any special class or group, but by society as a whole.

—Socialist Workers Party, *Declaration of Principles* (1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is September 28

No. 720 **1 October 1999**

Spartacist Forums

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

There Is No Justice in Capitalist America

Saturday, October 16, 4 p.m.

Echo Park United Methodist Church

1226 N. Alvarado St. (Two blocks north of Sunset Blvd. at Reservoir St.)

LOS ANGELES For more information: (213) 380-8239

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

U.S./Canada/NATO/UN: Out of the Balkans Now!

The Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism

Saturday, October 16, 7:30 p.m.

Trinity-St. Paul's Centre

427 Bloor Street West (One block west of Spadina subway)

TORONTO For more information: (416) 593-4138

Quebec: Nationalism and Class Struggle

Independence for Quebec!

We reprint below the first half of Comrade Galarneau's presentation, which was first published in slightly abridged and edited form in *Spartacist Canada* No. 120 (Spring 1999).

SPARTACIST CANADA

PART ONE

For more than three weeks in June and July, 47,000 nurses organized in the Federation of Quebec Nurses (FIIQ) set up picket lines outside hospitals in every corner of Quebec. Fed up with their miserably low wages and working conditions, the nurses continued their strike in defiance of strikebreaking legislation by the Parti Québécois (PQ) government. This was the first major confrontation between the labor movement and Quebec premier Lucien Bouchard's bourgeois-nationalist PQ regime, and indeed the most significant strike action in Quebec since the early 1980s.

On the picket lines, the nurses, who are overwhelmingly women, showed courage and determination in defying the government. Asked by *Spartacist Canada* about the PQ's strikebreaking legislation, one nurse on the picket line outside Montreal's Jewish General Hospital replied defiantly, "Let them put me in jail!" The strike tapped into deep popular resentment over years of cutbacks in health and other services by the federal and provincial governments, all carried out in the name of "rationalization" and "competitiveness." It came amid an upsurge of labor protest in Quebec centered on a threatened strike by 400,000 public sector workers in the pan-union Common Front this fall.

But the nationalist, pro-capitalist misleaders of the Quebec labor movement are doing everything possible to avoid a large-scale labor conflict with the PQ government, which they helped to elect in 1994 and again last year. The leaders of the Common Front unions—the Quebec Federation of Labour, Confederation of National Trade Unions and Quebec Teachers Central—made absolutely no effort to spread the strike to the other public sector workers who are under the gun. On the contrary, scandalously, they said not one word in support of the nurses until after the PQ had enacted its strikebreaking legislation, and even then only issued a tepid, pro-forma call for "solidarity." With the nurses left isolated, in the end the FIIQ leaders themselves scuttled the strike.

In an article in *Spartacist Canada* No. 122 (Fall 1999), which is being distributed in Quebec as a French-language supplement, our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste wrote:

> "The defeat of the nurses strike shows vividly how the nationalism of the Quebec union tops undermines labor's struggle by tying the workers to their capitalist class enemies. At the same time, central responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the chauvinist leadership of the labor movement in English Canada. Despite occasional, for-the-record calls for Quebec's right to self-determination, these union bureaucrats promote Canadian nationalism—which means, among other things, keeping Quebec in its place within a 'united' country dominated by Anglo chauvinism. The New Democratic Party [NDP], the labor bureaucracy's political arm, is front and center in all of Ottawa's reactionary campaigns for 'Canadian unity.'
>
> "This Anglo bigotry has helped push Québécois workers straight into the arms of their 'own' bourgeois-nationalist masters, through the vehicle of the Quebec union misleaders. And the nationalist PQ, in turn, runs roughshod over working people and the poor."

CSN

Militant 1949 Asbestos strike posed major political challenge to the reactionary clericalist regime of Maurice Duplessis in Quebec.

The bitter national divide in Canada today is a major obstacle to making the workers of both English Canada and Quebec conscious of their historic task of sweeping away capitalism. The Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste opposes all forms of nationalism—first and foremost the dominant Anglo chauvinism pushed by the NDP and the labor bureaucracy in English Canada, but also the nationalism of the Quebec labor tops. We advocate ***independence for Quebec*** in order to remove the national question from the historic agenda, thereby laying a basis for the workers in both nations to recognize that their respective ruling classes are the enemy, not each other.

The national polarization in Canada has been shaped by more than two centuries of oppression of the Québécois. As the TL/LT wrote in the Programmatic Theses adopted at its Eighth National Conference in summer 1998:

> "For well over a century following the Conquest of 1759-60, Quebec remained a priest-ridden backwater. Industrial development and urbanization began to change the character of Quebec society by the beginning of the 20th century, but it took several more decades for this to take political expression.
>
> "Beginning in the 1960s, a Quebec bourgeoisie emerged, based on key nationalizations like Hydro-Québec. The same period saw the development of a militant proletariat, whose struggles were fueled by opposition to national oppression. The aspirations of the ascendant Québécois bourgeoisie to be the exploiters of 'their' working class collided with the dominance of English Canadian capital. Anglo-chauvinist reaction—especially the military occupation of Quebec and the imposition of martial law by the federal Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau in 1970—in turn fueled nationalist sentiment among Québécois workers. This was reinforced by the chauvinism of the leadership of English Canadian labor, expressed not least in its hostility to the 1972 Quebec general strike."
>
> —"Who We Are, and What We Fight For"

In the following talk, first given as an educational presentation at the same conference, TL/LT Central Committee member Charles Galarneau elaborates on the period from World War II to the early '70s, especially the rise of a militant labor movement in Quebec. The cumulative effect of the defeats and betrayals of this stormy period was the decisive deepening of national animosity between the English- and French-speaking working classes. This reactionary outcome continues to cripple possibilities for anti-capitalist class struggle.

The petty-bourgeois nationalists who run Quebec's history departments today usually present the Quiet Revolution of the early '60s as both the aim and almost exclusively the achievement of the Quebec Liberal Party governments of the time, and of the francophone bourgeoisie which stood behind them. In short, the story goes like this: Maurice Duplessis, a reactionary instrument of the church, English Canada and American imperialism, ran the province with an iron fist for 20 years, then the people elected Jean Lesage's "*équipe du tonnerre*" (Thunder Team), which proceeded to implement economic and social reforms which turned Quebec into a modern liberal democracy. The working class, if it is mentioned at all, is mainly presented as a passive object.

But the very irony behind the expression "Quiet Revolution" tells a different story. This was a period of the most explosive working-class struggles in Quebec history, indeed in all Canadian history. But for all its militancy, the Quebec working class lacked a revolutionary leadership which could lead the fight for socialist revolution, as shown most clearly during the semi-insurrectionary general strike of 1972. Instead, the proletariat was drawn into the political framework of bourgeois Quebec nationalism. And this is something which has sharply increased in the intervening years, thanks above all to the chauvinist hostility from English Canada's labor misleaders, helping to throw the workers' struggles and consciousness way back.

Especially in the post-Soviet world, where the imperialist rulers have declared that Communism is dead and revolutionary class struggle a thing of the past, Marxists intervening among workers and youth in this country need a clear understanding of the history of the Quebec labor movement in order to fight bourgeois ideology and build the necessary vanguard party. So let's get in our time machine and take a closer look.

Duplessis' "Great Darkness"

We will land in 1946. As in much of the world, the end of the war saw a dramatic increase in working-class struggle here. In Canada, man-hours lost to strikes reached a record of four and a half million that year. In Quebec, the unionization rate went from 20 to 25 percent in just one year, between 1945 and 1946. Expecting an end to wartime privation, the working class struck all over the province, centrally in the manufacturing sector. But those strikes came up against the ferocious repression of the provincial police and the courts. Picket lines were teargassed, union leaders railroaded to jail—for instance, Dominion Textile strike leader Kent Rowley spent six months in jail for "seditious conspiracy."

This was under premier Maurice Duplessis, nicknamed "the chief," whose right-wing Union Nationale (UN) had come back to power in 1944. Duplessis and the UN had had a first term in 1936-39. Their program coincided with that of the church: building a French-speaking

continued on page 11

CSN-CEQ

Duplessis (far left) ruled Quebec with iron fist in alliance with Catholic church for more than 20 years.

East Timor...

(continued from page 1)

Howard recently put it.

The fourth most populous country in the world with vast natural resources, Indonesia is a social volcano waiting to explode. Tens of millions of toilers have been driven to destitution by the ongoing Asian economic crisis, while national and ethnic minorities from one end of the archipelago to the other seethe under the domination of the Javanese-centred bourgeoisie. Last week, Jakarta erupted in mass student protests against legislation granting the military sweeping new powers to impose martial law. At least six protesters were killed by cops and troops. Even before the upheaval started spreading to other cities in Java and Sumatra, Habibie announced that he would delay signing the new bill.

With Habibie on his last legs, Washington is using its ties to the Indonesian military to work out an orderly transition. The Australian/UN intervention in East Timor is a dagger aimed at the combative Indonesian proletariat, posing the threat of direct imperialist repression. It simultaneously serves to promote nationalist support within Indonesia for the Jakarta regime.

Jon Reid

Australian social-chauvinists on the march: ISO pushes call for imperialist sanctions against Indonesia in guise of union bans, while DSP/ Resistance openly calls for sending in troops.

Australasian Spartacist

In Australia, as tens of thousands have been mobilised in chauvinist rallies shot through with anti-Indonesian racism, the Spartacist League/Australia, section of the ICL, has forthrightly opposed—in word and deed—the imperialist intervention. We have organised public meetings and campus protests in Sydney and Melbourne to demand "No Australian Imperialist/UN Troops in East Timor! Independence Now!" There can be no "humane" imperialism. It is a system based on the exploitation and oppression of working people—the highest stage of capitalism, as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin put it—which must be swept away through international socialist revolution. Seeking to win workers and youth to the program of Leninist internationalism, we have raised the slogans, "For Workers Revolution in Indonesia!" and "Racist Australian Capitalism = Imperialist Murder! For Socialist Revolution!"

Bloody Imperialist Repression in Asia

The occupation of East Timor takes place against the backdrop of increasing tensions throughout Southeast Asia, where the Australian government is seeking to assert its own interests and those of the U.S. As a white racist imperialist outpost in Asia, Australia has long relied on the U.S. military presence in the Asian Pacific Rim as a shield, particularly against Japan, as was seen in World War II in the Pacific. In return, Australia has deployed troops to assist counterrevolutionary wars led by the U.S. in Korea in 1950-53 and Vietnam in the 1960s and '70s. Peter Cosgrove, the Australian general leading the occupation force in East Timor, got his start butchering Vietnamese workers and peasants in that dirty imperialist war. Yet the Vietnamese prevailed against the imperialist mass murderers and drove them out.

The occupation of East Timor better positions Australia to act on behalf of U.S. imperialism, not only to help quell any challenge to capitalist rule in Indonesia but to assist in policing the Straits of Malacca, a strategic waterway through which most of Japan's oil passes. Meanwhile the Japanese government, which is footing a large part of the bill for the UN operation, is trying to push through a law allowing it to more easily send troops abroad.

No longer bound together by common hostility to the Soviet Union, the major capitalist powers like Japan and Germany are today engaged in more open, heightened competition with the U.S. and each other for markets and spheres of investment. In recent years, the American bourgeoisie has sought to reassert its economic dominance in the region, including by buying up industrial concerns from South Korea to Indonesia at bargain basement prices in the wake of the Asian financial crash. Meanwhile, the U.S. and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have been cracking the whip against so-called "crony capitalism" in Southeast Asia, as in the current IMF furor over corruption at Indonesia's Bank Bali. During the Cold War, Washington was content to allow its local satraps a bigger share of the loot in order to maintain them as anti-Communist bulwarks in the region. But no longer.

On top of this, a particular focus of imperialist appetites in Asia is the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, which has been targeted for destruction from its inception in 1949 and more recently has faced increasingly bellicose threats by the U.S. As the Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing drives headlong toward capitalist restoration, the U.S. and Japanese imperialists are jockeying for position over who would get the lion's share in exploiting the Chinese masses. We stand for the unconditional military defense of China—as well as of North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We seek to mobilise the proletariat of China and the other deformed workers states to prevent capitalist counterrevolution through a political revolution which ousts the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies.

Southeast Asia is a minefield of competing capitalist interests and aspirations, as well as nationalist and ethnic hatreds which are a legacy of colonialism. Each of the Asian regimes participating in the occupation force in East Timor has its own ax to grind in the region and acts as a bloody oppressor of its own workers and minorities. The special forces deployed by the Philippines—where the Catholic hierarchy has a big say in politics—are notorious for the slaughter of leftists and trade unionists as well as separatist Muslim insurgents. As for the Malaysian military, even as it was contributing troops to the UN "peacekeeping" force it was gunning down protesters on the streets of Kuala Lumpur. An Islamic country with close ties to Japan, Malaysia has its sights set on the resource-rich Indonesian province of Aceh, the site of more than a century of separatist struggle first against the brutal Dutch colonialists and later against the Javanese-chauvinist Indonesian rulers.

Subjugation under the thumb of the imperialist "democracies" constantly reinforces the social backwardness and grinding poverty of these societies. As Lenin explained, imperialism is the epoch of capitalist decay, in which the bourgeoisies of the wealthiest countries extract fabulous profits from the superexploitation of the toiling masses in the backward, dependent countries and compete among each other to redivide the world for a bigger share of those profits. Only socialist revolution in the imperialist centres and the semicolonial world can do away with the subjugation and immiseration of the masses of the "Third World" and put an end to the imperialist wars which are inherent in this capitalist system.

"White Australia" and Anti-Asian Racism

The outcry in Australia for imperialist intervention has encompassed a truly syphilitic chain extending from the ALP/ACTU social democrats and their left tails to the Greens, the right-wing Liberals and Nationals and even the fascistic One Nation party of Pauline Hanson. The chauvinist street mobilisations have been replete with the burning of Indonesian flags, while platform speakers appealed to the anti-Japanese racism that accompanied the 1941-45 Pacific War. In this virulently racist atmosphere, Indonesian students on Australian campuses fear for their lives and one in the heart of Melbourne was already brutally beaten. Australia's rulers have seized on the plight of the Christian East Timorese as a club against the predominantly Islamic peoples of Indonesia. Meanwhile, these self-anointed "saviours" of East Timor have, under both Labor and Liberal governments, denied asylum to 1,650 East Timorese refugees for ten years. We say: Asylum now! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

As to the Australian rulers' credentials as opponents of genocide, one need only look at the barbarity they have meted out for the past 200 years to the Aboriginal peoples, who were nearly exterminated, their lands and even children stolen from them. Young Aboriginal men continue to be murdered on the streets and in police lock-ups. On 20 September, a judge in the Queensland city of Cairns let five white youth go free after they viciously beat a homeless Aboriginal man with baseball bats, lauding these racist thugs because they wanted to join Australia's volunteer army!

Australasian Spartacist

Sydney: Spartacist campus speakout on September 9 opposes imperialist intervention.

Announcing his "Howard Doctrine" on 21 September, the Liberal prime minister declared, "Foreign policy needs to be based on national interest and on our values." It is precisely the national interest and "values" of the capitalist rulers—"White Australia" racism, anti-immigrant hysteria and anti-woman bigotry—that the ALP and ACTU tops have preached for a century. The ALP is a prime example of what Lenin called a bourgeois workers party, based on the workers organisations but with a thoroughly bourgeois programme. From its inception, the ALP has acted to bind the workers to their exploiters with the glue of White Australia chauvinism.

No less than the Liberals, the ALP in power has presided over a capitalist war against Aborigines, immigrants and the unions. Hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost, real wages cut, hard-won union rights ripped up, funding for health and education slashed. In the last 20 years, the number of unionised workers has been halved. As Howard moves to introduce a "second wave" of vicious union-busting legislation, 100,000 stopped work in Melbourne in mid-August in protest. The ALP does not oppose the current anti-union law, only asking that it be amended to offer job protection to reservists so they can go to East Timor!

Kneeling in obeisance before the bosses' laws, courts and cops, the ALP/

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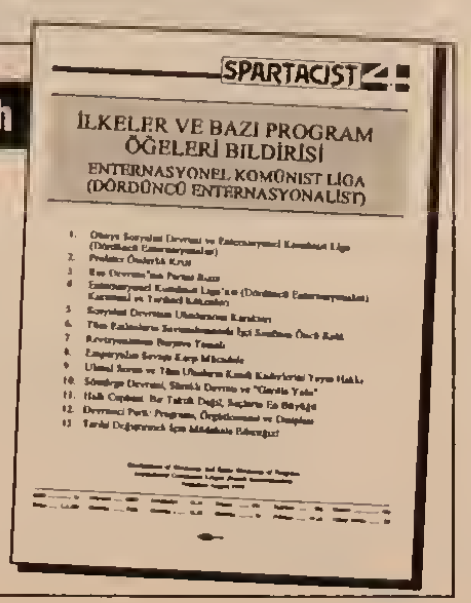
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ACTU bureaucrats block any mobilisation of labour's social power against the Australian capitalists, strangling crucial struggles by the miners and the Maritime Union (MUA) dockworkers. But when it comes to acting on behalf of Australian imperialism by carrying out anti-Indonesian union bans and organising chauvinist war rallies, these sclerotic labour lieutenants of capital are rejuvenated with energy and purpose. Today this means hailing as "liberators" of the East Timorese the Australian military deployed by ALP governments to smash strikes in 1949 and 1989.

Laborite Left: Drummer Boys for Australian Imperialism

The opportunist left follows in the train of the ALP/ACTU class traitors. Directly capitulating to their own capitalist rulers, these "leftists" trumpet Australian imperialism's "humanitarian" mission in East Timor even more aggressively than they promoted the U.S./NATO war cry over "poor, little Kosovo." The Democratic Socialist Party and its Resistance youth group have been the most blatant, joining in and organising protests in city after city to demand, "Send Australian/UN Troops Now!" DSP spokesman Max Lane, whose former service to Australian imperialism was as second secretary at its embassy in Jakarta, has been the most rabid speaker at these rallies in screaming for troops "in, In, IN!"

Thus does the DSP appeal to the very imperialist butchers who helped install the Indonesian military dictatorship in 1965 and armed it to the hilt ever since. In helping orchestrate the 1965 bloodbath, Australia worked as an adjunct to the CIA, which provided hit lists to Suharto's generals and Islamic mobs, who made the rivers literally flow red with blood. In 1975, the U.S. tacitly gave a green light to Indonesia's takeover of East Timor after the Portuguese colonialists pulled out, while Australia was the only government to formally recognise the seizure, which was followed by the deaths of at least 200,000 people. Both the U.S. and Australia have helped train Indonesia's notorious Kopassus special forces killers, while Britain has been a leading arms supplier to Jakarta. Despite the cynical denunciations of genocide in East Timor, the Australian military and secret police retain close links with the Indonesian army and New Zealand continues to train its officers.

The reformist International Socialist Organisation is somewhat more shamefaced than the DSP in pushing for imperialist intervention—but no less guilty. Now that troops are marauding through Dili, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (24 September) headlines, "Troops No Answer to Timor's Agony." But *Socialist Worker* had no qualms about offering that "answer" when it signed on to calls for "Peacekeepers In" demonstrations in Melbourne on 8 and 10 September. And the ISO has marched in one rabidly chauvinist rally after another, gushing in that same issue of its paper that one such rally in Melbourne on 19 September was "fantastic."

In London, a 21 September "Freedom for East Timor" meeting heavily built by the ISO's patrons of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) featured as its opening speech a panegyric to "the brave Australian soldiers." When SWP speaker John Rees took the podium, he focussed on criticising Tony Blair's Labour government for doing too little too late in East Timor, saying he had been "wondering just how long it would take for the government to act" and complaining that Britain had contributed only "a few Gurkhas" to the intervention force (unlike the massive array of fighter jets and cruise missiles Blair deployed against Serbia?).

The ISO has sought to provide a "labour" cover for support for Australian intervention in East Timor by promoting the demand for "Trade union bans now" against Indonesian goods and cheering on the ACTU tops for implementing such bans. The dubious International Bolshevik Tendency in New Zealand, in a 10 September leaflet claiming to stand for "No UN/Imperialist Involvement," likewise raised the call "For a union-imposed military embargo." Working the same side of the street, the right-centrist Workers Power group enthused in a recent undated leaflet, "The recent actions by the MUA and Transport Workers Union in black banning Indonesian goods and ships are a start, but we need to go much further, including the provision of defence fund [sic] for the purchase of hardware the East Timorese desperately need for their own self-defence." And who does Workers Power expect to provide this hardware but the Australian military itself? By their logic, Workers Power should enlist in the imperialist occupation force!

The purpose of the ALP/ACTU social-chauvinists in carrying out such bans was precisely to pressure the government "to go much further," to launch a direct military intervention. Now that Howard has sent the troops in, an ACTU media release announces that the bans have been "suspended due to the arrival of peacekeepers in East Timor." We noted last issue that the "call for trade-union bans was no expression of proletarian solidarity with the East Timorese but purely a 'labor' gloss for *Australian imperialist* sanctions" and warned: "Imperialist intervention is counterposed to mobilizing the powerful Indonesian proletariat, which has waged bitter struggles against the austerity and mass unemployment dictated by the International Monetary Fund" (*WV* No. 719, 17 September). This could not be more evident than in the MUA ban on food and livestock destined for Indonesia, a despicable act targeting working people and the poor when starvation already threatens millions.

These class-collaborationist bans are the *opposite* of union actions which mobilise labour action *against* the class enemy, such as when Australian dockworkers walked off the job in Brisbane, Sydney and Port Kembla in 1991 to protest the UN-sanctioned U.S. bombing of Iraq. In 1967, the Seamen's Union refused to man the *Jeparit* when it was headed to South Vietnam with weapons and ammunition for the imperialist war there. A class-struggle leadership would mobilise workers to stop arms and supplies to the *Australian occupation force*. This would be a powerful act of solidarity with workers throughout the region and a blow to the capitalists at home.

Just as they portray imperialism as merely a policy which can be changed through pressure, the reformist and centrist left foster the illusion that the capitalist state—particularly under a Labor government—can act on behalf of the workers and oppressed minorities at home. In a 1935 polemic against Stalinist class collaboration, Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, exposed the reformist underpinnings of those who promote the "democratic" credentials of capitalist imperialism. Describing Lenin's struggle against the social-chauvinists in World War I, Trotsky wrote:

> "To the myth of *pure* democracy he counterposed the reality of *bourgeois* democracy, grown on the foundation of private property and transformed by the course of development into a tool of imperialism. The class structure of the state, determined by the class structure of society, excluded, according to Lenin, the possibility of the proletariat's taking power within the framework of democracy and with its methods.... The perspective of peaceful progress or democratic socialization is revealed from this point of view as pure utopia. The preparation for revolution demands a simultaneous break not only with the bourgeois radicals but, as we already know, also with the democratic reformists in the working class itself."
>
> —"The Comintern's Liquidation Congress" (August 1935)

Jeff Ballinger

April 1997 protest by Nike workers in Indonesia. Combative young proletariat has power to sweep away police-state regime, liberate myriad oppressed nationalities.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

In lining up behind racist Australian imperialism, the trade-union tops and their left tails not only spread chauvinist poison within the Australian proletariat but also further bind the Indonesian workers to their capitalist rulers, allowing the Jakarta regime to pose as "protectors" of the nation. In symmetry with their press agents of the DSP in Australia, the People's Democratic Party (PRD) in Indonesia declares in a 13 September statement that "the presence of the international peace keeping forces in East Timor is a correct action for guaranteeing the security and peace." The political logic of supporting UN intervention in East Timor is to call upon the imperialists to bring "democracy" to Indonesia as well.

While its supporters have engaged in often heroic trade-union and student struggles against the Jakarta dictatorship, facing imprisonment and death, the PRD's petty-bourgeois nationalist program serves to deflect the Indonesian masses from struggling against the domestic bourgeoisie and its imperialist patrons. Thus the PRD has consistently supported the bourgeois "opposition" headed by Megawati Sukarnoputri, a die-hard Javanese chauvinist who has long railed that East Timor belongs to Indonesia. Megawati's current nod of approval to the Australian/UN occupation, bowing to the dictates of the U.S. and the IMF, underscores the complete subordination of all wings of the Indonesian bourgeoisie to imperialism.

Fearful above all of its own proletariat, the bourgeoisie in Indonesia, as in all countries of belated capitalist development, is incapable of realising even the demands of the classic bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries: genuine national emancipation, agrarian revolution, political democracy, etc. As the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution lays out, these tasks can only be achieved through the seizure of state power by the Indonesian proletariat, which has engaged in militant struggle in recent years. The fight for socialist revolution in Indonesia must necessarily be part of an internationalist perspective for proletarian power throughout the region and particularly in advanced countries, like Australia, Japan and the U.S.

The urgent need is to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party to win the proletariat away from the bourgeois-nationalist Javanese chauvinists. Acting as the tribune of the people, such a party would mobilise the working class not only in its own interests but on behalf of women, the urban and rural poor and all the myriad oppressed peoples of Indonesia. Mobilised in struggle against the blood-drenched Indonesian regime and rendered conscious of the need to fight for the liberation of all the oppressed, the powerful Indonesian proletariat would be the best ally the East Timorese could have.

The Australian workers movement has a particular duty to oppose the intervention of its "own" rulers, racist overlords of oppressed neocolonies from Papua New Guinea to Fiji. Breaking the Australian proletariat from its chauvinist, pro-capitalist misleaders is central to the task of forging an internationalist revolutionary workers party, one which understands that solidarity with the Indonesian and East Timorese masses means above all the struggle to overthrow the Australian ruling class through workers revolution. It is to this task that the Spartacist League/Australia is dedicated. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!■

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Sweatshops...

(continued from page 12)

dirty work for them. As long as capitalism exists, sweatshops will exist. To eradicate them requires a socialist revolution that will do away with all forms of capitalist exploitation by overthrowing the capitalist profit system and placing the working class in power. This perspective is anathema to liberals, the pro-capitalist union tops and social democrats like the DSA, whose appeal to "corporate America" to "eliminate" sweatshop labor serves the dual purpose of dressing up the American ruling class (overseers of brutal exploitation worldwide) with a "humanitarian" façade, while promoting chauvinist protectionist schemes.

As Marxists, we find the existence of a layer of young people eager to associate themselves with the working class an important development. Growing student interest in the labor movement was evident in the "Union Summer" program that began three years ago. But most Union Summer activists viewed the working class as merely an oppressed group whose interests must be defended. As we wrote in introducing an interview with a Union Summer activist in "Students and the Labor Movement" (*WV* No. 651, 13 September 1996): "There is a great leap involved in moving from simply identifying with the working class as one of the victimized sections of the population to seeing it as the key agency for revolutionary change."

To make that leap requires an understanding that the capitalist system—which produces injustice, inequality, and racial and sexual oppression—cannot be changed through pressure or reform. The proletariat, which derives its strength from its numbers, organization and the fact that it is labor which makes the wheels of profit turn in capitalist society, is the only class with both the social power and objective interest to smash capitalism.

While youth were recruited to Union Summer as a union organizing drive, we noted that in reality this was a mobilization by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy of DSA member John Sweeney—which seeks to tie the trade unions to the capitalist class enemy—to get the vote out for Clinton and the phony "friend of labor" Democratic Party. Today we warn anti-sweatshop campaigners that what the UNITE leadership has in mind is not the elimination of sweatshops, but the proliferation of protectionist "Buy American" poison. For those who doubt it, ponder why there are no protests about the conditions of six-year-old girls in India slaving at long hours for pennies a day to make rugs—because they are not "stealing" American jobs.

Typically, a leaflet calling for an anti-sweatshop protest in October 1998 by the "People's Right to Know Campaign" complained that "only 11% of Wal-Mart's famous Kathie Lee line of clothing is made in the U.S." At a June protest at the University of Chicago a member of the Anti-Sweatshop Coalition held a "striptease" where layer after layer of his clothes were shed except for his "Made in the U.S.A." boxers. And while they cynically line up students for this protectionist campaign, the UNITE officials are paid millions by corporations like Calvin Klein and Donna Karan for the "right" to open shops overseas (see "Chinese Immigrant Workers in Racist America," *WV* No. 719, 17 September). We uphold what Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote more than 150 years ago: "Workers of all countries, unite!" The proletariat has no fatherland. The main enemy of workers here is the U.S. bourgeoisie, whose imperialist terror abroad has a domestic reflection in racist cop repression and anti-immigrant hysteria.

Palmer/U.S. News & World Report

Der Spiegel

Garment factory in New York City (left), match factory in India. Exploitation of child labor is capitalist business as usual around the world.

Beware Labor Cops for Imperialism!

The U.S. imperialists are not in the business of cleaning up sweatshops but *creating* them, such as the *maquiladora* hellholes near the U.S. border in Mexico, where largely women workers have waged fierce struggles against mostly U.S.-owned plants. To appeal to this racist capitalist state—which has armed, trained and installed butchers like Chile's Pinochet, Nicaragua's Somoza and Indonesia's Suharto—to ameliorate sweatshop conditions means sowing illusions in the "human rights" pretensions of U.S. imperialism, the greatest enemy of workers and the oppressed throughout the world. Such conditions of horrendous exploitation are inherent in imperialism, which is the highest stage of capitalist development, marked by the domination of monopolies and the export of finance capital. Productive forces have long outgrown the narrow confines of the nation-state, forcing the capitalists to search the globe for cheap labor and natural resources, protecting their investments with massive military might. Capitalist competition increasingly takes the form of trade wars with rival imperialist powers which ultimately turn into shooting wars. This century has seen two inter-imperialist world wars in which millions of young workers and peasants were slaughtered to maintain the riches of the imperialists. Today, growing interimperialist rivalries are paving the way for a third world war, this time with nuclear weapons.

At the same time, imperialism brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer countries, who have next to no rights. The existence of such a sizeable pool of hideously oppressed and underpaid workers serves to bring down the wages of the entire working class. As we explained in "Chinese Immigrant Workers in Racist America":

> "To prop up their system of exploitation, the racist rulers seek to pit white against black, and all against the desperate immigrant. Aggressive union organizing drives, with special measures to recruit black, immigrant and other minority workers, are crucial to revitalizing the labor movement. But this requires a struggle inside the unions against the chauvinist, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy and for a new, class-struggle leadership which recognizes that the interests of capital and labor are counterposed."

Against the bourgeoisie's anti-immigrant hysteria, abetted by the chauvinist union bureaucracy, we call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Successful struggle against the exploiters requires a fight to defend and organize foreign-born workers into unions with full rights and protections. We fight for international workers solidarity, based on the understanding that workers all over the world have fundamentally the same interests.

The trade unions are the economic defense organizations of the working class. The union movement in America was built through massive and heroic struggles, often involving recent immigrants and women, against individual capitalists and the capitalist government. But the pro-capitalist labor misleaders seek to suppress militant class struggle, instead opting for consumer boycotts and impotent campaigns to "expose" corporate greed. These bureaucrats defend the interests of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement. In his 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained the material basis of the opportunism of the labor bureaucracy:

> "The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism.... The most dangerous of all in this respect are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism."

In and of itself, even the most militant trade union struggle does not challenge the capitalist mode of production but only seeks to better the immediate conditions and wages of the workers in struggles with individual employers. For the working class to become conscious of the historically necessary task of emancipating itself from the yoke of capitalist wage slavery, requires the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party. Such a party must be forged in sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders and based on the Marxist understanding that the capitalist profit system must be rooted out and replaced by workers rule. The best workers party in history was the Bolshevik Party led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917, creating the first workers state in history.

"Human Rights": Cover for Imperialist Repression

The recent anti-sweatshop protests have typically taken off when corporations like Nike, infamous for its brutal use of sweatshop labor, enter into licensing contracts with the universities. For example, anti-sweatshop protests at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill began when the administration signed an $11 million promotion contract with Nike in 1997. The protests have mainly demanded that campus administrations adopt UNITE's "Code of Conduct" agreement as opposed to the Fair Labor Association, which is an acknowledged creature of the Clinton White House in league with major garment corporations. The "Code of Conduct" campaign amounts to nothing more than pressuring the Collegiate Licensing Company, which licenses products for 200 universities and 2,000 retailers, to deal only with corporations that do not use sweatshop labor.

Many of the campus anti-sweatshop protests are infused with a large dose of petty-bourgeois moralism. Petitioning against The Gap and Guess? Jeans, and wearing campus sweats made by seamstresses getting the minimum wage may make these students feel better about

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counter-revolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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themselves and the "campus community," but changes the desperate working conditions of Asian and Latin American workers not a bit. Much of the rhetoric in the anti-sweatshop campaign has as its purpose the refurbishing of the image of the specific universities involved. For example, an Internet posting by the Wesleyan College "Students Against Sweatshops" in Connecticut reads, "Our goal is to guarantee decent working conditions and wages for the people who produce clothing bearing Wesleyan's name."

Indeed, is it surprising that campus officials "have even praised the protesters" (*New York Times*, 29 March)? Such statements offer the bourgeois campus administrations a way to tout their universities as "enlightened" institutions of "higher education." But the administrations have no such "humanitarian" concern for their own workers. Even while the entire University of California system has agreed to abide by the protesters' pitiful demands not to sell clothes made by sweatshop labor, the wages of janitors, cafeteria workers and numerous other campus workers remain far below a decent "living wage."

UNITE's anti-sweatshop campaign is based on the union bureaucracy's collaboration with America's capitalist rulers. Deluding workers that capitalist society can serve their interests, the labor tops foster the illusion that through exposure of sweatshop conditions the government will somehow be pressured to compel the garment industry's slavemasters to "do the right thing." This perspective is shared by the reformist left, as seen in an article by "human rights" activist Medea Benjamin in *Against the Current* (March/April 1999), magazine of the social-democratic Solidarity group, which admonishes anti-sweatshop groups to pressure the government to "enforce mandatory standards that will guarantee garment workers throughout the world the respect and dignity they deserve." And the People's Right to Know Campaign, which focuses on demands for the Wal-Mart chain to disclose where its products are manufactured, complains, "Even the President of the United States could not find out from Wal-Mart where it manufactures its goods."

Peddling these same illusions while covering for the chauvinist bureaucracy is the International Socialist Organization (ISO). In an entire page devoted to the anti-sweatshop campaign in their current paper, *Socialist Worker* (24 September), these dyed-in-the-wool reformists say not a word about protectionism (nor capitalism or imperialism). While exulting in the "impressive" gain that 15 universities "have agreed to full public disclosure," they display their faith in the capitalist state, whining that the Labor Department only has "800 investigators to monitor all 6 million American workplaces."

Brown Brothers

Garment workers striking for eight-hour day in 1913 carry signs in Yiddish, Italian, Russian. immigrant workers played key role in building U.S. unions.

Investing the U.S. imperialists with a mission to protect "human rights" is obscene. "Human rights" imperialism has nothing to do with human rights and everything to do with imperialism. The recent U.S./NATO war against Serbia and the ongoing occupation of Kosovo show the real face behind their "human rights" mask. As the U.S. and NATO rained death and destruction upon the Serbian and Albanian peoples, deliberately bombing factories which provided livelihoods for tens of thousands of workers, they had no bigger cheerleader than the DSA's top honcho Bogdan Denitch who baldly stated, "The bombing should stop only when Belgrade agrees to pull out or is pushed out of Kosovo, if necessary by ground troops" (*Nation*, 26 April). We were the only group on the left that unambiguously called for the defeat of U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution and for workers around the globe to defend Serbia against U.S./NATO terror. Now, fresh from their Balkan slaughter, the U.S. imperialists are backing their Australian junior partners in a "human rights" military occupation of tiny East Timor. Meanwhile, the U.S. continues its vicious starvation blockades of Serbia and Iraq, where well over a million people have died as a result of the imperialist sanctions.

In their role as anti-communist henchmen for U.S. imperialism, the AFL-CIO labor officialdom has a long history of helping to create the very conditions of horrendous exploitation in Third World countries which they now cynically decry. Among militant workers in many of these countries, the American labor bureaucracy is rightly despised as the "AFL-CIA." In South Korea, for example, they were instrumental in building up the government-sponsored Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU), which fought strikers and mobilized scabs during mass strikes in 1946-47 and acted to prevent the rise of independent unions. Among those playing a leading role in the formation of unions independent of the KFTU were women garment workers in 1970-71 who were met with brutal repression by the U.S.-backed South Korean police state. The AFL-CIO's Asian American Free Labor Institute has been only one of a number of CIA "labor" fronts around the world which has served the U.S. capitalist rulers in suppressing Communist-led and other militant unions.

High on the imperialists' agenda right now is the drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China, aimed at burying what remains of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. It is no accident that China is a particular focus of the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy in the anti-sweatshop campaign. Nor is it surprising that the "Free Tibet" movement, long a favored tool of the CIA, is prominent in the campus anti-sweatshop protests. The entry of Chinese forces into Tibet in 1959 liberated the Tibetan people from forced peasant labor and a ruthless clerical aristocracy which appropriated young boys as consorts and held a starving population of peasants and herdsmen in virtual slavery. The followers of the Dalai Lama who glorify the abject backwardness of "traditional" Tibetan life before 1959 seek to reintroduce conditions in which sweatshops would be a step up!

China is a deformed workers state, where capitalism has been overthrown but the working class is denied political power by a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy. Trotskyists call for unconditional military defense of China, as well as the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. It is the Beijing bureaucracy itself which is today at the forefront of the drive toward capitalist restoration. We fight for a workers political revolution that will oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and establish a regime of genuine workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

For a Workers Party that Fights for Socialist Revolution!

A leader of the anti-sweatshop campaign at Duke University went out of his way to assure the administration, "We're not asking for a revolution. We're just asking for improvement of working conditions" (*New York Times*, 29 March). But even the most minor improvement of working conditions is reversible under capitalism—witness the sharp decline of workers' living standards in the U.S. over the past 25 years, confirming Marx's understanding that the tendency toward immiseration of the proletariat is endemic to capitalism. Any lasting and genuine improvement of working and living conditions for the mass of the working people, both in the U.S. and internationally, means uprooting the entire system of production for profit: the expropriation of the capitalist class through workers revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist society where production is based on human need rather than profit.

Pro-labor youth who genuinely want to eradicate the ravages of capitalism must confront the fact that without a socialist revolution, capitalist exploitation will not only remain, but intensify. The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win youth to the perspective of building the proletarian vanguard party essential for the fight for socialist revolution. As we wrote in "Students and the Labor Movement":

> "The task of Marxists is to fight within the working class and among all layers of the oppressed to build the integrated revolutionary workers party necessary to revitalize the labor movement and lead its future struggles to victory. Revolutionary student youth can play an important role on the campuses by organizing Spartacus Youth Clubs, which seek to be the student/youth auxiliary to a class-struggle opposition within the labor movement."

We look to the example of the heroic Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. We fight for new October Revolutions to expropriate the racist capitalist ruling class and establish the uncompromising rule of the multiracial proletariat.■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series and Events

CHICAGO

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
October 2: ***The Class Nature of the State***
October 16: ***Imperialism and War***
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
(near Clinton stop on Blue Line)
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Meet the Marxists on Campus
Tuesday, October 5, 4 p.m.
UCLA, 2408 Ackerman Union
For information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. at NYU
October 5: ***Anti-Labor Attacks, Cop Terror and the Capitalist State***
Student Events Center, Rm. 305
5 Washington Pl. (at Mercer St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

BAY AREA

Next class: ***The Economics of Communism and the Transitional Period***
Thursday, October 7, 7 p.m.
UC Berkeley, Room 222 Wheeler
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO

Smash the Capitalist System of Racism and War!
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
October 6: ***The Bolshevik Revolution***
U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College St.)
For room and information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Marxism and World Revolution
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
October 12: ***National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle: Independence for Quebec!***
University of British Columbia
Room 212, Student Union Building
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Eyewitness Accounts of Mass Student Strike in Mexico City

Victory to the UNAM Student Strike!

Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Juventud Espartaquista youth group have intervened in the five-month-old student strike at the National Autonomous University (UNAM) from the outset. The GEM/JE fights to mobilize the social power of the trade unions in strike action to defend the right to education and defeat union-busting privatization plans pushed by the government and its U.S. imperialist patrons. Against the nationalism which ties workers to the ruling class, our comrades seek to forge an internationalist revolutionary workers party that fights for socialist revolution.

BOSTON

Saturday, Oct. 2
7:30 p.m.
Tufts University
Mayer Campus Center
Large Conference Room
(Ground Floor)
For more information:
(617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Saturday, Oct. 9
7 p.m.
University of Illinois
at Chicago
Circle Center, 750 S. Halsted
Room to be announced
For more information:
(312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, Oct. 14
3:30 p.m.
University of California
at Los Angeles
152 Kerckhoff Hall
For more information:
(213) 380-8239

Unionize the South...

(continued from page 12)

scuttled the strike, diverting it into impotent corporate lobbying and red-white-and-blue chauvinist appeals to the government. This underscores what we wrote following the union vote in Kannapolis:

> "With their legalistic, pro-Democratic Party policies, the AFL-CIO misleaders are incapable of undertaking the kind of militant mass organizing drive needed to unionize workers throughout the South, where the racist cops and KKK lynchers have been instrumental in keeping unions out. It is necessary to unleash the social power of the working class, beginning with existing beachheads of integrated union power in the South—from mainly black longshoremen in the Southeastern and Gulf ports to shipyard workers and Teamsters truckers."

Because of their program of class collaboration, the labor bureaucrats are tied by a thousand threads to the class enemy and are utterly incapable of waging the kind of class-struggle campaign needed to unionize the growing ranks of industrial workers in the South. Their dependence on the good graces of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), whose very purpose is to bind the unions to the state, has repeatedly caused organizing drives to flounder on the endless delays built into the law, setting up pro-union workers to be victimized. A former head of the AFL-CIO's Organizing Department vowed to "work better with employers in respecting their right to exist and make a profit," and pleaded: "In exchange, we ask that employers respect our right to exist" (*South Carolina Business Journal*, June 1996). The United

Schneider/Charlotte Observer

Redmond/NY Times

Heavily immigrant workforce celebrates pro-union vote at Fieldcrest Cannon textile complex in Kannapolis, N.C. in June.

Alabama magazine

Sit-down strike at American Casting Company in Birmingham, Alabama which won union recognition in 1937 was led by Communist organizers.

Auto Workers (UAW) tops are currently trumpeting the contractual pledge by DaimlerChrysler management to remain "neutral" in unionization efforts at the key Mercedes plant in Vance, Alabama.

The fundamental starting point for a serious union organizing drive must be the understanding that this capitalist society is divided between two hostile classes—the workers who have to sell their labor power and the bourgeoisie who owns the means of production—whose interests are irreconcilably opposed. The American labor bureaucracy openly supports the capitalist system and is duly rewarded for this with certain social and political privileges. Hence the union tops stand for collaboration with the bosses, not class struggle against them.

But class struggle is the only way to bring down the "open shop" bastion which is the South. This was made clear by a spokesman for the employers in South Carolina, which has the lowest rate of unionization of any state in the country. Writing in the *South Carolina Business Journal* (September 1997), published by the state Chamber of Commerce, a lawyer who specializes in company anti-union campaigns declared: "Almost any South Carolina company should be able to defeat the union if they have 'prepared for the war'." And if you think they're not serious about war, consider the case of Gary McClain, a worker at Tenneco Packaging in Beech Island, South Carolina, who stood up in a plant meeting called by management last July and suggested that the union attempting to organize the plant be given equal time to address the workers. While driving to work a few days later, McClain was pulled over by six sheriff's patrol cars, taken from his car at gunpoint, and involuntarily committed to an insane asylum!

Above all, the crucial battle to organize the South must go hand in hand with the fight against racist discrimination. Only through an all-sided struggle against black oppression can the working class carry out the kind of integrated class struggle needed to defeat the bosses' attacks. America's rulers foster racial divisions in the North and South in order to obscure the division between classes, which is fundamental to capitalist society, and to head off united working-class struggle. The special oppression of black people as a race/color caste is a cornerstone of American capitalism. The mass of the black population is kept at the bottom of this capitalist society. At the same time, doubly oppressed black workers form a strategic component of the American proletariat. Won to a revolutionary program, black workers will play a leading role in the struggle to emancipate the black masses and all working people by sweeping away the entire system of capitalist exploitation.

In the South, more than in any other region of the country, it is especially clear that the support of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy to the Democratic Party perpetuates violent racist oppression and the brutal exploitation of the working class. In the main resolution adopted at the Ninth National Conference of the Spartacist League in 1994 (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 51, Autumn 1994), we wrote:

> "The unionization of the South cannot and will not have a narrowly economist character, nor will it likely emanate from the top echelons of the AFL-CIO. On the one side, the entire black community will tend to rally behind racially integrated workers fighting the local white power structure. On the other side, the Southern branch of the American ruling class will resort not only to the police, company goons and professional strikebreakers but, if hard pressed, also to the Klan and its ilk, while using racist demagogy to turn backward white workers against the labor movement. In short, a union organizing drive in the South will become a major arena of political struggle between the oppressed black masses and the white ruling class."

For this perspective to become a reality will require a sharp political struggle against the politics of class collaboration and to oust the sellout labor lieutenants of capital who tie the unions to the Democratic Party. It is necessary to forge a class-struggle leadership within the unions as part of the fight to build a revolutionary workers party.

Class Struggle Built Industrial Unions

A massive organizing drive in the "open shop" South, where conditions are ripe for unionization, is vitally necessary if the U.S. labor movement is to regain its strength in manufacturing. A major factor behind the gutting of the union movement in this country since the late 1970s has been the massive transfer of industry from the North and Midwest to the "open shop," low-wage South and Southwest, particularly centered on the I-85 industrial corridor in the South. By 1990, North and South Carolina combined had more manufacturing production workers than any state except California. A few years ago, Philip Morris was blocked from building a $100 million plant in South Carolina for fear that the workforce would be unionized.

The harsh laws and practices enforcing wage slavery in the South today are rooted in the black chattel slavery of the old South before the Civil War. The reestablishment of legalized racial segregation following the betrayal of Radical Reconstruction by the Northern bourgeoisie in league with the Southern landed aristocracy entailed the suppression of any attempt to organize labor, white as well as black. The heroic efforts of the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in the early years of this century to organize white and black workers in the South into "one big union" was met by laws against "criminal syndicalism." The "right to work" laws passed after the Second World War, which have perpetuated the South as the main regional bastion of social and political reaction in the United States, were the outgrowth of an entrenched apparatus of segregation and oppression, from the post-Civil War "Black Codes" and "anti-vagrancy" laws to the sharecropping system and prison chain gangs.

Every major organizing effort in the South has involved massive confrontations with the capitalist state—the cops, troops and courts which are at the core of this apparatus of repression through which the bourgeoisie defends its profits and class rule. Yet the pro-capitalist officials of the AFL-CIO cannot conceive of going up against their "friends" in the bosses' Democratic Party and the capitalist government. So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very means by which mass industrial unions were built in this country: sitdown strikes to occupy the plants and keep out the scabs, mass picket lines that defy injunctions, secondary labor boycotts (refusing to handle struck goods).

In 1934, a unionization drive led by the United Textile Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was capped by a national textile strike involving more than 400,000 workers. Battling cops, company goons and National Guard troops, flying squads of strikers closed hundreds of mills along a broad front from Gastonia, North Carolina to Greenville, South Carolina. In Georgia, the governor declared martial law and had troops throw strikers and their families into concentration camps surrounded by barbed wire. Though 16 workers were killed and hundreds wounded nationwide, the strikers held firm. But textile union leaders cravenly called off the strike at the request of Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt for nothing more than his cynical promise to "survey" conditions in the industry.

The mass labor upsurges of the mid to late 1930s, often led by communists or socialists, brought together black and white workers in major class battles against the capitalists and their state, forging the mass integrated industrial unions that changed the face of American society. Breaking down the racial and ethnic job-trusting and segregated union locals of the old AFL, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) sought to mobilize black workers, who were critical to organizing most basic industries. United Mine Workers' efforts in 1934 to organize the Alabama coalfields relied heavily on black miners, who composed 60 percent of the membership of the locals organized there.

In 1936, black steel workers in Birmingham, led by Communists, won a strike by organizing Alabama's first plant sitdown. This challenge to the capitalists' private property terrified the bosses. Throughout this period, Communist union organizers were beaten, jailed and tortured by the Klan and cops, but their defiance attracted the downtrodden black masses. When the fascists warned, "Negroes Beware—Do Not Attend Communist Meetings—The Ku Klux Klan Is Watching You," black Communists responded with their own leaflets declaring: "KKK! The Workers Are Watching You!" In his history of Alabama Communists

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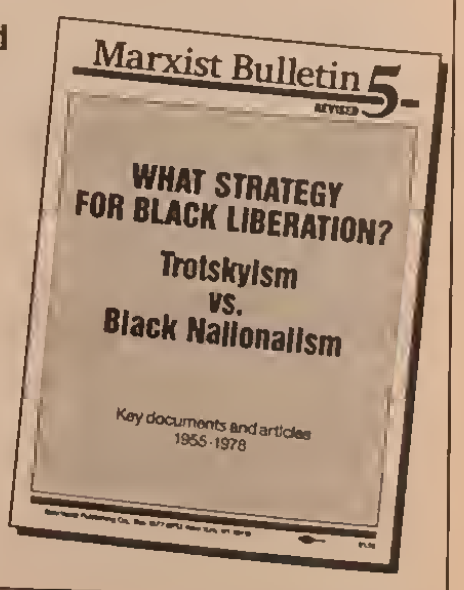

during the Depression, *Hammer and Hoe* (1990), Robin D.G Kelley noted that Birmingham blacks saw the fight for industrial unions "as a crusade for racial justice" and poured into the new CIO unions.

Union organizers—black and white—confronted the same brutal terror that for decades had been used to keep blacks "in their place." A CIO organizer in Florida signing up black workers was kidnapped by the KKK, castrated, tarred and feathered, dipped into the boiling tar and left to die from his wounds. In 1938, the CIO reported; "Often an organizer dares not to enter a town in daylight; he relies upon a union-minded merchant or a handful of key men to keep in touch with those workers who are sympathetic to the union. Mass meetings are seldom held, except in large cities, and unionists in the same village may not even know their fellow union members. In many areas, mill workers provide union organizers with day and night body guards for there have been beatings and shootings by mill police, thugs, and vigilantes" (quoted in Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker: 1619-1973* [1974]).

The formation of integrated industrial unions represented the biggest gain for black people since the Reconstruction period following the Civil War. Where barely 50,000 black workers nationwide were union members in the early 1930s, by the 1940s there were 500,000; and by the mid-1950s, almost two million black workers were unionized. But while the CIO brought better pay and working conditions along with some measure of job security for those blacks who had industrial jobs, the CIO leadership generally

CIO

Packinghouse workers strike in Chicago in late 1930s. CIO organizing drive built mass industrial unions by uniting black and white workers.

whom Roosevelt gave a free hand to wage naked racist terror against blacks and unions. This was accompanied by energetic efforts by the capitalists, seeking to suppress the tremendous wave of class struggle sweeping the country, to create a body of laws and measures (for example, the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, which set up the NLRB) aimed at legally subordinating the new unions to the bourgeois state.

Break with the Democrats! Organize the South!

At its founding congress in 1937, the CIO launched a new organizing drive

AP

Young Socialist

Police attack civil rights march, Birmingham, 1963 (left); striking sanitation workers in Memphis, 1968. Defense of labor's interests cannot go forward without struggle against racist oppression and terror.

shied away from tackling head-on the pervasive racist discrimination in hiring and in the skilled trades. In 1940, three years after the UAW victory in the Flint sitdown strike, Jim Crow still reigned at GM plants, from the total exclusion of blacks at Fisher Body to the restriction of blacks to foundry jobs at Buick.

The tremendous working-class upsurge of the 1930s was accompanied by a political radicalization which opened possibilities for forging an independent workers party. This was clearly indicated in 1934 as three city-wide general strikes—in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco—were led by reds. To head off the organization of the working class by leftist radicals, a section of the AFL bureaucracy, led by John L. Lewis, split and launched a mass unionization drive.

But the CIO leadership, including the reformist social democrats and Communist Party (CP), chained the new unions to Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party and its "New Deal" coalition. By the mid-1930s, the Stalinized Communist Party had embraced a reformist strategy of support to a liberal wing of the capitalist class. The New Deal coalition—which literally extended from white Southern sheriffs who were members of the Ku Klux Klan to black union organizers who were members of the CP—put organized labor in a self-defeating alliance not only with its liberal class enemies in the North but also with the Southern Dixiecrats, to focused on the textile industry in the South. But from the start, the pro-capitalist CIO tops undercut any chance of success by aiming to "avoid strikes and show employers the value of unions" (F. Ray Marshall, *Labor in the South* [1967]). The black and white union organizers who braved beatings and kidnappings by cops and Klansmen succeeded in organizing a number of key mills, but these were the exception rather than the rule. By the end of the decade only five percent of the South's spindles were estimated to have been affected by union contracts.

At its November 1941 convention, the CIO again resolved to launch a campaign to organize the South. But just two weeks after the convention came the bombing of Pearl Harbor, which led to Washington's formal entry into World War II. The fine words about organizing the South were all laid aside as the union leaders, the Socialist Party and the CP joined the capitalists in subordinating everything to the American/Allied imperialist war effort—from imposing a no-strike pledge to opposing the fight for black rights. The reformist misleaders painted this as a "war against fascism." In fact, for the U.S. and all the imperialist powers, World War II was a conflict for division of the world's markets, sources of raw materials and cheap labor, as was the case in World War I.

In contrast to the social-patriots, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) opposed both blocs of competing imperialist powers while calling for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. The SWP opposed the no-strike pledge and gave its full support to the fight against racist discrimination in industry and "Jim Crow" segregation in the military. For their revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism, 18 Trotskyist leaders were jailed under FDR.

The last, feeble attempt by the CIO to organize the South following World War II, grotesquely called "Operation Dixie," was quickly shipwrecked on the shoals of the Cold War red purges, racism and the bureaucrats' ties to the Democratic Party. In many cases, the anti-Communist labor bureaucracy worked to *destroy* integrated union locals in the South, like at R.J. Reynolds in Winston-Salem, rather than see them led by reds. Meanwhile, the union tops' loyalty to the Democrats made them incapable of waging a fight against the Jim Crow white power structure, which was run by the Dixiecrats and their KKK auxiliaries.

The CIO's abandonment of any effort to organize the South was part of an overall retreat and weakening of the labor movement in this period. The onset of the Cold War against the Soviet Union was accompanied by an anti-labor offensive on the home front, in part as a response to the massive strike wave of 1945-46. The main legal instrument of this union-busting offensive was the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act which mandated the purging of Communists and other radicals from union leadership, outlawed secondary labor strikes (a key tactic in extending unionization, especially in the South) and legitimized state "right to work" laws. Almost the entire AFL and CIO leadership stated that they would "live with" Taft-Hartley despite strong sentiment within the ranks to defy it.

"Right to Work" Laws and Racist Reaction

The so-called "right to work" laws, which outlaw the "closed" union shop, are at the center of the reactionary legislation that Southern rulers use in trying to keep the region "free" of unions. Not coincidentally, among the 21 states with "right to work" laws—which includes practically the entire South as well as a number of plains and Rocky Mountain states—are those with the lowest levels of unionization. The average pay in these states is fully 15 percent lower than in the rest of the country. The billions of dollars in super-profits that this represents for the capitalists underlines why the bourgeoisie is determined to maintain this vast area of low-wage, non-unionized labor.

The intimate link between the fight for unionization of the South and the fight against black oppression is graphically illustrated by the history of the "right to work" laws. These statutes were largely enacted during and immediately following World War II as a counter to the expansion of unionism during the war. Also passed in that period were "anti-violence" bills to curb picketing, as well as measures requiring union organizers to register with state governments. In Georgia, a local ordinance required union officials to foreswear belief in communism and "in the overthrowing of the municipal or state laws in regard to segregation" (quoted in *Labor in the South*).

The organizations pushing for these reactionary laws combined vicious anti-unionism with virulent racism. One of these groups, the Southern States Industrial Council (SSIC), headed by the president of the Tennessee Association of Manufacturers, was formed in 1934 in opposition to the New Deal. The SSIC railed against unions, immigrant workers, and "dilution of racial purity" in the workforce (John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*). Another prominent promoter of the "God-given right-to-work" was Christian America, a Texas-based outfit which had fanned the flames of racial and religious bigotry from its inception in 1936.

A measure of the all-sided reactionary nature of these racist Southern Bourbons was provided in Robert Sherrill's *Gothic Politics in the Deep South* (1968), which describes Roger Milliken, the boss

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Waco,...Again

"Every government is run by liars and nothing they say should be believed."
—Journalist I.F. Stone (1907-1989)

With the recent revelation that FBI agents fired several "incendiary devices" into the flimsy, wooden home, headquarters and church of the Branch Davidian religious commune near Waco, Texas, began renewed charges that the agencies and operatives of the U.S. Government sparked the deadly conflagration that left 80 men, women and children incinerated.

For over 6 years the U.S. Justice Department said no such flammable canisters were used at any time on April 19, 1993. For over six years government officials lied, insisting that the Branch Davidians killed themselves by setting the fire in an orgy of suicidal violence.

Now, who can really say? The "incendiary devices" story was broken, not by a major U.S. newspaper, or network, but by an independent filmmaker and journalist. The national media is just following somebody else's play.

When the state attacked MOVE Headquarters on May 13th, 1985, they also blamed MOVE people, saying they set their own home and headquarters aflame, incinerating themselves!

To date, almost 15 years after the police mass murder of MOVE men, women, and children (11 people), the *only* person to serve even an hour in jail was MOVE survivor Ramona Africa, "guilty" only of surviving.

Similarly, the Waco survivors have been socked into prison for exorbitant periods of time, based, at least in part, on FBI and government lies at trial.

According to at least one source, there was U.S. Army Delta Force members active at Waco. The magazine *Soldier of Fortune*, as early as its August 1996 issue, reports Delta wasn't some background, observing outfit. *SOF* cites sources which claim Delta actually talked U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno into the chemical and armored assault on Mount Carmel. The magazine quotes a Department of Defense attorney saying the Delta unit members were "forward deployed" on the inner perimeter surrounding Mt. Carmel, adding that Delta's role in the assault was "much more advisory than observatory; active, not passive."

And now, the same government promises to, once again, "investigate" Waco. We are witnessing the birth of but another, "new and improved," whitewash.

9 September 1999

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Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Unionize the South..

(continued from page 9)

of the Deering-Milliken textile chain in the early 1950s:

"He is a great advocate of what he calls voluntary unionism, which sounds fair enough, but to Milliken, and in South Carolina, it has a special meaning: Shortly before Christmas 1956 he closed the Darlington Manufacturing Company, throwing 500 workers on the street, because they had voted to unionize. Desperate to get back on a payroll, on any terms, 83 percent of the workers signed a petition swearing never to even mention unionism again if he would keep the plant open and keep their jobs going. It wasn't enough to please Milliken. He wouldn't be satisfied, he said, if only 17 percent 'hard core' union people were left on the payroll; he didn't want *any*. He auctioned off his machinery and moved out of town. People don't talk unionism and liberalism in Darlington and nearby towns like they used to before the strike."

The SWP's *Militant* reported how a Steelworkers organizer from Birmingham, Alabama told the 1941 CIO convention that "it was the poll tax senators in Congress, representing those areas where the workers were unorganized and terrorized, who were the strongest advocates of vicious anti-labor legislation." The *Militant* continued:

"Any serious struggle to smash the open-shop rule of the southern land and industrial barons will inevitably lead to a clash with the whole apparatus of the United States government, including president Roosevelt himself....

"The most uncertain factor bearing on the ultimate success of this drive is the political tie of the CIO leadership to the Roosevelt administration and its war program. This political attitude confronts the CIO leaders with a fundamental contradiction. In the showdown fight that must ensue in any effective union organization drive in the South, they will in all likelihood meet the opposition of the government. The CIO has the choice of successfully organizing the South and smashing the greatest reservoir of open-shop strength, thus facing a break with the administration, or watering down the drive and retreating on the basis of the CIO leadership's political commitments."

—C.L.R. James, et al., *Fighting Racism in World War II* (1980)

For a Revolutionary Leadership of the Working Class

Today, the "New South" of the likes of Bill Clinton and Al Gore tries to project a more "respectable" image than the openly segregationist Dixiecrats and vicious sheriffs of a generation ago. As a result of the civil rights movement, a section of the black petty bourgeoisie was recruited into the governmental administration and bureaucracy to help pacify the black masses. A black mayor of Atlanta is now a local institution. However, despite a substantial degree of industrialization, the *economic condition* of black as well as white workers in the South has not fundamentally changed since the days of Jim Crow segregation.

And efforts to organize labor are still met with police-state measures abetted by fascist terror. Witness the 1979 killing in Greensboro, North Carolina of five members of the Communist Workers Party, some of whom were trying to unionize textile mills in the area, by Klan and Nazi terrorists acting in collusion with state and local officials. That same year, cops rampaged against Newport News picket lines. Strikers were dragged off in handcuffs as snarling police dogs bit their arms and legs. Just a few years ago, a burning cross was ignited by plant managers in Alabama to intimidate workers from joining a union.

Greensboro Daily News

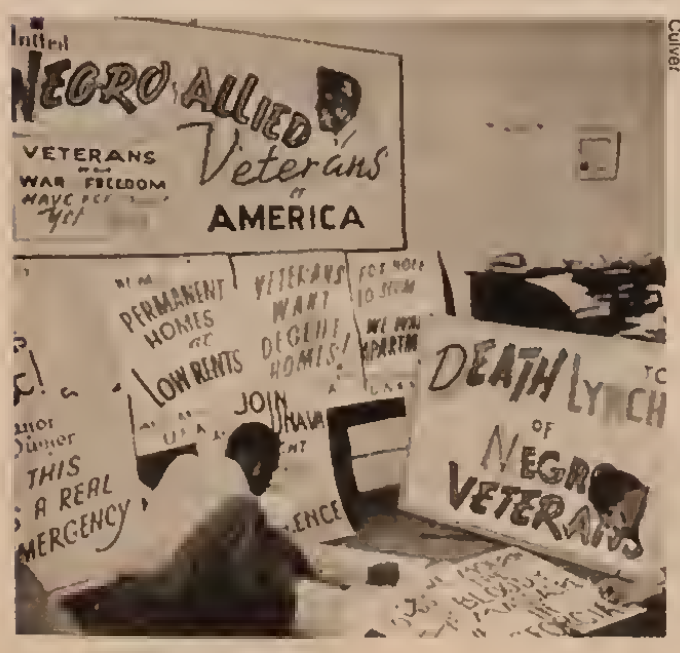
Greensboro, North Carolina, 1979: Five members of the Communist Workers Party, including union organizers, were shot and killed by Klan and Nazi terrorists.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy's "America first" protectionism, which will only get more virulent as interimperialist competition intensifies, not only poisons the needed international solidarity between workers in the U.S. and their class brothers and sisters abroad but also fuels racism against black and immigrant workers here. Complaining that workers in other countries are "stealing" American jobs, the labor bureaucrats tie the interests of the working class in the U.S. to maintaining the competitive edge of American imperialism.

In fact, in numerous struggles across the country—not least in the South—Hispanic, Asian, and other immigrant workers have breathed new life into unions crippled by the betrayals of the labor bureaucracy. But the bureaucrats have not only refused to defend the rights of immigrants but have called for increased state repression against "illegals." The seizure of thousands of foreign-born workers in the South by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the 1995 "Operation South PAW" ("Protect American Workers") came after the Atlanta Labor Council called for raids against undocumented workers there. The fight for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants is a crucial part of mobilizing the power of labor in struggle against capitalist exploitation.

Racist divisions within the working class remain the fundamental barrier to political *class* consciousness in the American proletariat and the chief reason today why there is no mass workers party in this country. Because of the experience of both racial and class oppression, black workers are among the most conscious and militant sections of the U.S. proletariat. We fight for revolutionary integration: The understanding that the struggle for integration of black people into American society on the basis of full economic, social and political equality can only be realized through a proletarian revolution which uproots the capitalist system and ushers in an egalitarian socialist society.

As Karl Marx wrote at the time of the Civil War, "Labor in white skin cannot emancipate itself where the black skin is branded." There will be no effective resistance to the immiseration of American working people without the unity in struggle between the trade unions and the black, Hispanic and Asian poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in opposition to the Democratic Party, which is supported by the labor lieutenants of capital in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, and committed to the struggle for a workers government, which alone can provide a decent life for all through a planned, socialist economy. ■



Culver

Black veterans returned from the Second World War to confront continued racist terror and economic impoverishment.

Quebec...

(continued from page 3)

Catholic fortress in North America. In 1937, they passed the infamous law to "Protect the Province Against Communist Propaganda," also known as the Padlock Law. Any building suspected of being an oppositional rallying point could be raided, and a padlock would be put on the door for all to see, to make an example.

Duplessis' appeal was his occasional rhetoric against the federal government in Ottawa and his deeply religious brand of French Canadian nationalism. At election times, priests would remind their parishioners that "Heaven is blue, Hell is red." Blue was the color of the conservative UN. "Red" in this case meant the opposition Liberal Party, but the double-entendre was not lost on anyone. The influence of the church in politics was greatly helped by the fact that electoral ridings were hugely drawn in favor of the more sparsely populated countryside. And on top of all that you had the usual array of corruption and blackmail, not to forget voting rights for the dead.

This regime was bankrolled by and stood for the defence of powerful English Canadian and American capitalist interests. But while Quebec had long been heavily urbanized and industrialized, it continued to be saddled with a priest-ridden political and cultural superstructure. As time went by under Duplessis' reign, known as the "Great Darkness," the contradictions only became more acute and evident, leading to the tumultuous changes of the 1960s and '70s.

To understand what happened you have to look above all to the struggles of the working class. Almost to a man, the so-called architects of the Quiet Revolution started their careers in the Quebec labor movement of the 1940s and '50s. Pierre Elliott Trudeau first made his mark as a supporter of the 1949 Asbestos strike. His collaborators Gérard Pelletier and Jean Marchand were in the top leadership of the Catholic union federation before moving into federal politics. For his part, future Liberal minister and later nationalist leader and premier René Lévesque was arrested in 1959 on the picket lines of the Radio-Canada strike.

So let's look at the labor movement at the time. Coming out of the war, there were three major union formations. There was the Provincial Federation of Labour, affiliated with the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress and the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Many other AFL unions remained outside the provincial federation, but together they were the biggest group. Then you had the much smaller Quebec affiliate of the Canadian Congress of Labour—they were new CIO industrial unions, and only founded a Quebec federation in 1952. And in between these two, numerically, was the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada (CTCC), the Catholic federation. Starting with World War II, the CTCC membership hovered around 30 or 40 percent of the unionized workforce of Quebec.

The CTCC is the one that had future federal Liberal cabinet minister Jean Marchand as general secretary. Now what in heaven's name is a Catholic union federation? If you asked the priests who founded the CTCC, it was meant to be an agency for good relations between capital and labor, in direct opposition to the nasty AFL-affiliated "internationals" who only stirred up trouble. Membership in the CTCC was to be limited to members of the Catholic faith. Strikes were considered a dangerous American infection. But lo and behold, the thing still led strikes, and during World War II they had to drop their discrimination against non-Catholics, if only to abide by the federal labor code.

The Asbestos Strike

The 1949 Asbestos strike was the first serious *political* challenge to Duplessis. I want to explain why: let's look at it more closely.

In late 1948, Duplessis tried to strengthen his iron fist with airtight union-busting legislation. Bill Five called for the expulsion of all suspected "communists" or "communist sympathizers" from unions, disclosing union membership lists and financial reports to the government, making the closed shop illegal, etc. But the bill backfired on the government. The three union centrals formed their first ever Common Front against Bill Five and the government was forced to withdraw it in early 1949. But this only led to more militancy in the ranks. In February, after a series of press reports on the deadly effect of asbestos dust on miners, a strike broke out in southeastern Quebec, in the towns of Asbestos and Thetford Mines. Those highly creative city names give you the idea of what sort of company towns we're talking about here.

The miners went over the heads of their CTCC leadership and walked out, illegally, before mandatory arbitration. For Duplessis, this in itself was tantamount to a revolt against Western civilization. Let's listen to the little man himself:

> "The present strike is fundamentally illegal because the strike leaders refused to go through arbitration.... Disregard for the laws engenders anarchy and disorder. Disregard for civil laws leads to disregard for all other laws.... If the laws are broken with impunity, we have disaster on the labor, economic and national fronts."
>
> —quoted in Denis Monière, *Le Développement des Idéologies au Québec* (1977)

So the strike confronted the government from the start, not just the companies.

The miners demanded the elimination of asbestos dust, higher wages, more vacation and a union voice in promotion, transfers and layoffs, as well as the Rand Formula of collecting union dues at the source. The strike lasted almost five months and encompassed almost 5,000 workers. It was very popular, and it polarized Quebec society along lines never seen in living memory. Half a million dollars was collected in financial support of the miners, and another $75,000 in foodstuff and supplies. And we're talking 1949 dollars here. The strike gained wide support among young intellectuals like Trudeau, and even in a big section of the lower clergy.

The strike eventually lost in the face of brutal repression and scabbing. The union was not smashed, but otherwise the workers' demands were not met, and the scabs kept their jobs after the strike. And other people too were going to pay dearly for their support to the miners. The most famous may be Monseigneur Joseph Charbonneau, archbishop of Montreal, who stood up on his altar (or whatever) during the strike and denounced the "conspiracy" to "smash the working class," while his subordinates collected tens of thousands of dollars at church doors in strike support funds. Well, in 1950, Mgr. Charbonneau was fired and sent to do missionary work in...Vancouver, B.C. Cruel, I tell you.

The Asbestos defeat did put a bit of a damper on workers' struggle in the early '50s, but things were just boiling under the surface and violently exploded on several occasions. Many strikes would actually win gains throughout this period. As in the rest of the continent, the working class was able for the first time to taste a bit of modern comfort, buy a home, own a car, etc.

And yet the ruling clique was stuck in the Dark Ages. Books and movies which the church deemed offensive were proscribed. You had to go to an underground bookshop to buy a Jean-Paul Sartre novel. An Elvis Presley concert in Montreal was canceled under church pressure. And after Bill Five had been defeated, Duplessis just reintroduced the same labor legislation piecemeal throughout the decade. There was no health insurance, high school was a luxury, etc. With three-quarters of the population living in the cities and a unionization rate of 30 percent, you had a government glorifying rural life and the fanatical observance of religion. So something had to give.

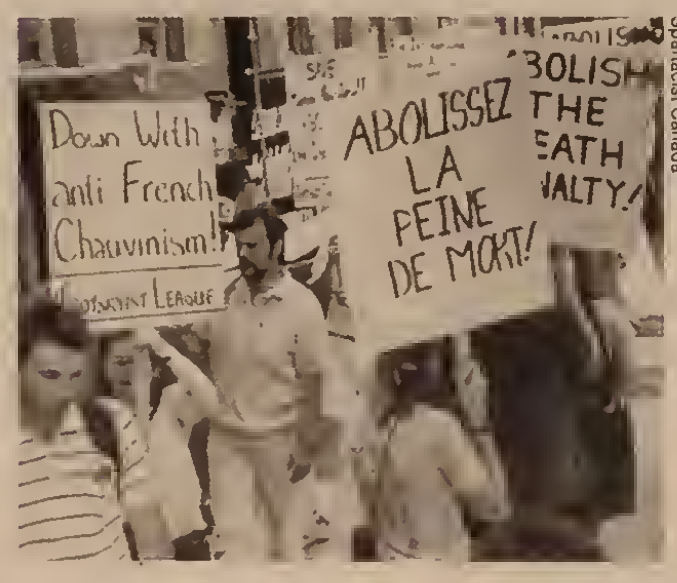
In 1957, there was another illegal miners strike in Murdochville, in the Gaspésie. A miner was killed during the strike and the union was smashed to pieces after a seven-month walkout. But again, the strike was spectacular and popular. The following years, labor struggle hit two of the pillars of francophone culture at the time: first, a victorious 13-day strike at *La Presse* in 1958, then the highly visible 1958-59 directors strike at Radio-Canada, where very popular actors and journalists walked the picket lines in solidarity. This is when René Lévesque, then a TV journalist, got arrested, along with Jean Marchand.

Politically, arguments raged on how best to defeat Duplessis and end the reign of obscurantism. The unions were the scene of stormy debates between those who wanted to put faith in the Liberal Party and those looking for a more left-wing alternative. The Liberals had given themselves a facelift starting in 1955, but everyone knew that as a parliamentary opposition they opposed none of Duplessis' major anti-union offensives. Furthermore, they were widely associated with big business and their senior partners in Ottawa. The new leader of the party, Jean Lesage, was himself an ex-federal minister. Trudeau agitated within the labor movement for a bloc with the Liberals, but was voted down every time.

The main alternative posed was to build a sort of provincial CCF [Co-operative Commonwealth Federation] or NDP, but that presented a whole series of problems as well. The unions did opt for the formation of a social-democratic party, but it didn't take off. In 1958, the newly founded Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (FTQ, the Canadian Labour Congress affiliate following the AFL-CIO merger) endorsed the "Winnipeg Initiative" which was going to lead to the foundation of the NDP. They thought once the federal social-democratic party had been founded, they could safely launch their own provincial version, and sweep the Union Nationale out of office. But real life was going to smash those plans.

On 1 September 1959, Satan recalled his creature: Maurice Duplessis went belly up. He was replaced by one Paul Sauvé, who in his turn died four months later. Elections were called for June 1960. There was no third party, new, democratic or otherwise, so the Liberals won with the support of the labor movement and a big section of the local bourgeoisie.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Spartacist Canada

1990 protest in Toronto in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Trotskyist League fights poisonous anti-French chauvinism in English Canada.

Spartacist Canada AFP

French-language supplement of *Spartacist* Canada on this summer's Quebec nurses strike demands: "It Is Necessary to Break with the Anti-Worker PQ—For a Revolutionary Workers Party! Independence for Quebec!" Combative strike was first major labor confrontation with bourgeois-nationalist PQ government of Lucien Bouchard (far right).

WORKERS VANGUARD

No to "Made in U.S.A." Chauvinism — For International Workers Solidarity!

Sweatshops, Profits and Protectionism

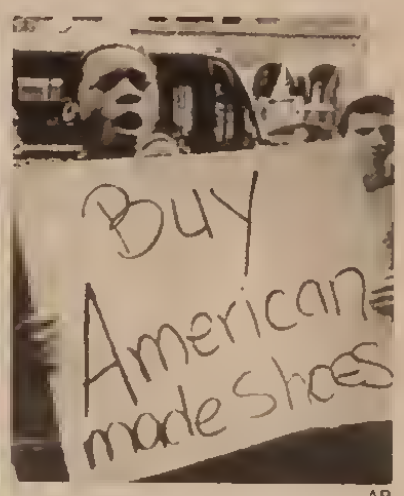
Over the last couple of years, students at universities across the country, particularly at "elite" campuses like Yale, Duke and Harvard, have staged protests, sit-ins and rallies against the hideous conditions of sweatshop labor, especially in countries like Indonesia, Thailand, China and El Salvador. Touted by the *New York Times* (29 March) as the "biggest surge in campus activism in nearly two decades,"

Young Spartacus

the anti-sweatshop campaign has been promoted by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) and more broadly by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy as a whole. Deeply immersed into the various anti-sweatshop coalitions on the campuses is the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), which has long been a loyal component of the Democratic Party.

Motivating many of the student activists is a healthy revulsion for the slave-like conditions in sweatshops around the world. Workers as young as ten, mostly

Watts/NY Daily News



AP

August demonstration against Donna Karan sweatshops in NYC (left). Anti-sweatshop campaign promoted by AFL-CIO bureaucracy pushes chauvinist protectionism.

female, labor in filthy and unsanitary conditions more than 16 hours a day for less than a couple of dollars. Often these workers are literally imprisoned in their sweatshop factories; those who have the option of leaving face the prospect of starvation. Rape, sexual abuse and beatings are rampant, with government authorities either turning a blind eye or encouraging the perpetuation of such conditions. And these vile conditions do not simply flourish in countries like Bangladesh and the Philippines but also in the garment districts of cities like New York and Los Angeles, right here in the U.S. imperialist bastion. Usually, such practices in the U.S. are inflicted upon recent, often "illegal," immigrants who have no legal recourse to follow for fear of deportation.

Such conditions bear a striking resemblance to those described in Dickens novels and political and popular literature at the time of the rise of industrial capitalism in 19th century Europe. This should suggest to student activists that the problem of sweatshop labor is systemic. It is inherent in the capitalist mode of production, a system based on maximizing the rate of profit. Particularly in industries requiring only rudimentary technology and a largely unskilled workforce, capitalists will always go where labor is cheapest. And where it is not cheap enough, the capitalists will drive it down through mass terror and repression, often by having the weak local bourgeoisies in these "Third World" countries do the

continued on page 6

Labor Must Fight for Black Freedom

The Fight to Unionize the "Open Shop" South

Racist Roots of "Right to Work" Laws

The success last June in the long struggle for union recognition by the heavily immigrant workforce at Fieldcrest Cannon in Kannapolis, North Carolina—the country's largest textile complex and a symbol for generations of the racist anti-union South—was an important victory for labor throughout the country ("Big Win for Unions in 'Open Shop' South," *WV* No. 716, 9 July). But the vote in favor of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) is only a first step. Unions are built in struggle, not through ballots. And this is particularly evident in the South, with its panoply of anti-union "right to work" laws enforced by vicious racist terror.

Thus, even though workers at New Orleans' Avondale Shipyards voted for a union more than six years ago, management has succeeded in keeping the union out through repeated appeals in the bosses' courts. United Steelworkers Local 8888 at Newport News Shipbuilding in the Virginia Tidewater area, the biggest integrated industrial union in the South, was consolidated well after the union won recognition—through bitter struggle on the picket lines in 1979. The recent four-month strike by Local 8888 pointed to the critical need to link defense of the union with the fight against racist discrimination. But the pro-capitalist USWA bureaucracy

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Lyons/Daily Press

Bastion of industrial unionism in the South: four-month strike by United Steelworkers Local 8888 against Newport News Shipbuilding was scuttled by pro-capitalist labor tops.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 721

15 October 1999

U.S. Supreme Court Rejects Appeal

Free Mumia Now!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WV Photo

We publish below a statement issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on October 9.

On October 4, the first day of its new term, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected, unanimously and without comment, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's petition for a review of his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman. Even as Mumia's attorneys prepare to file a *habeas corpus* appeal in the federal district court in Philadelphia, spokesmen for Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge rushed to announce that Ridge would sign a death warrant within the month and set an execution date for Jamal before year's end.

When Ridge signed an earlier warrant for Jamal's execution in June 1995, it was an international outcry of protest, including by trade unions representing millions of workers from the U.S. to South Africa, which stayed the executioner's hand. Today, as the fate of this innocent man, an award-winning black journalist and eloquent advocate of the oppressed, again hangs in the balance, the Partisan Defense Committee calls on working people, minorities, youth and all opponents of racist capitalist repression in the U.S. and around the world to raise the cry: *Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

The Supreme Court decision comes amid an escalating campaign for Jamal's legal lynching spearheaded by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and a broader speedup in the assembly line of death pushed by both the Republican and Democratic parties. In a statement from death row issued the day of the ruling, Mumia declared: "It was not unexpected that the Supreme Court would deny my appeal.... We have to remember that we are working with a conservative court that has worked assiduously in the Bush and Reagan administrations and now in the Clinton administration to narrow the chances of anyone having had their case heard, not just a prisoner on death row."

Only days before the latest threat to Jamal's life, Clinton nominated Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell to be the new head of the Democratic National Committee. As Philly District Attorney in the early 1980s, Rendell led the prosecution frame-up which railroaded Jamal to death row. Meanwhile, Rendell's cops—in the form of the F.O.P.—have geared up their campaign of lies and threats, particularly since the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turned down Jamal's Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal last October, with the aim of greasing the skids to the execution chamber. The F.O.P. has published full-page ads in major papers screaming for Mumia's blood, while media mouthpieces like the *New York Post*, ABC-TV's Sam Donaldson and *Vanity Fair* magazine have churned out hatchet jobs retailing the prosecution lies which sent Mumia to death row.

WV Photo

PDC Initiated August 1995 labor-centered protest in New York City as part of international outcry which stayed Jamal's execution.

Intent on intimidating the growing ranks of Mumia's supporters, the F.O.P. and its allies leveled menacing threats against a rock benefit for Jamal at the New Jersey Meadowlands last winter which drew over 17,000. In June, these same forces orchestrated a hysterical furor unsuccessfully aimed at preventing students at Washington state's Evergreen College from featuring a taped speech by Mumia at their graduation ceremony.

It is no accident that of some 1,700 rulings announced by the Supreme Court on October 4, the capitalist media focused on the denial of Jamal's appeal. The crusade to kill Jamal—the most prominent death row prisoner in America today—is designed to sanctify the state's machinery of death. The death count of 76 executions in the first nine months of this year alone is already greater than at any time in the past 45 years. In concert with an overall intensification of the repressive powers of the capitalist state—more cops, more prisons and an ever broader assault on civil liberties—the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed into law by Clinton in 1996 vastly expanded the use of the federal death penalty and effectively gutted the right of *habeas corpus*. Under Chief Justice William Rehnquist, the Supreme Court has been instrumental in ratcheting up the rate of execution, from the 1987 *McClesky* ruling which deemed as "irrelevant" overwhelming evidence of racial bias in death sentences to the outrageous 1993 *Herrera* decision that the execution of an innocent man did not violate constitutional rights!

Overwhelmingly, these legal lynchings are concentrated in the states of the old Confederacy, with Texas—where the 25 executions carried out so far this year are more than twice the number carried out in any other state—leading the way. Of the more than 3,500 people on death row in racist capitalist America, over 40 percent are black, more than three times their proportion of the population as a whole. This August, Georgia hosted a gathering at a luxury golf resort by a cabal of Southern state and federal judges who compared notes on ways to shorten the time from trial to execution for death row inmates. Rehnquist, "Justice Death" himself, is notorious for singing "Dixie" at judicial confabs! Among the sinister array of rightist forces clamoring for Jamal's execution are the fascists of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, launched by David Duke, which offered to donate $1,000 to the F.O.P. campaign.

The racist rulers have particularly targeted Mumia for death because in their eyes he represents the spectre of black revolution. From the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in the late 1960s, Mumia was in the cross hairs of the Philly cops and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation, which assassinated 38 Panthers and jailed hundreds more. At the same time, millions around the world have rallied to Mumia's cause as a focal point of the fight against racist repression. The case of this MOVE supporter and former Black Panther activist throws a spotlight on what the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about.

The Supreme Court ruling underlines yet again that Mumia cannot and will not find justice in the capitalist courts. From the time the PDC began actively campaigning to save Jamal more than 12 years ago, we have stressed the need for mass protest centered on mobilizing the social power of the multiracial proletariat and warned against any reliance in the racist "justice" system. Over the years, particularly in the summer of 1995 and following last year's Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling against Jamal, the PDC has initiated a series of united-front,

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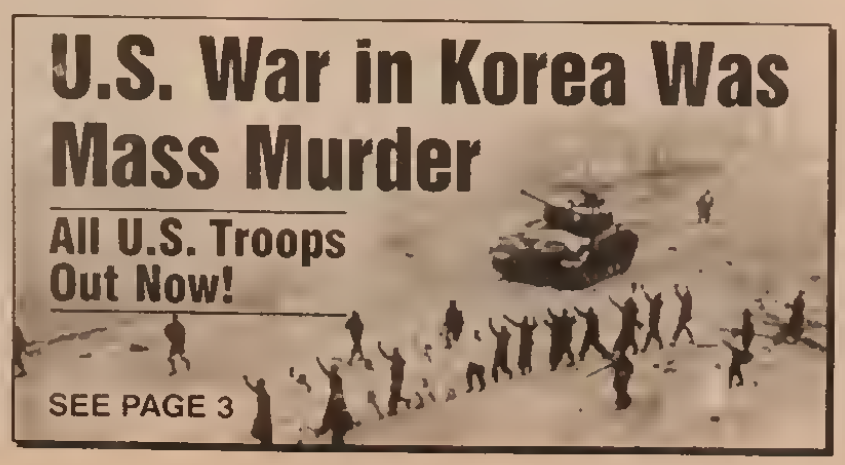

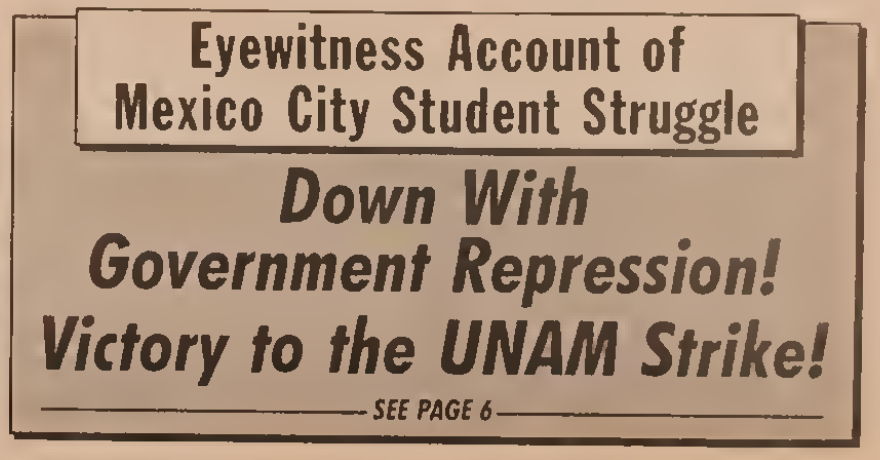

13 Years in Israeli Hellhole

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

Landau/Jerusalem Post

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Revealed: the secrets of Israel's nuclear arsenal

Mordechai Vanunu was kidnapped by Mossad secret police in 1986 for courageously revealing scale of Israel's nuclear arsenal.

Marking 13 years since the arrest of Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, on September 30 several dozen people protested outside the Ministry of Justice in Jerusalem to demand his release. Vanunu was kidnapped in Italy in 1986 by the Israeli Mossad secret police, assisted by the British and Australian intelligence services, and whisked off to a desert prison in Ashkelon, where he remains to this day. His crime? Based on his experience as a technician at the top-secret Dimona nuclear facility, Vanunu had revealed to the London *Times* that the war-crazed Zionist rulers had produced and stockpiled upwards of 200 nuclear warheads, making it the sixth largest nuclear power in the world.

Vanunu's disclosures were a great service to all humanity. When he was sentenced to 18 years in prison more than a year after his abduction on charges of aiding and abetting "the enemy in time of war," we wrote: "Who is the enemy? What war? To the Zionist nuclear madmen, it doesn't matter—they are at war with the whole world, everybody is the enemy" (*WV* No. 450, 8 April 1988). Vanunu's revelations made clear that Israel's capitalist rulers had enough nuclear weapons not only to incinerate every Arab capital, but to bomb major cities in the Soviet Union as well. Israel's nuclear arsenal was built up with the active support of the U.S. and other imperialist powers, as part of their war drive against the then-existing Soviet degenerated workers state.

The Zionist garrison state has continued to build up its nuclear arsenal, including the development of missiles and missile-firing submarines capable of striking targets thousands of miles beyond its borders. And Israel's capitalist rulers are fully capable of launching this arsenal of megadeath to exterminate every man, woman and child in the Near East. In the first days of the October War in 1973, when Israel thought it might be defeated by Arab armies, it armed its missiles with nuclear warheads and put them on combat readiness.

For nearly a dozen years of his imprisonment Vanunu was held in solitary confinement in a six-by-nine-foot cell, denied any human contact except with the guards who fed him and biweekly visits with his brothers. Since May 1998, Vanunu has been permitted to mingle with other prisoners, but visits are still limited only to family members. While Israeli prisoners are generally released after serving two-thirds of their sentence, the vindictive Zionist rulers continue to hold Vanunu because his release would supposedly threaten "national security."

As barbarous as Vanunu's treatment has been, it pales beside the torture routinely meted out to imprisoned Palestinian fighters, whether under governments headed by the right-wing Likud or the no less capitalist Labor Party (now renamed "One Israel"). While One Israel chief Ehud Barak succeeded the Likud's Benjamin Netanyahu as prime minister with a pledge to revive the U.S.-sponsored "peace process," he has been no less adamant in expanding Zionist "settlements" in the occupied West Bank and has balked even at the release of a token number of Palestinian prisoners. It is a measure of the barbarity of the anti-Palestinian repression that only last month, after a years-long international outcry, did the Israeli Supreme Court finally order a temporary halt to officially sanctioned torture of prisoners, including violent "shaking" that often leads to death.

As a result of the U.S.-brokered "peace" accords, the bitterly oppressed Palestinian masses face brutal repression not only at the hands of the Zionist police and army but also Yasir Arafat's puppet Palestinian Authority, whose writ extends only to tiny slivers of the Occupied Territories. In the first four years of Arafat's bogus "autonomy," 18 Palestinian prisoners were tortured to death by his security forces, who are trained in "information-gathering, interrogation and other techniques of the trade" by the FBI and CIA, as the *New York Times* (5 March 1998) reported.

We demand the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli troops and settlers from the Occupied Territories. Israeli workers, who have demonstrated considerable economic militancy, must be broken from the stranglehold of Zionist chauvinism and won to active defense of Palestinian national rights. As a Sephardic Jew from Morocco, it was Vanunu's own experience of discrimination at the hands of the Ashkenazi (European)-dominated Zionist ruling establishment that led to his alienation from Zionism and impelled him to take up the cause of the Palestinians. We also fight to win Palestinian militants from the dead end of petty-bourgeois nationalism and the vile anti-Semitic and anti-woman bigotry spewed by Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas. The Zionist garrison state must be shattered from within, through workers revolution led by a Leninist vanguard party which unites the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab workers around their *class* interests.

It is from this internationalist standpoint that the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have actively fought for Vanunu's freedom from the outset. In June 1987, Vanunu's former companion and spokesman Judy Zimmet joined Mumia Abu-Jamal's wife Wadiya in speaking from the platform of an SL forum in New York City devoted to class-struggle defense.

The only road to peace in the Near East—and the only just solution to the conflicting claims of the myriad peoples of the region—lies through socialist revolution. It is necessary to forge Leninist-Trotskyist parties to lead the working masses—and behind them the peasants, subjugated nationalities, women and other oppressed—in sweeping away all the theocratic and nationalist butchers of the region as part of the fight for workers revolution internationally. Free Mordechai Vanunu! Defend the Palestinians! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Communism and Art

As fighters for the liberation of all humanity from the stifling exploitation and oppression of capitalist class society, Marxists are opposed to all attempts by the state and religious bigots to censor art and literature. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon pointed out in a 1953 lecture titled "What Socialist America Will Look Like," in an egalitarian socialist society erected following the proletarian overthrow of capitalism, there will be a full flowering of the creative capacities of the population as a whole.

The separation between manual and intellectual labor will be broken down. The division between specialized knowledge of single subjects and ignorance of the rest, which is a characteristic feature of capitalism, will be eliminated. The half-men produced by these artificial divisions, who know only one thing and can do only one thing, will give way to the whole men who can do many things and know something about everything.

There will be a revolution in art. The class society, which splits the population into separate and antagonistic groups of the privileged and the deprived, splits the personality of the artist, too. A few selected people have the opportunity to study and practice art, remote from the life of the people. At the same time, not thousands but millions of children have the spark of talent, or even of genius, snuffed out before it has a chance to become a flame. Children of the poor, who like to draw already in school, soon have to put all those ideas out of their minds. They can't afford to be drawing pictures. They have to learn some trade where they can make a living, and forget about their artistic aspirations.

In the new society, everybody will be an artist of some sort or other, and every artist will be a worker. Education will be for intellectual pursuits and manual occupations simultaneously, from childhood to old age....

All-sided cultural development under socialism will not be some special gift or opportunity for favored individuals, but the heritage of all. The socialist man will have the most priceless of all possessions. He will have time. He will have leisure. He will have time and the means to live, to play, to grow, to travel, to realize to the full the expression of his human personality. And that will not be the exception, but the rule.

—James P. Cannon, *Speeches for Socialism* (1969)

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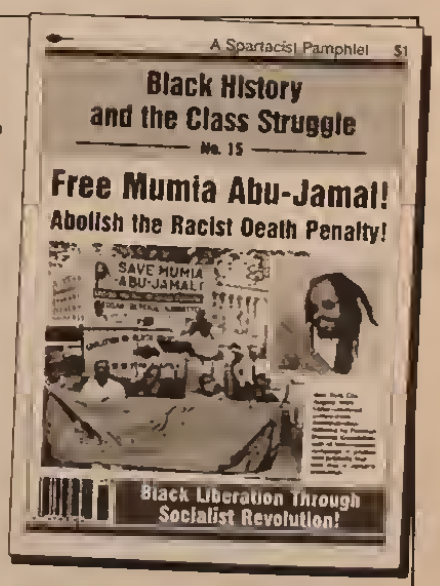

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U.S. War in Korea Was Mass Murder

U.S. Marine Corps

Korean prisoners being herded through devastated Seoul by U.S. Marines during 1950-53 Korean War. Over three million were slaughtered in war to destroy North Korea, suppress social revolution. Below: Some of the 37,000 U.S. troops who remain in South Korea engage in military exercise in August.

All U.S. Troops Out Now!

AP

Defend North Korea Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution! For Revolutionary Reunification!

In July 1950, in the opening days of the Korean War, 400 or so South Korean peasants—women, children and old men—were forced out of their villages by American troops, strafed by planes and herded into the underpasses of an 80-foot bridge at No Gun Ri. Huddling in fear under the bridge, those who survived the strafing were then massacred in the dead of night by the machine guns of the U.S. First Cavalry Division. Army veteran Edward Daily, who later earned a battlefield commission in Korea, remembered No Gun Ri with an unsettling clarity in talking to an Associated Press (AP) reporter: "On summer nights when the breeze is blowing, I can still hear their cries, the little kids screaming" (*New York Times*, 30 September).

A 1997 claim for compensation by the few survivors and relatives of those massacred was rejected out of hand by the South Korean government. Determined efforts to expose the atrocity at No Gun Ri were rebuffed for decades by a succession of U.S. puppet dictatorships in Séoul, while Washington lyingly denied anything happened there. Now the thorough investigative report by AP, which tracked down a dozen former American GIs who were at No Gun Ri and corroborated the account of the villagers on all critical points, has blown this cover-up out of the water. Faced with this exposé, the Pentagon trotted out Kenneth Bacon, its chief spokesman for the imperialist Big Lie campaign which accompanied the bloody terror unleashed by the U.S. and its NATO allies against Serbia in the spring. Bacon reiterated a Pentagon statement last March that Army historians had "found no information to substantiate the claim that U.S. Army soldiers perpetrated a massacre of South Korean civilians." Only days after this flagrant lie, the U.S. and South Korea announced a joint review of the "incident" at No Gun Ri.

The bloodbath at No Gun Ri is the true face of imperialism, exposing as a cynical lie the "human rights" pretensions used by the U.S. and its allies to veil their military depredations from Kosovo to East Timor. The AP article ludicrously presents the mass murder at No Gun Ri as an aberration, "one of only two known cases of killings of noncombatants by American ground troops this century," the other being the notorious 1968 My Lai massacre in which over 500 South Vietnamese villagers were raped, tortured and massacred by American troops led by Lieutenant William Calley. Horrific as these particular slaughters were, they were only a drop in the ocean of carnage perpetrated by the U.S. imperialist rulers in their counterrevolutionary wars against the Korean and Vietnamese people.

The AP report itself makes amply clear that what happened at No Gun Ri was perpetrated as official U.S. policy, which was shot through with racist hatred of all Koreans. U.S. planes regularly attacked "people in white," those dressed in the traditional garb of Korean peasants. Major General William Kean instructed his 25th Infantry Division that "all civilians seen in this area are to be considered as enemy and action taken accordingly." Orders from First Cavalry Division headquarters were even more explicit: "No refugees to cross the front line. Fire everyone trying to cross lines."

The 1950-53 Korean War led by U.S. imperialism in the guise of a United Nations "police action" was an attempt to smash social revolution on the peninsula, and beyond that to "roll back" the Chinese Revolution of 1949 and ultimately to destroy the Soviet Union. No treaty has ever been signed to end the Korean War. The so-called "Demilitarized Zone" along the 38th parallel is a *class* line separating a capitalist police state in the South, created at the behest of U.S. imperialism, and a bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North which issued out of a social revolution overthrowing capitalist rule following World War II.

Strangled by imperialist embargo and crippled from the outset by the nationalist autarky and bizarre personality cult of the Stalinist bureaucracy of Kim Il-Sung and his son and successor Kim Jong-Il, North Korea today stands at the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. The imperialists have greatly intensified economic and military pressure on North Korea since the counterrevolutionary destruction in 1991-92 of the Soviet Union, which had provided a critical lifeline for the North. In the South, the masses are reeling under the impact of financial crisis and austerity imposed by the regime of Kim Dae Jung under the dictates of the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF). We fight to forge a Trotskyist party based on a program for ***revolutionary reunification of Korea***: for socialist revolution by the powerful South Korean working class and proletarian political revolution in the North.

Last year, as the U.S. refused to even

continued on page 10

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WV Photo

On the picket line with Brooklyn Domino strikers in June.

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Quebec: Nationalism and Class Struggle

We print below the concluding part of a slightly abridged and edited presentation by Comrade Galarneau of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League, which first appeared in Spartacist Canada *No. 120 (Spring 1999). Part One was printed in* WV *No. 720 (1 October).*

SPARTACIST CANADA

Under the pressure of industrialization, the so-called Quiet Revolution in Quebec implemented a few necessary reforms for the advancement of a modern capitalist society. Education reforms were both a longstanding demand of the labor movement and a necessary step to build a base of Quebec-born skilled workers and managers. Breaking the authority of the church was explicitly *not* an objective of

PART TWO

the [Liberal Party leader Jean] Lesage government—Lesage would rant against secularists like the Mouvement Laïque de Langue Française and called atheism a "spiritual sickness." But the period beginning in the 1960s nonetheless saw a massive erosion of the power of the church. The Québécois went from one of the most to one of the least religious peoples in the capitalist world, as evidenced by abysmal church attendance, low marriage rates, etc.

But the key to the Lesage government's "revolution" was the use of state levers to generate and reinforce what had been so far by world standards a pretty anemic national bourgeoisie. The creation of various funds, planning commissions and societies, as well as the 1963 nationalization of hydroelectricity, enabled the local élite to use resources otherwise only available to much bigger fish. At the same time, the administration of a strong state sector served as a training ground for the future CEOs of what was later called Quebec, Inc.

We Marxists understand that nationalizations by a capitalist government are not a step towards socialism, but one of many tools a capitalist ruling class can use to maintain its own power. In its own way, the bourgeoisie understands this too. In the opening speech for the 1962 elections, Lesage was very clear:

> "Not only is the nationalization of electricity not the beginning of a general socialization campaign throughout Quebec, but I would even say that nationalization is an essential condition for the growth of private enterprise in the Province."
>
> —quoted in Roch Denis, *Luttes de Classes et Question Nationale au Québec* (1979)

Independence for Quebec!

But the misleaders of the labor movement at the time, and even self-proclaimed leftists, supported the Liberal government as a representative of the "progressive" national bourgeoisie. The journal *Parti-Pris*, which called for independence, secularism and socialism, is a significant example. Starting from the facts of foreign (centrally American) economic domination, and of national oppression within Canada, this group called for "tactical support" to the "progressive bourgeoisie" and for electoral support to the Liberals against the right-wing UN [Union Nationale]. The logic of using national oppression as an excuse to give *political* support to the Quebec bourgeoisie would bear its full disastrous fruits over a decade later with the trade-union support to Lévesque's Parti Québécois (PQ). But even in those early days, cabinet minister Lévesque was touted as the "progressive" petty-bourgeois wing of the Liberals, as opposed to Lesage.

CSN-CEO

Canapress

Above: Canadian troops occupied Montreal in October 1970, arresting hundreds of unionists and leftists. 1972 general strike, high point of class struggle in Quebec, was knifed by Anglo-chauvinist Canadian labor tops and derailed by nationalist union misleaders in Quebec.

It's in that period that the Quebec union federations essentially took their modern form. They were now divided into the FTQ [Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec], the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN, the former CTCC—it dropped the word "Catholic" in 1960, but still included the defense of "Christian values" in its constitution) and the teachers federation, which ended up being called the Federation of Quebec Teachers (CEQ). Talks of fusion of the CTCC/CSN with the FTQ in the late '50s went nowhere, and the two federations often went through some pretty disgusting and violent raiding sprees, especially in the construction industry.

In the early '60s the CSN, more nationalist and more conservative (contrary to its later image), was much closer to the Lesage government, but the FTQ essentially supported it at election time as well. The CSN got a boost in 1965-66 when it incorporated the provincial civil servants. It again had about 30 percent of the union membership, while the international unions, only a part of which were members of the FTQ, were still close to 50 percent.

It was actually around the battle for union rights in the public sector that the public honeymoon with the Liberals collapsed. First the nurses, then the teachers and finally the civil servants fought hard battles from 1963 to '66 and won the right to organize and strike. They rapidly went from having the worst working conditions to having the best, when compared with the private sector. For the bourgeoisie, the Quiet Revolution had gone too far. For the working class, it hadn't gone far enough by a long shot. This is when Trudeau announced that we had now entered the "Quiet Reaction."

Bourgeois Reaction and Working-Class Radicalization

If the period from 1960-65 had seen more strikes than the late years of the [Maurice] Duplessis regime, those tended to be much less spectacular and were resolved quickly. But starting with the year 1966, no more. For the next decade or so, the number of strikes, their length and militancy, and the unionization rate would reach levels never seen before, or since. In Canada as a whole, five million man-hours were lost to "labor conflicts" in the year 1966 alone, topping the 1946 record. A large proportion of these were in Quebec.

This whole period was conditioned by international events including the Cuban Revolution, anticolonial struggles in places like Algeria, mass opposition to the United States' war in Vietnam, and the May '68 general strike in France. Reaction to these events helped to radicalize whole layers of workers, as well as petty-bourgeois youth. It is also the period when the national question increasingly came to the fore in Quebec society and in its labor movement.

Until the mid to late '60s, the majority of trade unionists associated Quebec nationalism with the religious paternalism of Maurice Duplessis. The small separatist groupings were seen as wacky radicals. The fact that Lesage was known as a hardcore federalist didn't prevent the unions from giving him electoral support. But parallel to this, a small *indépendantiste* movement had emerged during the Quiet Revolution. I already mentioned *Parti-Pris*. To its right was Pierre Bourgault's Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN), founded in 1960. They could gather about 8-10 percent of the vote in subsequent elections. *Parti-Pris* set up the Mouvement de Libération Populaire (MLP). Also in the MLP were Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon, later to lead the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) and give the latter a more leftist coloration. The FLQ itself had first appeared in 1963 by planting some bombs in mailboxes in Westmount, the rich Montreal enclave which was (and is) the center of the anglophone bourgeoisie.

In a more respectable vein, the Quebec wing of the NDP [New Democratic Party] had split right after its foundation in 1963. The more autonomist—although they were not *indépendantistes*—wing went on to form the Parti Socialiste du Québec (PSQ), under the leadership of the redoubtable Michel Chartrand, a leader of the CSN left wing, and later of Jean-Marie Bédard, who had been a Trotskyist in the '40s. In 1966, the MLP entered the PSQ and tried to push it to the left and towards a pro-independence position; a year later, they entered the RIN to push *it* to the left.

This kind of development became a constant refrain of Quebec politics. Labor

Masel/NY Times

Huge Hydro-Québec power projects, financed by New York banks, symbolized growing assertiveness of Québécois bourgeoisie.

reformism means acting as a prop for your own national bourgeoisie—but from the Quiet Revolution on, there have been two quite distinct bourgeoisies in this country. As good Canadian nationalists, the NDP was always hostile to Quebec's national rights. So whenever they got something going in Quebec it would soon split away in the direction of Quebec nationalism. And these splits would die pretty quickly as independent organizations, as they ended up directly supporting the bourgeois nationalists in one way or another. So the capitalists basically didn't need a big independent reformist organization to lord it over the working class. From Lesage's Liberals to the present PQ [Parti Québécois] government, Quebec's national oppression within Canada has been the glue that the Quebec bourgeoisie has needed to keep the working class stuck to its coattails.

In 1966, to everyone's surprise, the right-wing UN under Daniel Johnson was returned to office with its slogan "Equality or Independence." While purposely ambiguous, the UN's slogan was clearly designed to win support from among the nationalists. This shook the Liberals, who then went through a faction fight. In 1967, just a couple of months after French president Charles De Gaulle declared *"Vive le Québec libre!"* from the Montreal city hall balcony, former cabinet minister Lévesque and a small group split and founded the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association, which became the Parti Québécois a year later. The PQ rapidly absorbed the RIN and the major part of the emerging "left" nationalists.

The unions did not follow suit right away, but they did become increasingly nationalist. For example, they put support to French-only language legislation on their books in the late '60s. They still didn't call for electoral support to the PQ—the FTQ was the first federation to do so, but only in 1976. But it is precisely the weight of the national question which prevented the formation of a party of the working class, even the deformed expression of class consciousness expressed in a labor-reformist party.

But let's come back to the late '60s. In February 1967, the Johnson UN government decreed teachers back to work with Bill 25. This was the most savage piece of legislation since Duplessis. In October of the same year, the Montreal transit workers were similarly forced back to work. The police were sent to smash picket lines, like at the 7 Up strike in Town of Mount Royal.

But overall, the bourgeoisie was unable to bring discipline into its workforce and sounded increasingly desperate. One popular group of young comics at the time suggested that the authorities call on Quebec's "adoptive sons," Batman and Robin, to come and stop the strikes. This is when the federal government took the sort of decisive action it is very good at: they set up...a study group, the Woods Commission. One of its members had previously written: "If the union leaders are to be able to act in a responsible manner in the long term, they may have to make gestures which seem irresponsible in the short term, lest their membership dislodge them" (quoted in Roch Denis). In other words, the ruling class was consciously relying on its first line of defense: the misleaders of the working class, its labor lieutenants. Unfortunately, they were not to be disappointed.

Presses Socialistes Internationales

Québécois nationalist leader René Lévesque addresses 1960 FTQ union federation conference.

Meanwhile, Trudeau, Marchand and Pelletier had made their way to the federal government, with the stated aim of "saving Canada" from the "separatists." Trudeau always had displayed a strong streak of anti-Québécois chauvinism. In arguing for support to the Quebec Liberals in the '50s, he started developing the thesis that the French Canadians were practically genetically incapable of democracy and unable to govern themselves. The rise of pro-independence groups in the '60s made him berserk. Trudeau became federal party leader and prime minister in 1968, and he soon did take some decisive action.

In April 1970, the Quebec Liberals were returned to office under Robert Bourassa. Six months later, Ottawa proclaimed the War Measures Act and sent the troops to Montreal. The excuse was the kidnapping of Quebec labor minister Pierre Laporte and British diplomat James Cross by the FLQ, but everyone understood this was an attempt at bringing back "social peace" to the province, fueled by Trudeau's fixation against the separatists. With lists provided to the army by arch-reactionary Montreal mayor Jean Drapeau, 500 trade unionists and leftists were picked up and became the guests of the notoriously uninviting Montreal constabulary. Others were simply victims of the cops' intellectual deficiencies: I heard that one person was rounded up for possession of an art book on Cubism, which the policeman in charge took for a pro-Castro tract.

But once again, the heavy-handed repression blew back in the rulers' face. Bourassa was now permanently seen as a right-wing economic ideologue, an anti-union freak, and a wet noodle in front of Ottawa. In 1971, *La Presse* locked out its workers. In October, a *La Presse* union support rally was banned by Mayor Drapeau and the police killed a young woman at the demo. It's also in that year that the FTQ and the CSN published their revolutionary-sounding manifestos, respectively "The State Is Our Exploiter" and "It's Up to Us," as well as many other articles and pamphlets along those themes. The labor bureaucrats were responding to pressure from the base of the unions, where the anger was about to burst out.

The 1972 General Strike

In 1972, it was time to renew the public-sector collective agreements. The union federations formed the first Common Front since the Quiet Revolution and forced the government to bargain collectively. In April, they went on a 210,000-strong general strike and Bourassa legislated them back to work. The strike leaders called to defy the injunction, called a vote, which they won, and then decided to...go back to work anyway. The rank and file were obviously taking the unions' fiery manifestos far too seriously for the union bureaucracy.

One month later, the three union leaders were nevertheless condemned to one year in jail just for having recommended defiance of the back-to-work legislation. This led to the explosion of May 11-17. About 300,000 private- and public-sector workers went on a spontaneous general strike, took over the cities of Sept-Iles, Sorel, Thetford Mines, Joliette, took control of radio stations, blockaded highways, etc. The police were incapable of quelling the protest, and it was only the three union leaders' call to go back to work which put an end to the movement. For more details, there is a good article on the general strike in *Spartacist Canada* No. 57 (March 1983).

I want to talk for a moment about the despicable role of the English Canadian union tops and NDP during the general strike. At the height of the strike, the Canadian Labour Congress passed a resolution denouncing "those elements, in any part of Canada, which advocate the destruction of confederation." Then-NDP leader David Lewis supported the jailing of Quebec labor leaders. The wall of hostility to Quebec workers' struggle from the misleaders of English Canadian labor was to have a profound impact on the consciousness of the Québécois working class. Seeing nothing but arrogant chauvinism on the other side of the Ottawa River, in the period after 1972 huge chunks of the working class began to be driven straight into the arms of their "own" bourgeois nationalists, the PQ of René Lévesque.

The 1972 general strike marked the high point of class struggle in Quebec. It posed sharply the question: who will rule, the workers or the capitalists? The only possible next logical step was the fight for working-class state power. But the crucial missing ingredient was revolutionary leadership—a Leninist vanguard party. And if 1972 showed the radicalization of a significant section of advanced workers, it had the reverse effect on the Quebec union tops. Their manifestos quickly went from radical-sounding to either non-existent or pro-PQ. Finally, in 1976, the FTQ trade-union federation threw its rather enormous authority behind the election of Lévesque's Parti Québécois, which was later to turn around and wage its own savage attacks on the unions. In particular, the PQ's 1982-83 decrees in the public sector, producing huge wage cuts, were a body blow to the working class from which it has yet to recover.

I am not going to go into details on these events, which are beyond the scope of this presentation. Suffice it to say here that only the PQ managed to achieve what had been an objective of all Quebec governments since the war: they successfully curbed labor militancy and crippled the unions. They did this with the assistance of the nationalist labor tops themselves, by driving down public-sector labor costs into line with those of the private sector. That they managed this despite massive workers mobilizations is a true testament to the fealty of Quebec's labor tops to the anti-working-class bourgeois nationalists of the PQ.

As I said, the missing ingredient in the class struggles of the 1960s and early '70s was a Leninist vanguard party. While standing squarely against Anglo-chauvinist oppression, such a party would have given no support to bourgeois Quebec nationalism. It would have fought to rally the proletariat in revolutionary *internationalist* struggle against capitalism.

The Quebec left of the time failed this test. The pseudo-Trotskyists, followers of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, were mired in Quebec nationalism. Two radical-sounding, anti-nationalist Maoist groups were founded in the aftermath of the general strike, one of them led by ex-MLP and ex-FLQ leader Charles Gagnon. By the late '70s, under the PQ regime, they claimed thousands of members in Quebec. But as followers of Mao Zedong's China, which was then in an obscene alliance with U.S. and Canadian imperialism against the Soviet Union, these groups wound up embracing the Canadian bourgeoisie as a supposed "lesser evil." Thus the Maoists ended up explicitly supporting a "united" Canadian capitalist state, a straight Anglo-chauvinist line. Virulently hostile to the Soviet Union and full of unresolvable contradictions, these groups blew apart at the start of the 1980s Cold War.

In the aftermath of the period I have talked about today, the national divide in Canada has sharply grown, reflecting the decline of working-class struggle and consciousness. In the face of this, our organization recognized several years ago (belatedly, it must be said) that it was now essential to advocate independence for Quebec in order to lay a basis for internationalist, revolutionary class consciousness among the workers of both nations.

In intervening with our revolutionary program among leftist-minded youth and workers in Quebec today, we must keep in mind the central lesson of the last 50 years of labor struggle there. Bourgeois nationalism, fueled by the Anglo chauvinism which dominates this country, was key to quelling one of the most militant periods of class struggle in North American history. In winning over Quebec workers and youth to the program of genuine Marxism, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste will build the revolutionary pole that was lacking at that time.■

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Young Spartacus

Eyewitness Account of Mexico City Student Struggle

Down With Government Repression! Victory to the UNAM Strike!

The following is an edited version of an eyewitness report given by a comrade of the Mexican section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) at Spartacus Youth Club forums this month in Boston, New York City and Chicago.

I am here to talk to you in the name of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) and the Juventud Espartaquista (JE) about our intervention in the largest strike ever at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM). The UNAM is the largest university in this hemisphere and the intellectual center of Mexican society. This occupation, carried out by students with significant support from workers—especially from the STUNAM campus workers and SME electrical workers unions—and teachers has lasted more than 170 days now.

Why is this happening? In April, the University Council, consisting of school directors, academics and some students, approved a proposal by the university rector Barnés to raise tuition from 20 cents to around 1,000 pesos (more or less the minimal monthly income). The "Barnés Plan" cohered the majority of the students against it, despite the demagogy about having tuition "only for those who could pay it." In reality, this would open the door for tuition for all and pave the way for the dismantling and privatization of this important university. All this is part of the implementation by the Mexican bourgeoisie of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) dictates.

The GEM and the JE in Mexico, like the comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S., fight together in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) for new October Revolutions around the world to sweep away this irrational capitalist system. We seek to reforge the Fourth International, the world vanguard party of socialist revolution, to mobilize the working class to smash the bourgeoisie and implement the class dictatorship of the workers as the only way of ending oppression and starvation.

The biggest obstacle we have to combat in Mexico is bourgeois nationalism. What is this? Well, selling our paper at the SME headquarters and talking with workers we find some who are curious or even interested but without seeing the necessity for proletarian struggle, nor even a class line in society. They think in terms of "the Mexican people" or "the bad government of Zedillo." Nationalism leads you to supporting your own capitalist rulers because they are Mexican, rather than looking to solidarity with your *class* brothers, for example, across the border in the United States. That's what everybody learns in school, that's what you see every day on TV, that's what the workers' union misleaders say to them all the time, and that's what most of the left tails.

José Núñez

CGH general assembly at UNAM's Che Guevara auditorium is scene of fiery debates among striking students.

Let me give you an example of one of the ways we have brought our revolutionary program to workers and students in the UNAM strike. On August 13, a comrade from the GEM addressed a march in the main plaza of the city called by student strikers in defense of education, which brought out about 30,000 people—mainly students, campus workers, some electrical workers, poor neighborhood organizations. It was very exciting when our comrade was greeted with cries of "Go, Espartaco, go!" as he rose to speak. In the speech he stressed:

> "The strike is now at a crucial moment. The fight in defense of public education, which is part of a broader struggle against the privatizing schemes directed against the working class, can only go forward if the unions also go on strike. By themselves, students lack any social power. What is needed is that labor flex its muscles through strike actions to stop production and services."

He also made other important political points: the necessary struggle for working-class independence, the call for cops out of the campus union, and the need to combat illusions in the bourgeois Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), which was formed by a split from the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and to build a revolutionary internationalist party.

The UNAM Student Strike and the Working Class

As long as the Soviet Union existed as a counterbalance to their rapacious appetites, the ruling classes in the imperialist centers sometimes felt obligated to give concessions to the working class and poor to thwart any threat of social revolution. But after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the bourgeoisie in the West has taken the offensive, waging savage attacks against the gains won by working people through hard class battles. In Mexico, this has taken the form of intensified IMF measures and brutal NAFTA decrees, the privatization of banks and the telephone system, attacks on education, increased taxes, reinforcement of state repression, increased attacks on unions and a severe fall in the living standards of the working class and poor middle classes. Such privatization schemes have meant higher costs for services. For instance, since the privatization of the telephone industry, the monthly fee has increased more than 200 percent. And they are still saying that electricity is "too cheap"!

Right now, the bourgeoisie is confronting a deep crisis in its regime, with the possibility posed of the ruling PRI losing the presidential elections next year for the first time in more than 70 years. There is a total lack of credibility in the regime. The corporatist union system tied directly to the state—which chains the working class to "its own" national bourgeoisie—is fracturing, and there is guerrilla fighting in the countryside. And recently they have had to confront exceptional mobilizations by electrical workers from all around the country, a strike call by the oil workers union, teachers' struggles, a strike by some 50,000 sugar industry workers, the students' strike in the main university and a strike by UNAM campus workers called for October 31.

The UNAM strike is an occupation. Students, with the help of workers, took over the facilities and built barricades at all the entrances, guarding the buildings with the help of workers and strikers' parents. Campus workers have continued working, not trying to break the strike but helping to keep the facilities working for the strikers. And they are being paid—the rector doesn't want them to go on strike also. In the Faculty of Engineering, the students have waged a constant fight with the technicians to keep open the radio station Ke Huelga! (What a strike!)—where, for instance, we have been able to announce our public classes and forums.

This student strike has found plenty of support from the labor movement and the powerful sector of electrical workers. When this struggle began five months ago, Mexico City electrical workers, the SME union, began to mobilize for better wages and against privatization of the electrical industry. Some student demonstrations before the strike were joined by large contingents of electricians, and the slogan "SME, UNAM unidos venceran!" (SME, UNAM united will win!) became very popular. The intervention of rank-and-file campus workers at the beginning of the strike was also very important. A number of faculties with just a few militant students trying to close the buildings were closed when these workers appealed to a vague article in their contract which states that if "conditions are not correct" for doing their job, they don't have to do it.

Many of these campus workers have since participated in picket lines, defense guards, demonstrations, and have pressured their leadership to donate a large amount of money to the strikers. Strike marches have usually had significant participation by workers—sometimes many thousands—either in contingents or as individuals. At one point, the electricians' leadership was pressured enough by its base that it sent delegates, low-level bureaucrats, to guard the

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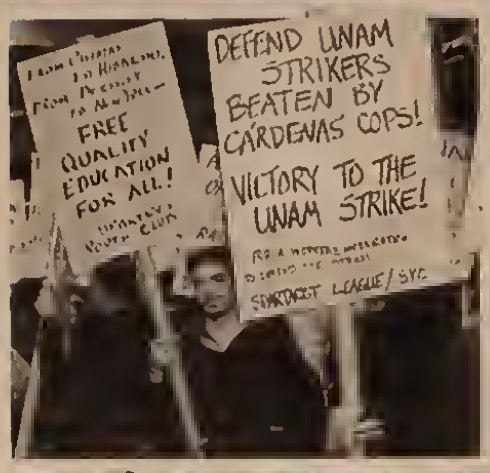
For Workers Strike Action to Defend Public Education, Defeat Privatization!

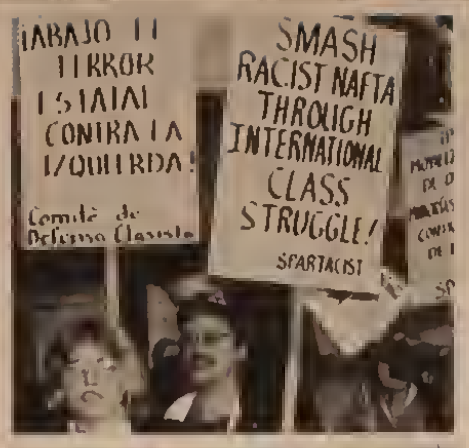
International Emergency Protests

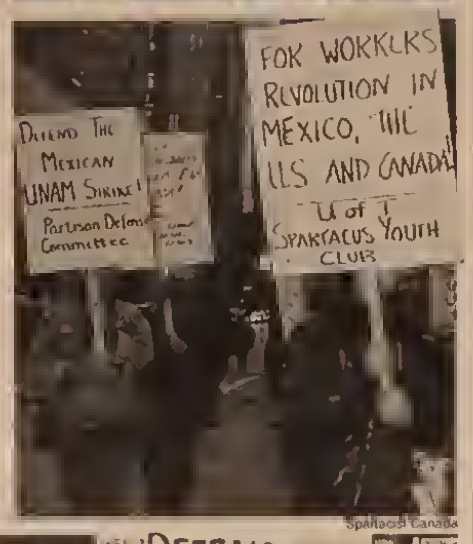
Down With Mexican State Terror!

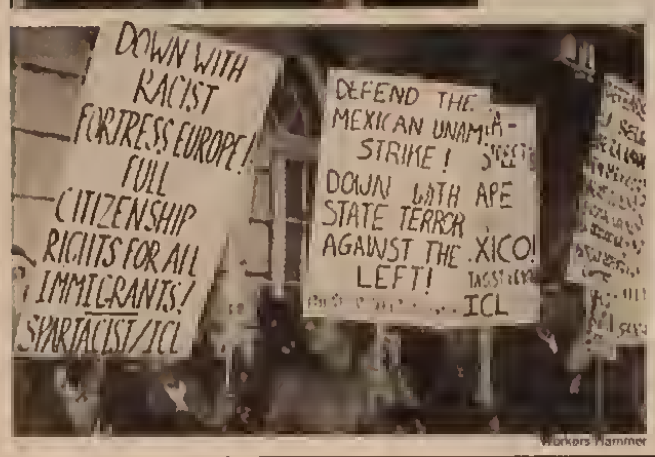


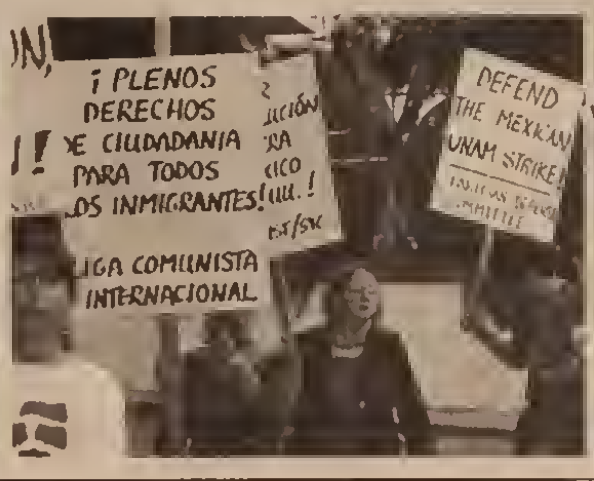
With chants of "The whole world is watching—Hands off the left!" protesters demonstrated outside Mexican consulates in four U.S. cities and at Tufts University near Boston on October 7 and the next day outside consulates in two Canadian cities as well as at the Mexican embassy in London in response to an urgent call by the Partisan Defense Committee to demand: "Defend the Mexican UNAM strike! Down with state terror against the left!" Photos show (clockwise from top right): San Francisco, Toronto, New York, Los Angeles, London, Chicago, Boston. A protest was also held in Paris on October 11 and further demonstrations have been called in Sydney, Australia and other cities. On October 7, WBAI radio in New York interviewed a PDC spokesman who called on trade unionists, students and opponents of capitalist state repression to defend Mexican student strikers and leftists.

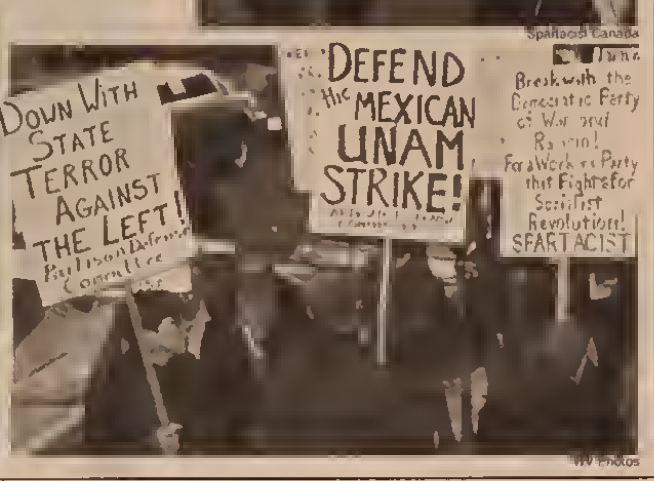
Among the protesters in L.A. was a representative of Service Employees Local 1877 Justice for Janitors. Vancouver and Toronto demonstrators heard a statement from the Toronto Region of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers which read in part: "As Postal Workers we are all too familiar with the brutality that the police and state use to protect the interest of the capitalist corporate right wing, all the while workers who are on legitimate strike are being tortured." Protesters in the U.S. and Canada called for class-struggle opposition to the imperialist "free trade" rape of Mexico, chanting, "Smash racist NAFTA through international class struggle!" and "IMF dictates mean destitution—Mexican masses need workers revolution!"











campuses for a few weeks. The militant teachers union has also been in struggle during the strike. A few thousand even camped in the Zócalo, the main plaza in the capital, for many weeks, marching daily and being beaten by police a few times. And in general, there is strong support from many people who also feel the attacks by the bourgeoisie in their own houses and stomachs.

The strike, of course, has been steadily attacked by the bourgeois press. The strikers have been called kidnappers, thugs, guerrillas—anything you can imagine—with the obvious purpose of setting the stage for large-scale repression. In fact, despite the deadly illusions of many students in the "progressive" PRD, Cárdenas, who is its main leader and was Mexico City mayor until recently, sent his cops to attack a strikers' picket on August 4. The cops beat and dragged students, putting guns to their heads and arresting more than a hundred. And on October 5 we had the kidnapping of the main leader of the strike and one of our supporters, as well as the rightist attack and occupation of the Acatlán building, which had been controlled by one of the more left-sounding groups in the strike.

The Dead End of Student Vanguardism

But now let's talk about the university itself. Walking from the closest Metro station to the Che Guevara auditorium in the Philosophy Faculty, where most of the general assemblies are held, one has to cross a picket guard, like those at all of the entrances, built with benches, tables, chairs, trees and some fences. You'll find a student guard, probably accompanied by one or two campus workers, and then you'll walk by the schools of medicine, economics, law and philosophy, where you'll see paintings and placards, ranging from liberal stuff like "All Poetry Is Revolutionary and All Revolution Is Poetic" or anti-communist slogans to hammers and sickles and things like "Only Socialist Revolution Is a Change!" This diversity of paintings reflects how diverse the politics of the strikers is, some of them wanting to be part of the "bourgeois democratic transition" led by the PRD, many of them with Che Guevara and [Zapatista leader] Subcomandante Marcos T-shirts shouting, "Patria o Muerte" (Fatherland or Death), others even believing they are Marxists or Trotskyists.

And then we have the CGH (Strike General Council), where strikers' representatives from all faculties come to discuss how to proceed with the strike. There we have contrasted our Marxist understanding of the world and our program for a workers party and socialist revolution to the usual petty-bourgeois illusions in the bourgeois PRD and peasant guerrillas, and have politically fought the fake-Marxist organizations which support, in their speeches or in fact, all this. Although these types have a lot of cheap talk against "Yankee imperialism" and IMF dictates, all this is purely from a nationalist perspective, according to which all Americans are guilty, and all Mexicans the victims.

The CGH is basically divided between the so-called "ultras" and the "moderates." The moderates are either led by the PRD, some pro-Zapatista elements or right-wing fake Trotskyists like the Morenoite Partido Obrero Socialista, who basically want to sell out the strike as soon as possible. Most recently, they supported the proposal of eight "emeritus" UNAM professors designed explicitly as a soft way to sell out the strike, promising a mythical "congress" which would grant "everything." The ultras, for their part, are more radical students, among them anarchists and Stalinists, and are more or less intransigent on the six points of the "List of Demands" of the strike.

This List of Demands is: (1) repeal of the "general rule of fees" and the elimination of all charges; (2) abolition of entrance requirements and other "reforms" imposed in 1997, which were part and parcel of the "elitization" of higher education "recommended" by imperialist agencies such as the World Bank; (3) dismantling of all police structures established by the rector and nullification of all acts and sanctions against participants in the strike movement; (4) creation of a "space"—that is, a democratic "congress"—for discussing other points of the "platform of struggle and the global transformation of the university"; (5) for strikers to be able to continue their studies without being penalized for time lost during the strike; and (6) defense of UNAM's "autonomy."

Now, despite differences in language and the ultras' greater willingness to fight, as this list partially shows, these two wings have some very important things in common: student vanguardism and a reformist touching faith in the bourgeois state (despite repression).

Student vanguardism is what we call the arrogant petty-bourgeois attitude of believing that students by themselves can stop this bourgeois attack and win the strike, closing their eyes with disdain to the workers in struggle, even to those on their own campus, and sometimes pretending to be the vanguard of social change. This is because at bottom they believe that capitalism can be reformed and that you can pressure the bourgeoisie to do good. But the reality is far from this. Students don't have any social power, and this strike is another example of that fact. After 170 days, the bourgeoisie is not materially affected, and the head of the employers' federation, COPARMEX, has even proposed closing down UNAM. They actually would let this strike go on for years if they did not fear it could detonate worker unrest.

How different would be an electrical or subway workers strike! When the oil workers threatened a strike, something that has not happened for a while, the bourgeoisie was so scared that it immediately granted the workers' demands. That is what we mean by social power. The working class is the motor force of social change under capitalism, provided it is led by a revolutionary party, a Leninist

continued on page 8

AP

Fernández/Reforma

Military police wade into pro-Zapatista protest in Chiapas, riot cops unleashed by then Mexico City mayor Cárdenas attack August 4 UNAM picket (right).

UNAM...

(continued from page 7)

organization that can direct this social power against the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the attack at UNAM is ultimately an attack against the working class. I mean, who is being denied what little chance still exists of entering the university? Of course, working-class students.

Capitalism Cannot Be "Reformed"—It Must Be Overthrown

Reformism—confidence in the state—has different forms. But in general, since they do not trust the working class, these students either put their trust in the bourgeois PRD as "more progressive," or in the petty-bourgeois Zapatistas, or they believe (including the "mega ultras") that you can win cops to support the strike. Confidence in the PRD is based upon its populist, nationalist, supposedly "anti-imperialist" and "anti-privatization" speeches. Most of the people who vote for the PRD see it as the "lesser evil." But it is a bourgeois party after all, and its main mission is to maintain the bourgeoisie's class dictatorship. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) is an indigenous, peasant-guerrilla movement based in the southern state of Chiapas and is seen as the most radical alternative. This guerrilla movement and others are certainly heroic and are based on real starvation conditions of peasants and indigenous people, and since the beginning of its uprising we have defended them against state repression. However, they have been tied since the beginning to the PRD, hoping to satisfy their demands under capitalism, and they are a petty-bourgeois formation socially based in the poor peasantry, not the working class.

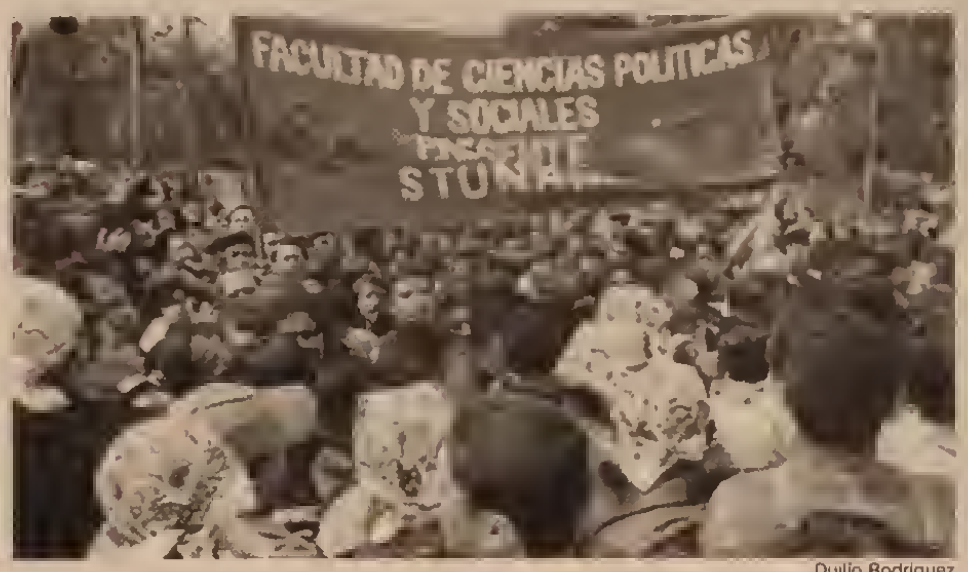
In general, there is an illusion that under capitalism you can turn the UNAM into some kind of "progressive" oasis through the "far left" call for a "university congress" where the rectory will voluntarily leave control of the university to the students, teachers and workers. Sure! To begin with, the university is but the training center for administrative, technical and cultural personnel for the capitalist system. The rector is the representative of the capitalist state, and any confrontation with him is a confrontation with the state and its armed bodies, which the bourgeoisie uses to insure its control. Moreover, this particular attack goes far beyond the Mexican bourgeoisie. The current attack on education was a requirement for IMF loans. So the Mexican bourgeoisie has to implement IMF demands and show it deserves its position as puppets of imperialism or risk the sort of treatment meted out to Panama or Yugoslavia.

Anti-woman and homophobic male chauvinism is another face of bourgeois consciousness which we strongly combat and which is constantly present in assemblies, placards and chants. Women's oppression in Catholic Mexico is a really big deal, and to struggle for women's rights like abortion is basic to waging any real fight against capitalism. And that's the case with this attack on education.

What has been urgently needed in the whole strike is a broader perspective, an understanding of the real origin of problems and what we should fight for and how. That has been our role as communists, as Spartacists in Mexico. We helped build and extend the strike in the first days, and ever since we have been in more or less weekly demos, in the first line of defense of the strike, in critical defense guards when thugs have tried to physically attack the strike, and in the pickets against off-campus registration.

But, most importantly, we have been bringing our program, a Marxist working-class perspective, to the campus with speeches at assemblies every week, in the Zócalo with our Marxist paper and thousands of leaflets, with direct and personal debates, insisting on the necessity to link the strike to the broader struggle against privatizations. All this is in direct counterposition to other organizations which claim to be Trotskyist but whose opportunism ties them to nationalism and reformism. An example of this is the Internationalist Group (IG), which was created by a bunch of defectors from our organization, who went from Trotskyism to opportunism. Although the IG is the most left-sounding of our opponents, with a lot of talk about a party and socialist revolutions, it tails the PRD as enthusiastically as the others.

Since the beginning of the strike, we have noted in our leaflets how the IG is totally inclined to pressure the current student and union leaders instead of combatting them politically from a Marxist standpoint. They scold the top union bureaucrats for not being more militant and for not calling a strike, but without combatting the nationalist ideology which ties the workers to the capitalists. The most grotesque example was when they were in a meeting to organize a defense guard against a threat of attack by the rector, and the IG refused to raise their paper call for cops out of the campus union, even after one comrade of the Juventud Espartaquista raised the point in an intervention. They even said in writing that we sabotaged their meeting when we raised this principled question! The conclusion here is clear: even for this left-sounding organization, to "fight" to "defend" the strike is counterposed to presenting a Marxist program. They just want to be "accepted."



Duilio Rodriguez

STUNAM campus workers contingent at August 24 student rally which was attacked by rightist thugs.

No Illusions in Bourgeois-Nationalist PRD! For Workers Revolution!

Mexico is a poor country whose industrial development occurred very late. It is a country where, despite a huge peasant uprising early in this century, it was not possible to resolve the land question. And it is a country, like many others, subjugated to U.S. imperialism. The very weak Mexican bourgeoisie, tied by hundreds of threads to its imperialist masters, is incapable of achieving the fundamental democratic gains historically obtained in bourgeois revolutions (national emancipation, agrarian revolution, legal equality for women, political democracy). Instead, the bourgeoisie, following the dictates of the imperialists and also its own drive for profits, continually seeks to smash even the smallest democratic gains won by the masses through militant and bloody struggles. Consequently, the resolution of even bourgeois-democratic tasks can only be achieved through the proletarian conquest of power—which will necessarily place the socialist tasks on the immediate agenda—and the fight to extend workers rule to the advanced capitalist countries. This is the theory of permanent revolution first developed by Leon Trotsky for Russia in 1904-06, which he later generalized for all underdeveloped countries.

This is the program which we are bringing to workers and students in the UNAM strike in Mexico, the necessity to build a Leninist party and to struggle directly against the capitalist system itself. We have to smash bourgeois control of society if we want to end oppression or even have a future perspective for mankind. We need to fight for socialist revolution, and the only class with the social power to do that is the working class, which has in its hands the levers which move this society.

However, bourgeois nationalism has hegemony in the workers organizations, both in the corporatist unions directly linked to the regime and in the so-called "independent" unions, and this is mainly what has prevented a real proletarian struggle against the capitalist order in Mexico. So, while most of the unions are still under the firm control of the PRI bureaucracy and its thugs, "independent" and dissident union leaders (including electrical and UNAM campus workers) feed illusions in PRD bourgeois politicians or even in "democratic" sectors of the PRI. It is also very common that union assemblies and marches (as well as student marches) finish with the national anthem, the hymn of the bourgeoisie. Nationalism has also been the political core of the electricians' struggle against privatizations. The aim of this is to tie working-class aspirations to the bourgeoisie, allowing the capitalists to maintain their domination.

The IG, for their part, has used as their axis of intervention in Mexico the argument that there is a "popular front" around the bourgeois PRD. But a popular front is a coalition between reformist workers parties and bourgeois formations. Now the IG has conjured up a "popular front" with no workers party! This has the clear objective of turning towards Cárdenism in search of a supposed working-class sector of the PRD.

We badly need a revolutionary leadership in the unions. And this can be built solely through hard political combat against each and every manifestation of bourgeois ideology among the workers: racism, nationalism, male chauvinism, homophobia, syndicalism, etc. It requires fighting for a working-class perspective and total independence from the bourgeoisie, both political and when it is posed directly as in the presence of cops in the campus union, which we have fought against for many years. It also requires bringing to the workers the broad perspective of their historic role, of the necessity for them to be the vanguard of all of the oppressed against capitalism. And finally, history has shown us that the struggle against capitalism cannot be spontaneous. There has to exist a conscious factor, an organization which consistently fights to win over workers and intellectuals to the Marxist perspective and is capable of leading the workers to power in the decisive moments—that is, a Leninist revolutionary party. And in the strike, we are fighting to get the most advanced workers as well as students who want to betray their petty-bourgeois background to work with us to realize this perspective.

This is the perspective of our intervention. As we said in a July 5 leaflet (reprinted in *WV* No. 717, 6 August):

> "The democratic demands we advance for education are inextricably linked with the understanding that only when the system of capitalism is destroyed through the seizure of state power by the working class led by a revolutionary party will the basis be laid for genuine equality in all spheres of society. We call for full open admissions made economically meaningful by providing all students with a living stipend! While defending against further attacks on access to higher education, we are not for upholding the status quo of automatic entry to UNAM only by a select number of relatively privileged high schools. For every 10,000 students entering UNAM each year, more than 90,000 are rejected, while the courses, the workrooms, the books and other materials are so expensive that it is practically impossible for working-class youth to enter. We are opposed as well to groveling appeals for 'dialogue' with the rectory [administration]. Abolish the rectory! Nationalize all the private universities under teacher-student-campus worker control!"

This perspective needs to go hand in hand with an internationalist point of view. Especially in underdeveloped countries like Mexico, but also even here in the U.S., a socialist revolution cannot survive on a national terrain, as the Stalinists would pretend. Struggle by workers and the oppressed has to be united all around the world or will continue to be defeated separately. That is the reason we want to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International as the party of socialist revolution. During the U.S./NATO war in the Balkans, we called for military defense of Serbia, for the defeat of imperialism through workers revolution and for a socialist federation of the Balkans. We gave the workers and students at UNAM a concrete way to solidarize with Yugoslav workers under imperialist attack, collecting money from the STUNAM workers and students for workers of the bombed Zastava auto plant in Serbia as part of the ICL's participation internationally in a fund drive initiated by the Italian COBAS trade union. On May 18, comrades of the Juventud Espartaquista addressed—and received support from—the General Council of Delegates of STUNAM in regard to this campaign, stressing that it was not just "anti-Yankee" but a way to solidarize with workers under attack internationally.

Comrades in ICL sections around the world have gotten declarations of solidarity with the UNAM strike from important unions in South Africa, the U.S., Canada and Australia. This is very important in stimulating international solidarity and in letting the Mexican bourgeoisie know that the world's eyes are on them. And we also have carried all sorts of international topics in our press to broaden the strikers' perspectives, such as Indonesia, Puerto Rico, the Basque people, the black question in the U.S., Quebec, etc.

October 2 marks the 31st anniversary of the Tlatelolco massacre of hundreds of students in 1968 by the government, which showed how the bourgeoisie will do whatever it needs to maintain its rule. We don't know what is going to happen with this very militant strike. Hopefully, we'll be able to stop the Barnés Plan and even spread the struggle to important sectors of the working class. A huge strike of sugar workers has just started, and, as I said, campus workers could go on strike at the end of the month. This and the possibility of another big economic crisis raise the possibility of broader class struggles. But we must insist: All we can get under capitalism is partial, temporary gains. The only way to end this and all other kinds of oppression is socialist revolution led by a Trotskyist international party. For new October Revolutions! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

labor/black protests drawing in key trade unions to defend Jamal and demand the abolition of the racist death penalty.

In contrast, a range of liberals and reformists who have taken up Jamal's cause in recent years have focused on pressuring Clinton's Democrats to embrace the call for a new trial, as in last month's "Mumia Awareness Week" and the "Millions for Mumia" marches in Philadelphia and San Francisco on April 24. Such appeals sow illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state which—from the naked street terror of the racist cops to the black-robed hanging judges—is nothing other than the armed fist of the capitalist ruling class, an apparatus for repression of the working class and the oppressed.

That the capitalist courts are an integral part of this racist frame-up system is amply demonstrated by Mumia's case, beginning with the mockery of justice which marked his 1982 "trial," with its racist jury rigging, phony "confession," cop coercion of prosecution "witnesses" and blatant intimidation of defense witnesses. This travesty of justice has continued right through the 1995 PCRA hearings, under the same hanging judge Albert Saho who presided over the 1982 trial, to the state Supreme Court decision which rubber-stamped the cops' and prosecutors' fabrications, to the latest U.S. Supreme Court ruling.

It is the multiracial working class which has the social power to defeat the lynch mob arrayed against Jamal, to win his freedom and abolish the racist death penalty as part of a struggle to sweep away the entire apparatus of capitalist state repression. A taste of that power came in the 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS and the 1998 Flint strike which brought the powerful GM empire to its knees. Mobilizing labor's power in a successful fight to win Jamal's freedom would strike a blow against the capitalist rulers who use the same frame-up methods, spying and terror wielded against Jamal and other fighters for the oppressed to smash picket lines and victimize militant unionists. Labor/black protest on Jamal's behalf must be infused with the understanding that to end racist capitalist injustice once and for all requires a socialist revolution which smashes the capitalist state and places the proletariat in power. Free Mumia Ahu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370. ■

Brooklyn Museum...

(continued from page 12)

hacked by Al Sharpton and the rest of the city's black political establishment, pionsly intoned, "I share the feeling...that there are parts of this exhibition that would be deeply offensive," while criticizing Giuliani's threat to stop financing the museum as "a very wrong response." The Democrats are no less capable of promoting censorship and bigotry than the Republicans: recall the crusade led by Tipper Gore, the vice president's wife, against "obscene" rock music lyrics a few years ago. And when it comes to racist cop terror, Clinton is on a par with Giuliani—as her husband's administration has pushed through one measure after another beefing up the state's repressive powers. Hillary Clinton made clear her own contempt for the city's Hispanic population with her gratuitous denunciation of the recent clemency granted to imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalists.

Only a bullet's ricochet from the Brooklyn Museum, Giuliani's blood-soaked cops cruise the streets like sharks, terrorizing the borough's heavily black population. The sadistic torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in a Brooklyn precinct house is simply one of the more hideous examples of the treatment the cops regularly mete out to the city's blacks and Hispanics. To underscore that everyone has reason to fear and despise the kill-crazy cops, last August they killed Gidone Busch in a Hasidic neighborhood in Brooklyn, plugging him with 12 bullets as he stood six feet away.

Only a day before the "Sensation" exhibit opened at the Brooklyn Museum, Giuliani's culture Gestapo arrested prominent Fifth Avenue art dealer Mary Boone for supposedly violating reactionary gun control laws by displaying a work which included two guns and for "distributing live bullets" (souvenirs from a show by sculptor Tom Sachs). Handcuffed to a chair for hours, forced to spend the night in a urine-soaked jail cell, Boone told reporters, "I was in shock, terrified, terrified. It's a police state.... It's a Giuliani witch hunt. They're trying to protect New York from its art." Boone is relatively well-known, white and rich, and so managed to get out and get press coverage of her nightmare. The black and Hispanic youth and working people regularly targeted for cop terror are seldom so lucky.

Down With Giuliani's Culture Gestapo!

For all the hoopla, the "Sensation" exhibit is pretty tame stuff. Yet it was almost a week after Giuliani launched his outrageous censorship assault before some timid voices were raised in opposition by the official art establishment. The Brooklyn Museum's fellow cultural institutions finally issued a letter to the mayor which, while supporting the museum, assured Giuliani that they were "mindful of, and sympathetic to, the sensitivities of the many diverse communities throughout New York City."

We recall the rather more saucy response toward the efforts of thought police, Congressional yahoos and religious bigots to ban art they didn't like as "obscene" when they went after the works of the late gay photographer Robert Mapplethorpe in the early 1990s. Protesters outside the Metropolitan Museum chanted: "Jesse Helms, you old fart! Keep your hands off our art!" When sheriff's deputies in Cincinnati tried to shut down a Mapplethorpe exhibit in 1990, one protester's sign proclaimed, "If you give artists freedom of expression, soon every American will want it."

No one is being forced to see this show. Our position on this art exhibit is the same as for any other sort of visual material, be it pornography or "high art": If you don't like it, you don't have to look at it. As Marxists, we oppose all attempts at state censorship, whether aimed at "high art" or pornography, and stand for the strict separation of church and state. As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a 1987 *amicus* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court in defense of Indiana booksellers charged with distributing pornography:

> "The Spartacist League has a longstanding position against government regulation of private life.... Religious beliefs and determinations of morality cannot dictate what is permissible for man to read, think, fantasize—be it the classics or 'smut'; erotica or pornography. Absent physical harm to another, it is no concern of the state."

Down with Giuliani's racist censorship! Hands off the Brooklyn Museum! ■

Mexico...

(continued from page 12)

UNAM strikers with the support of students from other universities. That same day, students from two other major universities went on a one-day strike in support of the UNAM strike. The bourgeois authorities and the media have been trying to smash the strike, manufacturing provocations against the strikers and raising the spectre of the bloody 1968 massacre of student protesters. Earlier, on August 4, the hated riot police were unleashed by then Mexico City mayor and Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) leader Cárdenas: more than 100 strikers were brutally beaten and arrested. Now the government of President Ernesto Zedillo is spreading lies about supposed arms depots on campus and "foreign forces" acting in the student movement, laying a pretext for bloody state intervention which has been formally requested by UNAM administrators.

A colleague of El Mosh, Alejo Plata, asserted, "This won't defeat us. We will continue our struggle because of our commitment to the people of Mexico." The attack on UNAM, threatening devastation of higher public education, is part of the IMF/NAFTA austerity program of privatizations, layoffs and union-busting imposed on the working masses. The Grupo Espartaquista has stressed the need to go beyond the walls of the campus and politically mobilize the powerful Mexican working class.

The Partisan Defense Committee calls for international solidarity with the Mexican UNAM strikers. We call on the trade unions, leftists, those who support the right to education and all opponents of bourgeois state terror to come out and protest. ■

Spartacist Forums

The Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism

U.S./Canada/NATO/UN: Out of the Balkans Now!
Saturday, October 16, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor Street West
(One block west of Spadina Subway)
For more information: (416) 593-4138
TORONTO

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Socialist Revolution!
Saturday, October 23, 3 p.m.
International Affairs Building
Rm. 403, Columbia University
420 W. 118th St. (corner Amsterdam Ave.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK

No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Labor Must Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism

Friday, October 29, 7:30 p.m.
Centro del Pueblo, 474 Valencia St., San Francisco
BAY AREA
For more information: (415) 395-9520 or (510) 839-0851 slbayarea@compuserve. com

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

There Is No Justice in Capitalist America

Saturday, October 16, 4 p.m.
Echo Park United Methodist Church
1226 N. Alvarado St. (Two blocks north of Sunset Blvd. at Reservoir St.)
LOS ANGELES
For more information: (213) 380-8239

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

CHICAGO

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Saturdays, 3 p.m.
October 16: ***Imperialism and War***
October 23: ***The Russian Revolution***
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
(near Clinton stop on Blue Line)
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930 or spartacist@iname.com

NEW YORK CITY

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. at NYU
October 19: ***Revolution vs. Reform: The Russian Revolution—How the Working Class Took Power***
November 2: ***Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed***
Student Events Center, Rm. 305 or 309
5 Washington Pl. (at Mercer St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or nysl@compuserve.com

BAY AREA

Thursday, October 21, 7 p.m.
Imperialism, War and Revolution
UC Berkeley, Room 222 Wheeler
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

TORONTO

Smash the Capitalist System of Racism and War!
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
October 20: ***The Revolution Betrayed***
U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College St.)
For room and information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Marxism and World Revolution
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
October 26: ***Women's Emancipation and the Struggle for Communism in Asia***
University of British Columbia
Room 212, Student Union Building
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Korea...

(continued from page 3)

consider North Korean demands for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the South during "peace" talks aimed at bringing the Korean War to a formal close, the Spartacist League organized protests to demand: U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now! For Unconditional Military Defense of North Korea! For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea! In our leaflet calling for these protests (see *WV* No. 687, 27 March 1998), we wrote:

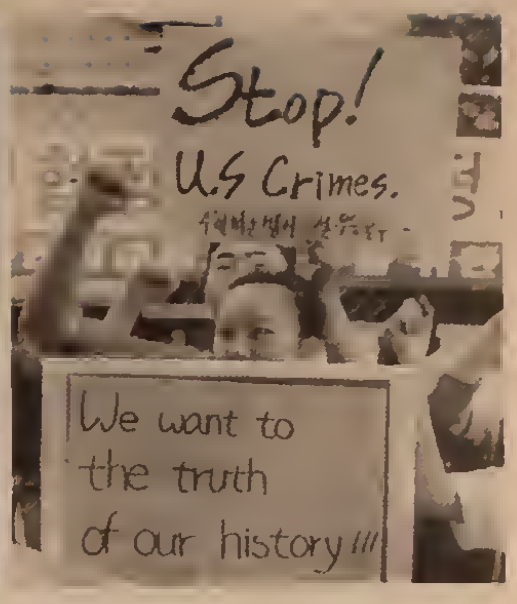
> "Forty-five years after the UN-sponsored 1950-53 Korean War, in which some three to four million were killed and North Korea was virtually leveled, nearly 40,000 American troops remain on South Korean soil. This military presence is not only a dagger aimed at North Korea and the Chinese deformed workers state but also serves as a warning to South Korea's working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order....
>
> "As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League—U.S. section of the International Communist League—calls for the *immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Korea!*"

Korea and the Cold War

Korea was the front line of the Cold War against the Soviet Union. As World War II came to an end, U.S. imperialism rapidly moved from its temporary wartime alliance with the USSR against Hitler's Germany to launch a concerted drive to "roll back Communism." The domestic expression of the Cold War was a war against labor and the left, as Communists were driven out of the trade unions and a welter of laws enacted to suppress the sort of militant labor struggle which had built the CIO industrial unions in the 1930s and which had been manifested in a massive strike wave at the end of the war. Though most prominently associated with right-wing Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy, the anti-Communist witchhunt was pushed no less fervently by Truman's Democrats. This came to a fever pitch a year after the outbreak of the Korean War with the arrest of the heroic Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed in 1953 as supposed "A-bomb spies" for the Soviet Union amid an anti-Communist, anti-Semitic frenzy.

In Korea, the workers and the "people in white" had been the enemy since 1945, when American forces entered the southern part of the country at the end of World War II as Stalin criminally aequieseed to the de facto partition of the peninsula. At U.S. request, Stalin withdrew Soviet Red Army troops which had occupied territory north of the 38th parallel toward the end of the war. After decades of brutal

AP photos



Survivor stands at site of 1950 No Gun Ri massacre during commemoration last year. Far right: October 1 protest outside U.S. Army base in Seoul against cover-up of U.S. mass murder.

Japanese annexation—marked by such horrific practices as the abduction of thousands of Korean women who were enslaved as "comfort women" for Japanese troops—the Red Army had been welcomed by Korean workers and peasants as liberators, and its presence inspired strikes and peasant uprisings throughout the peninsula, accompanied by the formation of people's committees which soon administered many areas. Following the American occupation, in 1946 mass strikes and peasant uprisings were rekindled in the South under the banner, "Return the Korean Government to the People's Committees."

The U.S. imperialists and their local lackeys—Japanese soldiers, colonial police and the capitalists, who had previously loyally served the Japanese occupation—proceeded to suppress the upheavals, killing over a hundred thousand workers and peasants even before the Korean War began. The director of the Department of Transportation of the American military government described the U.S. response to the uprising as follows: "We were out to break that thing up and we didn't have time to worry too much if a few innocent people got hurt. We set up concentration camps outside of town and held strikers there when the jails got too full. It was war" (Stewart Meacham, "Korean Labor Report," 1947). In 1948, Washington turned to Syngman Rhee, a rabid anti-Communist who had lived in the U.S. for decades, as its hand-picked puppet to become president of the South in an "election" boycotted by all other parties. Rhee was literally the only Korean politician the U.S. could find who opposed unification of the country.

In 1950, the Korean People's Army (KPA), fresh from fighting alongside Mao Zedong's People's Liberation Army (PLA) in China, crossed the 38th parallel in response to a year of military provocations from the South. The peasants again rose up and people's committees re-emerged, smashing the landlord class so thoroughly that in the war's aftermath even Rhee was forced to recognize this "land reform." The KPA proceeded to drive the U.S. Army to the brink of the peninsula but stalled there when Stalin and Mao, anxious not to provoke the American imperialists, refused to deliver the necessary tanks, planes and artillery to finish the job.

Both Stalin and Mao opposed the spread of socialist revolution in favor of rapprochement with the imperialists in the interests of "socialism in one (their) country." The USSR was a degenerated workers state, ruled by a nationalist bureaucratic caste which had usurped political power in 1923-24 and destroyed the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. China was a bureaucratically deformed workers state from the time Mao's peasant-based forces took power in 1949. To be sure, when General Douglas MacArthur's forces drove back across the 38th parallel heading toward the Yalu River bordering China, posing a threat to the existence of the Chinese People's Republic itself, Mao threw a million PLA troops into the Korean War.

A War of Counterrevolutionary Terror

Given time, the U.S. was able to assemble a massive arsenal which, over the next three years, killed more than three million Koreans. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson set the "moral" theme for the slaughter, proclaiming that "Korea will be used as a stage to prove what Western Democracy can do to help the underprivileged countries of the world" (quoted in Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, Vol. 2, Princeton University Press [1990]). Air Force general Curtis Lemay, who organized the firebombing of Tokyo in WW II, laid bare the reality: "We burned down every town in North Korea and in South Korea too." For the first time, napalm, which not only burns but asphyxiates its victims, was used in massive bombing raids. *New York Times* reporter George Barrett described a scene that evoked the ruins of Pompeii:

> "A napalm raid hit the village three or four days ago.... The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures they had held when the napalm struck—a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage, a housewife strangely unmarked, holding in her hand a page from a Sears-Roebuck catalogue crayoned at Mail Order No. 3,811,294 for a $2.98 'bewitching bed jacket—coral.' There must be almost two hundred dead in this tiny hamlet."
>
> —quoted in I.F. Stone, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, Little, Brown and Company (1988)

Barely a decade later, U.S. troops were sent into Vietnam in force in another war aimed at smashing a social revolution. The most massive bombing in human history murdered another three million-plus. The horrendous slaughter perpetrated by the U.S. in Korea and Vietnam was integral to the pursuit of these counterrevolutionary wars. Faced with a "people's war," the American imperialists saw "the people" as the enemy. As Curtis Lemay vowed to "bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age," the CIA's Operation Phoenix assassinated at least 100,000 people in its failed attempt to destroy the Stalinist-led National Liberation Front, while masses of peasants were forcibly imprisoned in "strategic hamlets."

Despite its terror, U.S. imperialism was defeated on the battlefield by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants—a victory for the exploited and oppressed the world over. It was this defeat for U.S. imperialism which created the "Vietnam Syndrome," the unwillingness of the American populace to engage in another imperialist war entailing significant U.S. casualties. Indeed, long-after-the-fact bourgeois exposés of American wartime atrocities—painting such incidents as "regrettable excesses" of a now-finished Cold War—are aimed not least at refurbishing the "democratic" and "human rights" credentials of the imperialist rulers in order to better mobilize the working people for future military adventures. No Gun Ri and My Lai are the rule, not the exception in the bloody history of U.S. imperialism: not only abroad, as in the 1945 A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, targets of no military value, but at home as well—from the aerial bombardment of black neighborhoods in Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921 to the MOVE and Waco massacres in more recent years.

This is to set aside the slaughter and mass population transfers of Native American Indians which accompanied the internal expansion of the domain of the U.S. capitalist ruling class and which continued into this century. William Tecumseh Sherman, whose watchword was "the only good Indian is a dead Indian," insisted that "during an assault, the soldiers cannot pause to distinguish between male and female, or even discriminate as to age. As long as resistance is made, death must be meted out, but the moment all resistance ceases, the firing will stop and all survivors turned over to the proper Indian agent" (John F. Marszalek, *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order*, Free Press [1993]). For all that, the U.S. rulers carried out a genocidal policy.

At the turn of the century, the emerging

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American Empire moved to brutally repress independence struggles in both Cuba and the Philippines in an effort to maintain the fruits of its victory in the Spanish-American War. After guerrillas in the Philippines overran a U.S. Army outpost on the island of Samar, American general Jacob Smith issued this chilling order: "I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn. The more you kill and burn the better you will please me. I want all persons killed who are capable of bearing arms in actual hostilities against the United States." Smith's definition of "capable of bearing arms" was any person ten years of age or older. In short order, the U.S. Marines turned Samar into a howling wilderness devoid of population.

Smith was court-martialed for "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," for which, with the intervention of President Theodore Roosevelt, he was simply allowed to retire. Similarly, Lieutenant Calley, court-martialed and sentenced to life imprisonment for the My Lai massacre, was spared by President Nixon after spending all of three and a half days in jail. It cannot be said that American imperialism forgets its "heroes."

Cliffites' Pro-Imperialist "Third Camp"

Since their defeat in Vietnam, America's capitalist rulers prefer the anonymity of massive aerial bombardments of essentially defenseless peoples. Following on the heels of predecessor George Bush, Bill Clinton, current leader of the U.S. death machine, has presided over the killing of some one and a half million Iraqis through a starvation embargo, punctuated by continual bombing of Iraqi towns and villages. The Serbs face death and deprivation this winter with their country's infrastructure destroyed by U.S./NATO terror bombing. But even this is not "punishment" enough in the eyes of America's rulers, who resist even the most modest proposals for easing the misery and destruction inflicted upon these small countries.

Now comes the Australian-led, American-backed occupation of East Timor, again carried out under the banner of the UN, which is preparing not independence but a long-term imperialist presence. Australia earlier joined the U.S. in helping orchestrate the 1965 bloodbath of up to a million Communists, militant workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese which installed the Indonesian military dictatorship, and in giving Jakarta a green light for the seizure of East Timor a decade later. The U.S./Australia alliance was evident both in Korea and Vietnam, where Australia contributed sizable troop contingents. Today, the U.S. alliance with its Australian junior partner is increasingly positioned to defend American interests in the Pacific in the face of heightened competition with Japan.

The increasing imperialist rivalries following the final undoing of the October Revolution in the former USSR set the stage for a third world war and the nuclear annihilation of humanity. America's imperialist masters, who see themselves as all-powerful and invulnerable, are the likely triggermen for the next, final world war. We fight to win workers and leftist youth to the understanding that every military adventure of U.S. imperialism, the citadel of the world capitalist order, must be opposed in word and deed as part of a program to sweep away the American capitalist rulers through proletarian revolution.

But that is not the orientation of many calling themselves socialists, the reformists who call on workers and youth to support the "humanitarian" interventions of U.S. imperialism, yesterday in Kosovo, today in East Timor, tomorrow, perhaps, in Tibet. Falling in line behind "their" capitalist rulers, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO)—affiliated with Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain—is promoting the most recent effort to stabilize Southeast Asia in the interests of imperialism. The Australian ISO joined war rallies openly calling for imperialist intervention in East Timor and hailed bans on Indonesian shipping imposed by the chauvinist labor bureaucracy as a threadbare cover for imperialist sanctions.

The Cliffites developed their fondness for "democratic" imperialism in the crucible of the post-WWII crusade led by the U.S. to destroy the USSR, the military powerhouse of those states where capitalism had been overthrown. The Cliff group emerged in 1950 in opposition to the defense of North Korea, China and the Soviet Union against U.S./British imperialism in the Korean War, for which it was expelled from the Trotskyist Fourth International. In a statement at the time, the Cliffites themselves acknowledged that they were expelled for "opposing both the Russian puppet Government of North Korea and the American puppet Government of South Korea" (see "Korea and the Cliff Group," *Spartacist Britain* No. 24, August/September 1980).

For Cliff and his followers, who were then nestled inside the ruling Labour Party of Prime Minister Clement Attlee, this was not only a cowardly submission to British imperialism as it swung in behind the U.S. and sent troops to Korea. It was a direct capitulation to Cold War anti-Sovietism and a vote against the social revolutions in North Korea and China. Under the pretense of "a pox on both your houses," Cliff moved decisively to the camp of social-democratic opposition to proletarian revolution, although not without the occasional lip service to "revolutionary socialism" as a cover. During Cold War II, the Cliffites were in the forefront of the anti-Communist crusade, from hailing the Vatican/CIA-sponsored clerical nationalists of Polish Solidarność and enthusing over the bloodthirsty Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* who murdered Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan in the 1980s to joining with the imperialist rulers in cheering that "Communism has collapsed" in the Soviet Union (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

Today, even as their own comrades in South Korea are caught in the web of anti-Communist terror unleashed by the U.S.-backed police state, the Cliffites embrace anti-Communist hatred for North Korea. In May 1998, the secret police rounded up 26 supporters of the International Socialists of South Korea despite the Cliffites' pleas that they loyally refused to defend North Korea against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution. In the first instance a capitulation to imperialism, Cliff's "third camp" line represents for his South Korean cothinkers an embrace of the interests of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie.

No Illusions in "Human Rights" Imperialism!

It was Democratic president Jimmy Carter who first raised the cry of "human rights"—directed against the Soviet Union—as a means to ideologically and militarily rearm U.S. imperialism following its humiliating defeat in Vietnam. This rhetoric provided a host of self-proclaimed leftists with a convenient cover for reconciliation with the imperialist butchers of Indochina as they joined in the fight against "Communist totalitarianism" and for "democracy," thus contributing their bit to the destruction of the East European and Soviet workers states. The price of capitalist "democracy" can currently be measured by the destruction of what those societies once provided—jobs, housing, education and health care for all—and in the rise of nationalist bloodletting and pogromism.

Carter's "human rights" crusade claimed its first victims in South Korea in 1979, when a wave of strikes and peasant uprisings was answered by a military coup. As student protests and strikes continued to swell, a mass student protest in Kwangju, South Korea's fourth-largest city and one of the centers of the post-WWII people's committees, led to an occupation of the city in May 1980 by 30,000 U.S.-trained paratroopers and Korean Special Forces. Following several days of indiscriminate military terror, the population *en masse* overwhelmed the soldiers and drove them from the city. As the insurgency spread to other urban centers, the government moved to crush the rebellion, arresting almost 60,000 and killing another 2,000, mostly industrial workers and students. The Kwangju massacre had the full backing of the U.S. government, whose emissaries in Korea collaborated with the military regime while the U.S. Army provided full logistic support (see "The Bloody Suppression of the 1980 Kwangju Uprising—South Korea: Regime Puts Coup Generals on Trial," *WV* No. 646, 24 May 1996).

The police-state regime in Seoul has long served the U.S. imperialists as a linchpin of anti-Communist reaction in Asia. But in the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union, the reeling capitalist economy in South Korea is today deprived of the once-generous financial backing of the American imperialists. During the Cold War, Washington was content to allow its local satraps in South Korea a bigger share of the loot in order to prop up the Seoul regime. Now the U.S. and the IMF have taken to cracking the whip against the South Korean capitalists while American corporations gobble up industrial concerns.

Ki Ho Park/Kistone

1998 strike by South Korean Hyundai workers against threatened layoffs as Kim Dae Jung regime imposed IMF austerity dictates.

Meanwhile, with the North ravaged by famine, U.S. negotiators offer a few bags of rice and assistance with electrical development if Pyongyang forswears the development of atomic weaponry. In a deal worked out by former U.S. war secretary William Perry, the U.S. has offered to lift trade sanctions against North Korea after strong-arming the Stalinist regime to halt tests of long-range missiles. This comes at a time when the U.S., Japan and South Korea propose a joint missile theater "defense" aimed at North Korea and China. As part of our unconditional military defense of the deformed North Korean workers state, we say not one weapon should be sacrificed to the demands of the bloody U.S. imperialists!

For its part, the nationalist Pyongyang bureaucracy has long talked of a "peaceful reunification" with the capitalist South. Trotskyists call for a revolutionary reunification of Korea through proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste in the North and socialist revolution to overthrow the *chaebol* bourgeoisie in the South, laying the basis for an internationalist regime based on the rule of workers councils. There is much tinder for such a perspective today. The South Korean proletariat is chafing under the whip of mass unemployment and IMF-dictated austerity. South Korea's once touted "economic miracle" was rooted in the superexploitation of the working class. In the process, the South Korean proletariat was forged as a combative and powerful social force, steeled in bitter struggles in defiance of brutal repression.

Socialist revolution in South Korea would electrify the Chinese proletariat, as the Stalinist regime's "market reforms" threaten the outright restoration of capitalism. It would resonate throughout the East Asian working masses, particularly in Japan—via the human bridge of the oppressed Korean minority—whose industrial and technological capacity is key to the fight for a socialist Asia. To educate and organize the Korean proletariat for its historic task requires a revolutionary vanguard party schooled in the internationalism of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. Such a party must be based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and forged in struggle against nationalist illusions promoted by the South Korean labor bureaucracy and fake socialists as well as the Pyongyang Stalinists, which serve only to bind the proletariat to a supposedly "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie.

The struggle for a socialist Asia is intimately bound up with the fight to sweep away U.S. imperialism, whose profit-mad rulers would immediately move to crush any threat to their "right" to exploit the Asian masses. The power of the multiracial American working class must be mobilized to lead all the victims of this increasingly barbaric society in the overthrow of bloody U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution. To forge the revolutionary workers party needed for this struggle to succeed, it is necessary for militants to assimilate the revolutionary program of Trotskyism and join the Spartacist League, which is committed to this task.■

Available in Chinese

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International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

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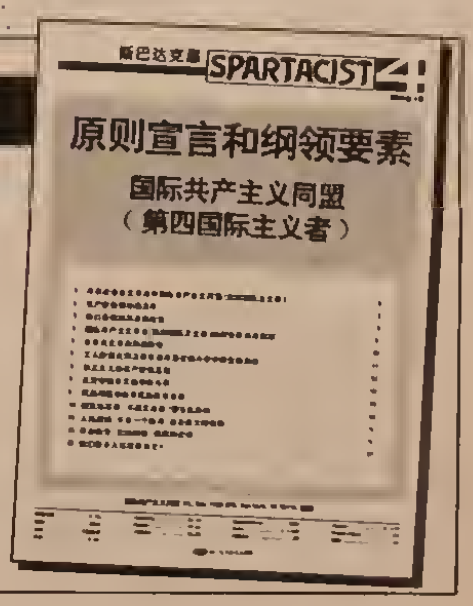

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down With State Terror Against the Left!

Defend the Mexican UNAM Strike!

We print below in slightly edited form an October 6 statement by the Partisan Defense Committee calling for emergency protest demonstrations in cities around the U.S. to denounce repression against the Mexico City student strike. Similar protests have also been held in a number of other countries from Canada to Britain.

A wave of kidnappings, beatings and armed repression has been unleashed against leaders of the militant strike at the Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), now in its sixth month. On October 5, Alejandro Echevarría (El Mosh), a prominent strike leader, was kidnapped by several thugs. He was not released until ten hours later, after being beaten badly on all parts of his body, including his eyes. He was also stripped and threatened with rape. The same day, Humberto Herrera, a 20-year trade-union militant and supporter of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League, was kidnapped for some seven hours by six men who forced him into a car and took him to a garage. A gun was put to the back of his head, he was wrapped in a blanket, beaten and threatened with being killed. Along with other leftist groups, the GEM was targeted by the right-wing bourgeois newspaper *Excelsior* (27 September) as an "ultra" group leading an area of the strike.

On October 6, a mob of 120 scabs attacked and occupied the Acatlán campus, a stronghold of the strike, which was retaken hours later by

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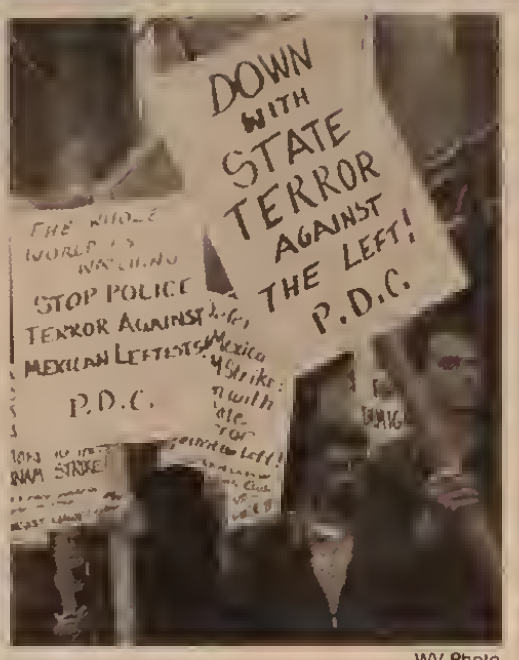

WV Photo

Chicago, October 7: Protest outside Mexican consulate was part of emergency international campaign.

Giuliani's Racist Holy War Against Brooklyn Museum

For Separation of Church and State!

In the old days of the Roman Empire, the poor were to be pacified with bread and circuses; in today's glittery yet decaying "Empire City," NYC mayor Giuliani has cut off the bread, while providing only a cruel circus of bizarre assaults on the city's cultural institutions. Consider the mayor's threat to cut millions in city funding and evict the Brooklyn Museum of Art because he doesn't like its new show "Sensation," an exhibit of "cutting edge" young British artists.

The majority of New Yorkers, according to a *Daily News* poll, support the embattled museum over Giuliani by a ratio of two to one. On October 2, a thousand protested Giuliani's censorship in a rally called by the New York Civil Liberties Union. Thousands of men, women and children from all walks of life stood in line for over two hours the following day to see the opening of the exhibit. An indication of the types the city's would-be police-state *führer* emulates came in a sign carried by one of the several hundred bigots who staged a counterdemonstration outside the museum in an attempt to shut the exhibit down: "Hitler Was Right When He Got Rid of 'Degenerate Art'."

Egged on by New York's Cardinal O'Connor, Giuliani's assault on the museum is partly a cynical ploy aimed at appealing to the 40 percent of the state's electorate which is Catholic as he positions himself for next year's Senate race. "Sick stuff," the mayor claimed of the art show, targeting as especially "disgusting" a collage by black artist Chris Ofili titled "The Holy Virgin Mary" because it supposedly "desecrates somebody else's religion." Giuliani professed that he would take similar actions to "defend" any other religion. This comes from the racist pig who celebrated his election as mayor by having his cops invade a prominent Muslim mosque in Harlem in January 1994!

As NYC mayor Giuliani launched witchhunt against Brooklyn Museum for exhibit including black "Holy Virgin Mary," protesters massed outside museum to denounce state censorship.

Reuters/NY Post, Kealing/NY Times, Bengiveno/NY Times

Actually, Ofili himself is a Catholic whose parents come from Nigeria. Ofili, who won the important Turner Prize in Britain, regularly uses African-based materials. The dried elephant dung Giuliani finds so shocking in the depiction of the Virgin Mary also appears in another Ofili work at the Brooklyn Museum, "Afrodizzia," where it is used to spell out the names of black cultural figures like jazz great Miles Davis. It is used in some kinds of traditional African art as a symbol of fertility, paper is made from it—indeed, there are many organic substances used in art and ritualistic objects on other continents and in other cultures. Supposedly one of the functions of museums—and of art—is to expose people to things they haven't seen before.

Wilbert Tatum, publisher emeritus of the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*, had a perceptive take on the affair. In a September 30 editorial headlined "A Black Madonna: Giuliani's Worst Nightmare," Tatum wrote: "We believe that his sensibilities were shocked by the belief that someone else would be made to believe that Mother Mary happened to be some color other than the color that he has accepted for everything that is good and pure and right and white." We have here, Tatum posits, "a demented mayor who could not accept the idea of a Black woman, no matter how stylized or conjured up, as the mother of the baby Jesus, who went off his rocker in an effort to prevent anyone from seeing this 'abomination before the Lord,' even if it resulted in the closing of the Brooklyn Museum after more than 100 years of service to all the people of this city."

Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton, whose bid as the Democratic contender in next year's New York Senate race is heavily

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 722

29 October 1999

Thousands Come Out to Stop Klan Terror

Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of NYC

New Yorkers came out in their thousands on October 23 determined to make sure the KKK didn't ride in their city. They were mobilized by the call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, "All Out to Stop the KKK on October 23!" Hundreds of working people, students and others joined in distributing 175,000 of the PDC's mobilizing leaflet in workplaces, campuses and neighborhoods throughout the city.

Thousands came out in defiance of the efforts of the Giuliani administration, its cops and the courts to deny their right to mobilize to stop the Klan. They came out in opposition to appeals by the phony "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party and self-appointed spokesmen for the black population who preached a "demonstration for tolerance" for the "rights" of the KKK. They knew this wasn't an issue of "free speech" but of stopping Klan terror and murder. They came out to drive the Klan lynchers off their streets. And that's exactly what they did.

Able to show their faces only under the protection of an army of cops, 17 Klansmen cowered outside the New York State Supreme Court, surrounded on all sides by at least 8,000 determined anti-Klan protesters. "Unmasked and Overwhelmed, the Klan Is Besieged at Rally," headlined the *New York Times* the next day. As these hooded-and-robed racists scurried back into the courthouse under police escort barely midway through their scheduled rally, the trade unionists and others assembled under the PDC "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK!" banner broke into nonstop chanting: "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!"

WV Photos

The power of labor was evident as SSEU Local 371 members led march toward Foley Square under labor/black mobilization banner, October 23. Postal workers carried signs honoring their brother Joseph Ileto, gunned down by fascist killer in Los Angeles in July.

Headed up by union marshals with their arms linked, they marched up Lafayette Street displaying in victory the militancy, determination and defiance that was at the core of this mobilization centered on the social power of organized labor. "We gave a message to the city: This is not Klan country!" said a member of the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) Local 371. Local 371 came together with members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, postal, construction, civil service and many, many other trade unionists to form the backbone of the mobilization to stop the Klan.

These unionists, who knew that coming to a mobilization to stop the Klan was serious business, were above all what gave the mobilization its disciplined and determined character. They acted as marshals to protect the mobilization at 100 Centre Street. In the vanguard was SSEU Local 371, led by its president, Charles Ensley, whose members stationed themselves right in front of the speaker's platform and then led a large contingent from 100 Centre Street to Foley Square a block away, where thousands of others had drifted in the hope of getting closer to the Klan. A thousand edgy cops, with many more in reserve, were restrained by this show of labor power.

The thousands who turned out saw this labor/black mobilization as their own, and many had indeed helped build it. Workers at transit locations, hospitals and UPS depots, on buses and subways, at municipal office buildings took stacks of leaflets to distribute and poster. Many demonstrators brought their own handmade signs or made them on the spot. People called out suggestions for additional chants to the speaker's platform.

Student governments from Borough of Manhattan Community College, Lehman, Bronx Community, Hostos, as well as students and student organizations from Columbia and New York University, Sarah Lawrence,

continued on page 3

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Join the Labor Black Leagues!

WV Photo

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! For class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge is
$3/year unemployed; $10/year employed.
For more information, write:

CHICAGO (312) 454-4930
Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

NEW YORK (212) 267-1025
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND (510) 839-0851
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604

TROTSKY

LENIN

"Free Speech" Liberals Shield KKK Racist Terrorists

In their unsuccessful effort to thwart the independent mobilization of NYC labor and minorities to stop the KKK, the New York Civil Liberties Union and liberal Democrats like Al Sharpton rushed to shield the Klan killers under the cover of "free speech." Their predecessors tried the same tack in 1939 in opposing a 50,000-strong workers mobilization called by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party to stop a Nazi rally in Madison Square Garden, while Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia unleashed nearly 1,800 cops against the workers. In an article at the time, the Trotskyists exposed the "free speech" line of the bourgeois liberals as a cover for furthering attacks on the working class and disarming the proletariat in the face of fascist terror.

Mayor LaGuardia kept reiterating emphatically that his attachment to Democracy compelled him to grant the Fascists the right to hold their meeting and provide them with extraordinary police protection.

The American Civil Liberties Union rushed into print to insist that the right of free speech be extended to the Hitlerites.

One of the numerous committees of the Jewish bourgeoisie, anxious to demonstrate that it loves fairness above all else, did likewise....

Before going further into the consideration of the question of "free speech for Fascists," it is interesting and important to record the fact that all the above-mentioned who showed such touching concern for the "democratic rights" of the Nazis, are entirely unconcerned with the brutal police suppression of the picketing rights of the workers who assembled outside the Garden....

What is most decisive—this is the point which leads us directly to a solution of the problem that seems to agitate so many people—is the fact that in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Spain, the Democrats were so concerned with preserving the "rights" of the Fascists that they concentrated all their attacks and repressive measures upon those workers and those labor organizations which sought to conduct a militant struggle against the Fascists and for the preservation and extension of their truly democratic rights and institutions.

It is when the bourgeois "democrats" like Giolitti in Italy and Bruening in Germany, had done all in their power to smash the most progressive and active sections of the working class—as LaGuardia and his police tried to do on a smaller scale in New York last week—that the Fascists concluded successfully their march to totalitarian power. Whoever forgets this important lesson from abroad, is a fool. Whoever tries to keep others ignorant of this lesson, is a rogue....

The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the Fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action.

—"Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?"
(*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is October 26.

No. 722 **29 October 1999**

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Fight for New October Revolutions!
Thursdays, 7 p.m.
November 4: ***How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled***
UC Berkeley, Room 222 Wheeler
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

The Fight for Communism and the Class Struggle Today
Saturdays, 2 p.m.
November 6: ***The State***
Mayer Campus Center, Zamparelli
Room 112, Tufts University
Information and readings: (617) 866-9453

CHICAGO

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Saturdays, 3 p.m.
November 6: ***Black Oppression and Revolutionary Integrationism***
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Introduction to Revolutionary Marxism
Saturdays, 2:30 p.m.
November 6: ***The Marxist Understanding of the Capitalist State***
3808 Beverly Blvd. (at Vermont) Rm. 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 2: ***Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed***, Rm. 309
November 16: ***For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***, Rm. 307
Student Events Center, NYU
5 Washington Pl. (at Mercer St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Smash the Capitalist System of Racism and War!
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
November 3: ***Marxism and the National Question***
U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College St.)
For room and information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Marxism and World Revolution
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
November 9: ***Defend China, Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba: For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution!***
University of British Columbia
Room 212, Student Union Building
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

KKK Out...

(continued from page 1)

Cornell and many others, endorsed and helped build the mobilization to stop the Klan. Many students organized contingents from their campuses, which marched into the rally in groups. As the speaker for the Spartacus Youth Club—which helped build campus support—read off the names of the colleges and college groups, students cheered loudly.

For hundreds of students, this was not only their first taste of mass political action, but their first sense of the social power of labor organized in racially integrated unions. Speakers from the student contingents spoke with fire and passion, as exemplified by a young woman from City College who declared: "We are here to tell the KKK that you are cowards and if you would like to come to Washington Heights, if you would like to come to Harlem, and if you'd like to come to Brooklyn, we are waiting! Harlem is waiting, KKK!"

A Workers Party in Action

What was seen in the streets of New York City on October 23 was exactly what the PDC had said was necessary to stop the Klan: a powerful mobilization of the social power of the multiracial working class, standing at the head of blacks, Hispanics, Asians, immigrants, Jews, Catholics, gays, youth and all those the Klan has lined up in its sights. Our purpose was to give an organized and militant expression to the massive outrage against the Klan.

WV Photo

Giuliani mobilized over a thousand cops to protect KKK. NYPD thugs attacked group of anti-Klan protesters as KKK appeared.

It was a united-front mobilization, which allowed for the expression of many diverse political viewpoints by all those who shared a commitment to the urgent necessity to *stop the KKK*. But it tapped into far more than that, intersecting the accumulated anger among the city's working people, particularly blacks and Hispanics, who are fed up with being pushed around for years in the one-sided war against workers and the poor.

It galvanized the anger against the marauding, racist cops which exploded earlier this year over the killing of black African Amadou Diallo by the NYPD. It gave expression to the hundreds of thousands in this city—from unionized workers to immigrant cab drivers and hot dog vendors, CUNY students, artists, AIDS victims—who have had it with Giuliani's mini-police state. It demonstrated an alternative to the Democratic Party politicians, their black front men and labor flunkies, who worked as feverishly to try to demobilize any independent outpouring of the working people and all the enemies of Klan terror as they had done to contain the protests over the Diallo killing within the confines of electoral pressure politics.

Many of the thousands who mobilized behind the anti-Klan rally were looking for the answer not only to stopping Klan terror but to fighting back against the entire system of racist capitalist exploitation and oppression. Demonstrators listened raptly to all the speeches from the platform. Many shouted, "That's right, that's right" when PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson denounced both the Democratic and Republican parties as enemies of labor and the oppressed. Calls for the working people to build their own class party were met with applause.

What was seen on the streets of New York City on October 23 was a microcosm of a workers party in action, i.e., the working class mobilized in its own interests, acting independently of the government and parties of the capitalist class. The PDC—a class-struggle legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the views of the Marxist Spartacist League—initiated the call which brought to bear the social power of labor and its strong, militant component of black workers in defense of all the oppressed. That same power, those same forces which stopped the Klan from riding can organize the unorganized and unemployed, can mobilize in defense of the masses in the ghettos and barrios, can crack the "open shop" South—itself a product of KKK anti-union terror.

The successful labor/black mobilization brought to life the connection between labor's fight and the fight for black freedom. Black oppression is the cornerstone of racist American capitalism. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power, and there will be no proletarian revolution to end class exploitation unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things that the ruling class appropriates for itself—health care, education, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership necessary to fight—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow down to the bosses' laws, parties and state agencies, a workers party that doesn't respect the property "rights" of the bourgeoisie. We need a workers party that fights for a workers government to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and institute a planned socialist economy that operates not for the profit of a few greedy exploiters but for the working people who produce the wealth of society. That is the kind of workers party that we communists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build.

WV Photo

Large contingent of NYU students joined other campus contingents on October 23, many getting their first taste of mass political action and of social power of organized working class.

The Political Battle to Stop the Klan

Just as the mobilization to stop the Klan in New York City on October 23 gave a real taste of the social forces and leadership required for socialist revolution in this country, it also starkly exposed the enemies and obstacles to organizing struggles of the working class in its own interests and in the interests of all those at the bottom of this society. These included the capitalist cops, courts and Giuliani city administration; the American Civil Liberties Union, which continued its revolting decades-long defense of "constitutional rights" for the fascist terrorists; the Democratic Party, whose calls for a "demonstration for tolerance" were aimed at trying to demobilize the working people and others who wanted to stop the Klan; Al Sharpton and the black establishment *Amsterdam News*, who grotesquely filed a court brief on behalf of the Klan; the International Socialist Organization (ISO), who leapt into the camp of Giuliani, the Democrats, Sharpton, the ACLU *and* the Klan *against* the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization.

From the day that the Klan's rally was publicly announced in a 13 October article in the *New York Post*, there was a contention of two counterposed class forces—those representing the interests of the capitalist ruling class and those representing the interests of the working class and its allies. The moment the PDC heard of the KKK's plans, it applied for a permit to hold a demonstration at the same time and same place as the Klan's announced rally site, 100 Centre Street. The call for a labor/black mobilization was issued immediately, and met with overwhelming support when it hit the streets. This mobilization had an impact on city politics not seen in years. The issue captured the front pages of the tabloids, dominated talk shows and call-ins on black radio stations, reportedly split union executive boards and drove the Democratic Party establishment to distraction.

The Giuliani administration and NYPD responded by setting to work in an attempt to block this mobilization. Colluding with them was an unholy alliance ranging from the New York Civil Liberties Union's Norman Siegel, lawyer for the KKK, to Democratic State Assemblyman Scott Stringer and black Democrat Al Sharpton. The KKK's rally site was secretly moved a block away to 60 Centre Street, information that was not made public for days. As it became clear that thousands of New Yorkers were rallying behind the PDC's call, as tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed over the weekend of October 16-17, this cabal moved into high gear.

Stringer, joined by Sharpton and other Democratic Party pols, called a press conference on October 19 to announce that he had applied for a permit for a "demonstration for tolerance" at 60 Centre Street, where the Klan would stage its rally. That evening it came out, as a PDC press release reported, that Stringer & Co. were "colluding with the Klan and the Giuliani administration to cut a deal to share a sound permit with the KKK at 60 Centre Street." The following day, Sharpton filed his *amicus* brief on behalf of the Klan. *We* fought on behalf of the tens of thousands of New York's working people who wanted to *stop* the KKK, waging an incessant battle in the courts for *their* rights to free speech and assembly.

On October 21, a federal district court gave the Klansmen everything they had asked for and the working people were told they were to be muzzled. The court approved the deal cooked up by Siegel, Stringer and the Klan to share a sound permit and gave the KKK the right to stage their race-hate provocation in hoods with masks. The judges denied a sound permit for the labor/black mobilization at 60 Centre Street. As PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein declared, "This deal is an attempt to guarantee that only the Klan will be heard and not their intended victims." She added, "The denial of a sound

continued on page 4

Reuters

AP

WV Photo

Liberal and fake-socialist enemies of labor/black mobilization provided platform for KKK racist terrorists: NYCLU's Norman Siegel at Klan rally, Democrats Al Sharpton and Scott Stringer, ISO speaker next to police banner at Democratic Party diversion.

KKK Out...

(continued from page 3)

permit to the anti-Klan rally is a provocation against the mobilization organizers' ability to hold a militant, orderly mass demonstration. A rally without centrally located sound and leadership is like a car without a steering wheel."

Even the right-wing *New York Post* (23 October) denounced the court's decision that the anti-Klan mobilization could not use loudspeakers at the same time as the KKK on the grounds that that would "snuff out the free speech" of the Klan. Indeed, the court ruling was a graphic illustration of the race and class bias of the capitalist "justice" system—a free ride for Klan terror and no rights for their intended victims! This was punctuated by the fact that the courthouse was literally used as a shelter for the KKK when it staged its race-hate rally.

When the Klan's permit to rally with masks was retracted in a federal appeals court on October 22, a disinformation campaign was set in motion aimed at convincing people there was no reason to come out the next day since the KKK would not be there. A PDC press release that evening declared: "Whatever reports are circulating that the KKK currently has no permit to stage its race-hate provocation, the working people of this city have no reason to trust the word of these racist terrorists or the Giuliani administration. The only way to guarantee that the Klan does not rear its head in New York tomorrow is if the streets are filled with its opponents."

And, on October 23, there were many thousands of determined opponents of the Klan filling the area around Centre Street. Here was the answer to Sharpton's defense of the Klan's right to "free speech." Many of those who came out had personal experience with the burning cross, the lynch rope, the shotguns through which the Klan "speaks." Despite being separated by helmeted riot cops and police barricades at different locations, they had come out not to show "tolerance" for the KKK as preached by Stringer and the Democrats but in response to the PDC call to *stop the KKK*.

The ISO—*Traitors* Exposed

Except for some of the Democratic Party faithful, like Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, and a token endorsement by the leadership of the Central Labor Council, Stringer, Sharpton et al.'s call for "tolerance" fell on deaf ears. The *only* organization to leap into Stringer's camp with energy and purpose was the International Socialist Organization, which did its level best to give a cover to the Democratic Party—and the Klan—*against* the organized working class.

WV Photo

Demonstrators purchased hundreds of pieces of SL literature laying out revolutionary program for workers power to root out racist terror once and for all.

The ISO endorsed a meeting called by a variety of lawyers and liberals to organize behind Stringer's "demonstration for tolerance." When representatives of the PDC intervened to call for uniting all those who wanted to stop the Klan on October 23, there were no takers. While Sharpton was outrageously defending the Klan's "rights" in court, at the meeting the ISO enthused over what a good speaker Sharpton was and how many people he would draw to the Democratic Party diversion! As it turned out, Sharpton never even showed up on October 23, doubtless not anxious to face the jeers of the thousands who had come out to stop the KKK. But the ISO was there with bells on.

While shamelessly enlisting with the Democrats, the ISO tried to cover its despicable role by issuing a little-distributed leaflet under the heading "Stop the Klan!" Since their main purpose was *opposed* to stopping the KKK, this was pure cynicism. On site on October 23, the ISO continued to try to deceive people who had mobilized in response to the PDC's call by steering them into the site of the Democrats' location, which was a police trap. When people discovered this deception, many who tried to leave found their way blocked by the cops.

Having been provided a temporary, if unwitting, audience by the ISO's treachery, Democrats like Senator Charles Schumer and others tried to turn the event into an election rally. They were repeatedly booed by the angry protesters who had not come out for election speeches or messages of "tolerance" but to stop Klan terror. While the anti-Klan demonstrators understood the role of the cops in protecting these nightriding terrorists, the ISO speaker stood in front of the banner of the Latino Officers Association. This is not unusual for the ISO, which has a long history of viewing the cops as "workers" and upholding their "right" to organize. Will these social democrats whose British paper once headlined "Are All Coppers Really Bastards?" now ask, "Are all Klansmen really bastards?"

With the ISO acting as the donkeys for the Democratic Party in trying to demobilize the mass labor-centered protest to stop the Klan, whatever pretenses it had to the cause of "workers power" have been stripped bare. The ISO stands exposed as the servants of capital against the interests of the working class, black people and all the oppressed.

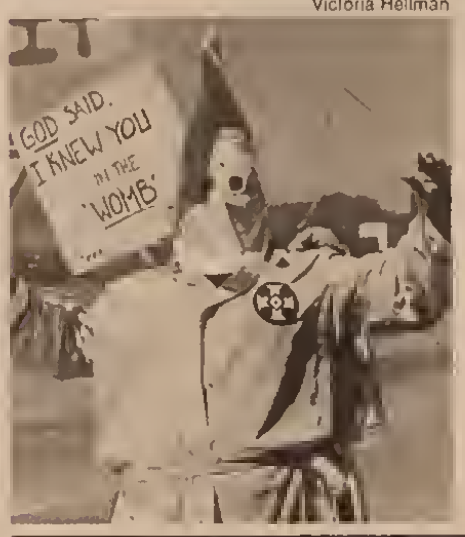
While the rest of the left did not play so forward a role as the ISO in serving the interests of the Democratic Party, most remained silent in the face of the deadly Klan threat until Stringer and Sharpton started to call for a liberal diversion. The Communist Party endorsed the Stringer rally. Workers World Party (WWP) tried to have it both ways. Feigning some mock independence from the Democrats, they called for people to assemble at Stringer's site, but somewhat later than the official starting time. Then, on October 23, WWP also had people at the PDC rally site, where they handed out placards that called to "stop the Klan" and for a "new trial" for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. When SYC comrades pointed out that this sowed illusions in the very same courts that had sentenced Jamal to death and had upheld the "right" to Klan terror, many of the people who had unwittingly taken WWP's placards traded them in for PDC placards demanding *freedom* for Jamal.

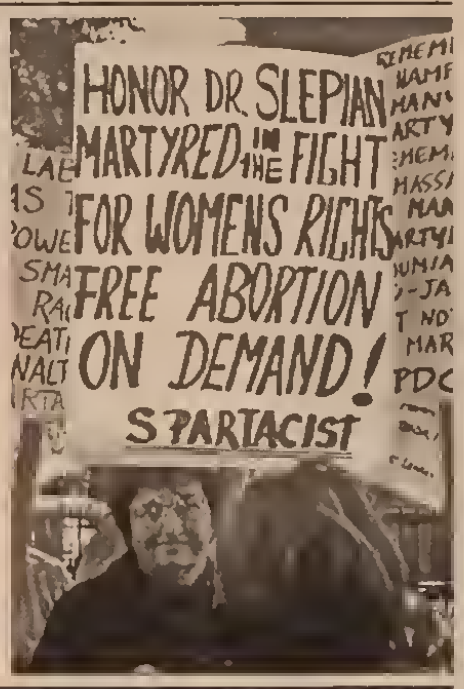
In a very unusual move, the Stalin-lovers of Progressive Labor Party (PL), who smear "Trotskyites" as fascists, called on people to assemble at the site of the PDC mobilization, signing an endorsement form on the spot. Now a PL Internet statement crows how "thousands" were "led by PLP" and asserts, "It took the PLP to lead a breakaway march of hundreds who really wanted to confront the Klan." In fact, what PL did was "lead" itself straight into a line of riot cops a short distance away. PL's whole strategy of individual confrontations with the cops and the fascists is based on a rejection of the working class as a force for social struggle. Giuliani's cops did arrest several anti-Klan protesters on October 23. We demand: Drop all the charges now!

The self-proclaimed redder-than-red communists of PL—who can't tell the difference between a trade union and right-wing religious bigots like the Promise Keepers—are guided by absolutely *no* class criteria. Thus, they expressed no solidarity with the powerful Teamsters union during its strike against the UPS bosses. Instead, they dismissed this struggle as a battle between two wings of the ruling class! With its utter contempt for the organized working class, PL's cries of "Kick the bosses in the ass" and "Death to the Klan" are little more than the bleatings of grandstanding liberals.

KKK lyncher menaces Dallas abortion clinic. "Right to life" terrorist murdered Dr. Barnett Slepian.

Victoria Hellman





It Took Money to Drive the Klan Out of NYC

Working people, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, gays, Jews, Catholics and other minorities as well as immigrants, students and youth—all opponents of racist terror—won a stunning victory over the KKK nightriders in New York City. But that cost a lot of money. Over 175,000 leaflets—in English, Spanish and French—calling for "All Out to Stop the KKK on October 23!" were printed and distributed. We sent out press releases and printed thousands of posters, which are now treasured souvenirs for those who came out to stop the Klan. We still have big bills to pay for telephones, rally equipment rental and much more. If you or your organization have not yet made a contribution, show your support for stopping the KKK by sending a contribution now, payable to the Partisan Defense Committee, earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send to: Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

Linking the Power of Labor to the Anger of the Ghettos

The clear intent of the liberal Democrats and their allies was to block any independent expression of the power of labor and *its* allies to stop the Klan on October 23. But they seriously miscalculated the outrage throughout this city against the Klan rally and failed miserably in their efforts. Throughout the building for this labor/black mobilization, the Democrats and their labor lackeys evidently realized they couldn't even try the usual violence-baiting and redbaiting of the PDC which has been attempted against previous PDC-initiated anti-fascist mobilizations. That's not because they had any less fear of or hostility to labor being mobilized behind a class-struggle program, but because they recognized they couldn't openly come out against the labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in a city where the overwhelming mass of the population is directly in the cross hairs of the racist terrorists.

Many unions told us that they couldn't endorse the PDC mobilization because their leadership was split over the question. Nonetheless, a number that didn't endorse asked for stacks of the PDC's mobilizing leaflet to put in their union halls. Dennis Rivera, who runs a well-oiled machine in Local 1199, made no overt attempt to mobilize his membership behind Stringer's "free speech" diversion. Likewise, the hidebound craft-union bureaucrats at the head of the Central Labor Council who endorsed Stringer's "demonstration for tolerance" did not put out the word that trade unionists should stay away from the labor/black mobilization.

What was reflected here was the fear of the labor bureaucrats and black Democrats that by opposing the PDC's anti-Klan mobilization they could potentially detonate the anger building at the base of the unions, the outrage in the ghettos and barrios. But that didn't stop them from trying to head it off.

In defending their legal efforts on behalf of the Klan, the editors of the *Amsterdam News* grotesquely echoed the racists who compared the Klan with Khallid Muhammad. Condemning this equation of the victims of Klan terror with its perpetrators, PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson responded: "The purpose of this is to conceal the real enemy and deny the true nature of the KKK. Khallid Muhammad is an anti-Semitic demagogue, but that's all he is. The Klan is a *terrorist action group* whose purpose is genocide." Speaking at a PDC press conference on October 19, Jim Webb of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists added, "Khallid has never murdered, lynched, burned churches, synagogues and homes."

In its call initiating this mobilization, the PDC noted that the Klan was making a big mistake by thinking it could ride in New York City, and October 23 proved that. The thousands who turned out that day sent a powerful message that the KKK had better not try it again. This mobilization was also a powerful response to the demagogy of Muhammad and his former mentor, Louis Farrakhan, who seek to channel the anger of the ghetto into bigotry against Jewish, Arab and Asian shopkeepers in order that they can be the sole exploiters of the ghetto masses. This response was palpable in minority neighborhoods throughout the city.

A Korean shopkeeper in Harlem came out of his store to donate money and hand out leaflets to build for the anti-Klan mobilization. In Chinatown, a merchant took a stack of leaflets and taught PDC soapboxers how to say "stop the Klan" in Chinese, immediately drawing sympathetic crowds. At the mobilization itself, many black participants remarked

Stay of Execution Granted, Danger Remains

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia!

OCTOBER 26—*As we go to press, it has just been announced that Mumia Abu-Jamal has won a stay of execution from a federal judge pending a decision on his* habeas corpus *petition. No one among Jamal's millions of defenders must be lulled by this news into thinking that Mumia is any less endangered by the police and government forces which have long waged a concerted campaign for his legal lynching.*

We print below a speech by Paul Cooperstein of the Partisan Defense Committee at a victory party immediately following the October 23 anti-Klan demonstration.

We have another urgent fight on our hands—the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. To win his freedom, we have to mobilize the same social forces that routed the Klan today, the multiracial unions which were the bedrock of this mobilization.

Ten days ago, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge signed an order for Mumia to be executed on December 2. And despite Jamal's filing for *habeas corpus* in the federal courts, that warrant of execution has not been lifted. They are determined to kill Mumia. We must be more determined to win his freedom. The lynch rope of the KKK is just the other side of the legal lynchings of the capitalist state. In mobilizing against the KKK we must raise our voices to demand: Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

The capitalist state—made up of the cops, courts, prisons, corrections officers—is an instrument for the capitalist rulers to defend their massive profits, their class rule through vicious repression and terror against workers and minorities. The prisons today are flooded with young black and Hispanic men and women, mostly as a result of the racist "war on drugs." With them are those who have stood up for the rights of labor and blacks against this oppressive capitalist system—former Panthers like Mumia, coal miners like Jerry Dale Lowe, MOVE members. We fight for the freedom of the class-war prisoners—their fight is our fight!

At the core of this state terror machine is the racist death penalty. In this country, the death penalty is a direct legacy of slavery. It is part and parcel of the racist cop terror on the streets and the extralegal terror of the KKK. It is the lynch rope made legal. It is no accident that joining in the cops' drive for Mumia's death is the fascist National Association for the Advancement of White People. The crusade to kill Jamal is designed to sanctify this killing machine, which has already taken nearly 80 lives since January—the most in 45 years.

The Tom Ridges, the Giulianis, the Clintons—and those over there on Wall Street whom they serve—want to kill Mumia because he is a powerful spokesman for the poor and oppressed. In their eyes, he represents the spectre of black revolution. Why such concern? Because the cause of black freedom and the fight against the grinding exploitation of labor in this racist capitalist society are potential social dynamite if combined.

The PDC is a class-struggle legal and social defense organization. Guided by the principles of the early International Labor Defense, we stand unconditionally on the side of the working people and their allies in struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. We place *all* our faith in the power of the masses and ***no faith whatever*** in the justice of the courts.

There are some who build deadly illusions in the courts which have condemned Mumia to die, promoting the call for a new trial for Jamal. Among them are Al Sharpton, who also threw his weight behind the effort to make sure the Klan could rally for racist terror here today. Justice in the courts? The same courts that protected the Klan's rights while denying those who wanted to stop the KKK killers a sound permit? What the courts, Stringer, the New York Civil Liberties Union wanted was to prevent us—the masses of this city who are the Klan's intended victims—from taking the streets.

Can Mumia get a fair trial in the courts of the Dred Scott decision, which said that blacks had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, the courts which declared "separate but equal" segregation the law of the land?

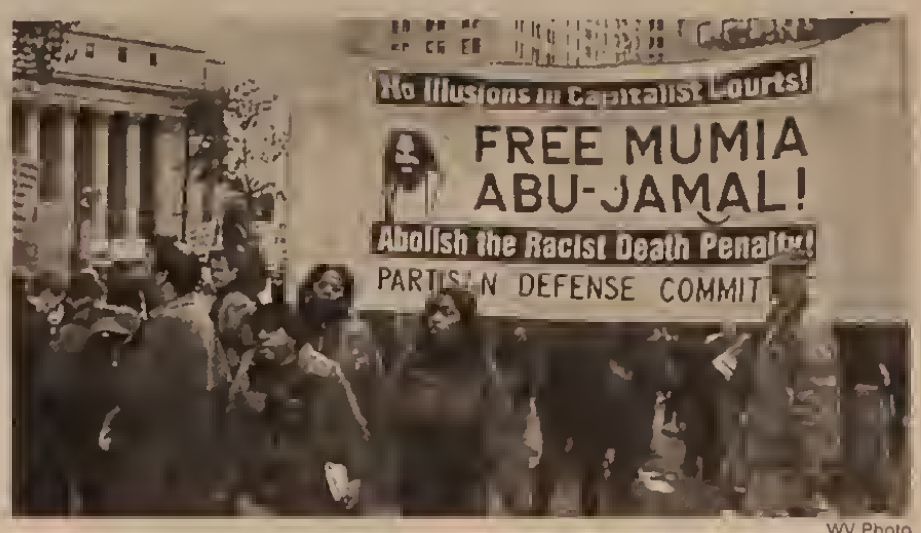
Can Mumia get a fair trial in the courts that said it's irrelevant that the death penalty is racist, that said it is not unconstitutional to execute an innocent man?

Can Mumia get a fair trial in the courts that ordered the execution of the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs—that let the racist cops who killed Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Anthony Baez, Amadou Diallo, Gidone Busch walk the streets to stalk their prey every day?

Can he get a fair trial in the courts that enforce the slave-labor Taylor Law? Hell no!

We say: Free Mumia! That means mobilizing now, centered on the power of the multiracial working class, the workers who run the trains, make the cars, drive the trucks, lay the pipe, move the garbage, create all the wealth in this society. The workers who, by withholding their labor, can shut this city, Philly and other cities down cold, choking off the lifeblood of this racist killing machine: capitalist profits.

To win the freedom of the class-war prisoners, to put an end to this racist killing machine of lynch ropes, gas chambers and lethal injections, means getting rid of the racist capitalist system once and for all—through workers socialist revolution. Free Mumia!



WV Photo

PDC banner on October 23. Mobilizing labor/black power to win Mumia's freedom is counterposed to reliance on Democrats, capitalist courts.

on the multiracial character of the turnout and echoed denunciations of anti-Semitism from the speaker's platform.

In contrast to the preaching of liberal "diversity"—like Jesse Jackson's "rainbow coalition" or David Dinkins' "beautiful mosaic"—which means acceptance of the racist status quo and Democratic Party ethnic politics, this was a powerful demonstration of *class unity* and unity of the oppressed behind the social power of the multiracial working class. One chant in particular resonated at the PDC mobilization: "Asian, Latin, black and white—Workers of the world, unite!" Everyone could see that proletarian power right before their eyes in this labor-centered anti-Klan mobilization.

The Fight for a Workers America

The Klan was born out of the bloody reaction in the South following the defeat of the slavocracy in the American Civil War. These were the hooded-and-robed agents of the former Confederacy, who carried out a campaign of terror, intimidation, mutilation and murder aimed at strangling the political rights that were won by the freed slaves during Reconstruction. The KKK spearheaded the restoration of white supremacy in the form of the system of Jim Crow segregation that held sway for nearly a century. It heralded a resurgence, reaching several million strong in the 1920s, with the lynching of Jewish businessman Leo Frank in Georgia in 1915.

Today the Klan is the lowlife, terrorist hunch held in reserve by the American capitalist ruling class. This ruling class, a tiny minority which expropriates all the real wealth of this society, believes that everyone else has no rights which this rich, white man's government is bound to respect. This capitalist ruling class needs the homegrown Nazis of the KKK, to be deployed to crush the organizations of the working class when the masses can no longer be lulled by the lie that their interests are represented by capitalist "democracy."

The political battle required to build the labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from riding in NYC contains important lessons for all those who want to struggle against union-busting, racism, poverty, homelessness, war and all the other hideous expressions of a system rooted in exploitation and racial oppression. Central is that the capitalist state is not neutral. It is the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of one class—the capitalists—over another class, the proletariat. As Marxists, we know that the bourgeois state at its core consists of special armed bodies of men—the cops, the military, the prison system and the whole "justice system"—whose job is to protect the profits and rule of the capitalists and to repress the workers. All historical experience has shown that the working class cannot reform the state and use it in its own interests but must create its own state, a workers state. The revolutionary fight for proletarian state power is the only road to black freedom and the emancipation of labor and all the oppressed.

We didn't invent the perspective on which our anti-Klan mobilizations are based. It is the concrete application of the experience of the Bolshevik Party which led the first, and only, successful working-class revolution in history—the October Revolution of 1917. Like the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy in this country which undermines the gains that were won through hard class struggle, the gains of the Russian Revolution were betrayed by the Stalinist bureaucracy which hijacked the exercise of political power by the workers. Paralleling the policies of the AFL-CIO tops, the Stalinists pursued class collaboration, not internationalist class struggle. Ultimately, this led to the destruction of the Soviet Union by the forces of imperialism and domestic counterrevolution in 1991-92.

WV Photo

PDC victory party after October 23 mobilization.

Since then, the imperialist rulers have been celebrating the "death of communism." But communism isn't dead—it is the program that expresses the class interests of the workers and oppressed, growing out of their aspirations and struggles for a society of genuine equality and social justice. What is needed to realize those aspirations is a workers party, which can bring the consciousness to the working class of its social power and historic interests in fighting the rule of capital and every manifestation of the barbarity of this system. What is needed is a workers revolution, which will break the power of the few and liberate the many—the working people and their allies—who will employ the wealth created by their labor for the benefit of the majority both in America and around the globe. On October 23, thousands of New York's working people and minorities got a small taste of that workers power. ■

Spartacist Forum

Black and Red: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

The Fight for a Workers' America

Death Warrant Signed—Update on Urgent Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saturday, October 30, 3 p.m.

Vanderbilt Hall, Room 214, New York University School of Law
40 Washington Sq. South (between MacDougal and Sullivan Sts.)
Take A·B·C·D·E·F trains to W 4th St., N·R to 8th St or 1·9 to Christopher St.

NEW YORK CITY

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Partisan Defense Committee Call

"All Out to Stop the KKK on October 23!"

We print below the call of the Partisan Defense Committee for the labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in New York City as issued on October 14.

The race-hate killers of the KKK want to bring the lynch rope, the burning cross and the stench of the death camps to New York City. The American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan say they will rally here on October 23. The Partisan Defense Committee says the Klan is making a big mistake by thinking they can get away with this racist provocation. There is no way that working people in this heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant city are going to allow these hooded terrorists to organize here for lynch mob terror. And it is precisely the working people who make this city run who have the power to stop them.

The Partisan Defense Committee is calling on all the city's trade unians, an black peaple, Hispanics, Asians, Jews, Cathalics and other minarities and immigrants, student organizations, gays, all opponents of racist terror ta jain us in a massive display of overwhelming strength and social power: All aut ta stop the KKK an October 23! Be there: naan, 100 Centre Street, same time and same place as the Klan says they are going ta rally!

The KKK threat comes just as Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge has signed an execution warrant for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The death penalty is the lynch rope made legal. The state wants to take the life of this innocent man solely because he is an eloquent and unbending opponent of racist repression. Joining the cops' crusade for Mumia's execution are the fascists of the National Association for the Advancement of White People. In mobilizing against the KKK, we must raise our voices to demand: *Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

The reign of racist cop terror unleashed by Giuliani—the sadistic torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima, the death squad-style execution of black African Amadou Diallo, the gunning down of Hasidic Jew Gidone Busch—makes the Klan killers think they can now freely maraud through New York. They seek to ride the racist "law and order" campaign pushed by Democrats and Republicans alike. Appeals to the government to "ban the Klan" only reinforce the state's repressive powers against labor, the left and minorities. What is needed is

WV Photos

Trade unionists were the backbone of NYC mobilization to stop the KKK. Right: contingent of TWU Local 100 transit workers.

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in New York City: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan October 23!'"

Aboriginal Education Program, University of New South Weles,* Sydney, NSW, Australia
Jill Adams, Shop Steward, New York University Cafeteria Workers, United Food Workers Local 424, Lake Ronkonkoma, NY
Larry Adams, President, Mail Handlers Local 300,* New York, NY
Adult Education Chapter Executive Committee, United Federation of Teachers,* New York, NY
African Club, Bronx Community College,* Bronx, NY
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1179, Jamaica, NY
Asian Initiative @ NYU, New York University,* New York, NY
Asociacion de Mujeres Latinas, Bronx, NY
Asociacion Mexico-Americana de Trabajadoras, New York, NY
Australian Manufacturing Workers Union, Metals Division, Shop Stewards Committee, Port Melbourne, Vic., Australia
Iris Baez, Anthony Baez Memoriel Fund, Bronx, NY
Marlene Bastien, President, Haitian Women of Miami, Inc., Miami, FL
Louise Bell, President, UAW Local 719,* Countryside, IL
Dr. Paul Bermanzohn, Greensboro Justice Fund, Brooklyn, NY
Bethel United African Church, Somerset, NJ
Wanda Black, President, Amalgemated Transit Union Local 241,* Chicago, IL
Leah Bloch, Director, Hashomer Hatzair Australia, Caulfield Junction, Vic., Australia
Gilbert Bobé, Executive Board member, Transport Workers Union Local 100,* New York, NY
Andrew Bonthius, Executive Vice President for Hourly Teachers, American Federation of Teachers Local 771,* Oakland, CA
Boston Spartacus Youth Club
Roy Bourgeois, Co-Director, School of the Americas Watch,* Columbus, GA
Phil Brew, Authorised Union Representative, Sydney East Letters Facility, Communications, Electrical and Plumbers Union,* Stanmore, NSW, Australia
Edward L. Brown Sr., Secretary-Treasurer, Civil Rights Committee International Longshoremen's Association, Norfolk, VA
Tamika Brown, Vice President, Caribbean Students Association, Lehman College,* Bronx, NY
Pedro Cabán, Associate Professor, Puerto Rican/Hispanic/Caribbean Studies, Rutgers University,* New Brunswick, NJ
Mariafa E. Cebrera, President, CASA, Lehman College,* New York, NY
James Cemeron, America's Black Holocaust Museum, Milwaukee, WI
Campus Action of Capitol District, Albany, NY
Canadien Union of Postel Workars, Metro Toronto Region, Toronto, Ontario
Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario
Ceribbean Studenls Associetion, Lehman College,* Bronx, NY
Eugene Carrington, member, Unity Party,* Brooklyn, NY
Rubin Hurricane Carter, Toronto, Ontario
Zaida Castillo, Director Programs Operations, Hispanic AIDS Forum,* Jackson Heights, NY
Catholic Center at New York University, New York, NY
Hector Ceballos, Co-Chair, Queers of Color at Columbia University, New York, NY
Chabad @ NYU, New York, NY
Charas/El Bohio Cultural and Community Center, New York, NY
Arthur Chellotes, President, Communications Workers of America Local 1180, New York, NY
Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, Chicago, IL
Chicago Labor Black Struggle Leegue, Chicago, IL
Civil Rights Committee International Longshoremen's Association
Celia L. Clark, Chairwoman, Campus Action of Capitol District; Manager, Social Justice Center, Albany, NY
Lennox Clarke, Shop Steward, Local 1549, AFSCME DC 37,* New York, NY
Club M.A.C. (Mature Adult Coalition), Lehman College,* Bronx, NY
College Voice, College of Staten Island,* Staten Island, NY
Leroy Collier, President, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
Committee for Workers Self-Defense, Brooklyn, NY
Communications Workers of America Local 1180, New York, NY
Communications Workers of America Local 1182, Forest Hills, NY
Cornell Organization for Labor Action, Ithaca, NY
Elijah Crane, Rainbow Flags for Mumia,* Brooklyn, NY
Joseph Curto, Graphic Communications International Union, Local 1L, Amalgamated Lithographers of America,*New York, NY
Larry Cutler, AFSCME DC 37 Retirees,* New York, NY
Dan S. D'Ambly, Delegate, Amalgamated Lithographers of America Local 1L,* New York, NY
Ossie Davis, Actor, New York, NY
Claude W. Da'Barry, Grievance Committeeperson, United Steelworkers of America Local 8888,* Newport News, VA
Olivia deBree, Coordinator, USLAC, Middletown, CT
G. Lucas de Veaux, Chairman, Social Action Committee, Northeastern Province, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity,* New York, NY
Devil's Advocates/Triage Records, Brooklyn, NY
Gerardo Dominguez, Vice President, Asociacion Mexico-Amencana de Trabajadores, New York, NY
Rafael E. Dominguez, President, Undergraduate Student Government, CCNY,* New York, NY
Dominicen Student Associetion, Lehman College,* Bronx, NY
Dominicen Students Association, Hostos Community College,* Bronx, NY
Electrical Workers Union (SME), Mexico City, Mexico
Cherles S. Ensley, President, Social Servica Employees Union Local 371, New York, NY
Meryl Felgenbarg, co-founder, Social Action Club, LaGuardia High School,* New York, NY
Patrick Fielding, Delegate, Sydney East Letters Fecility, Communications, Electrical, Plumbing Union,* Bondi Junction, NSW, Australia
Ford PTA Dagenham Shop Stewards Committee, London, England
Nereyda Franco, President, Asociacion de Mujeres Latinas, Bronx, NY
Freedom Socialist Party, New York, NY
Rebbi Allen I. Freehling, Los Angeles, CA
Carlos "Chino" Garcia, President, Charas/El Bohio Cultural and Community Center, New York, NY
Gary Gidmen, Executive Board member, Transport Workers Union Local 241,* New York, NY
Lisa Gillis, Correspondence Secretary, Black Law Students Association, Seton Hall University,* Newark, NJ
Adriana Goldstaub, Central Foundation of Contemporary Jewish Documentation,* Milano, Italy
Dr. Carolyn Goodman, mother of Andrew Goodman, New York, NY
Rabbi Joshua Levine Grater, New York, NY
Lester Muala Greene, Political Action Chair, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,* New York, NY
Greensboro Justice Fund, Greensboro, NC
Franco Grisolfe, Trade Union Alternative,* Milano, Italy
Haitian Constituency, USA, New York, NY
Haitien Information Center, Brooklyn, NY
Haitien Mobilization to Defend Immigrants' Rights, Brooklyn, NY
Haitian Women of Miami, Inc., Miami, FL
Felicia K. Harvey, Grievance Committee Person, United Steelworkers of America Local 8888,* Hampton, VA
Hashomer Hatzair Australia
La Herencia Latina, New York, NY
Fred Horstmann, Administrator, Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal,* New York, NY
Hostos and the Community Organization, Hostos Community College,* Bronx, NY
Indian Heritage Club, Lehman College,* Bronx, NY
Institute 4 "Interracial" Harmony, Inc., Brooklyn, NY
Internationel Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 808, Long Island City, NY
International Longshoremen's Association Local 1408, Jacksonville, FL
Internationalist Group
Irish Traveller Movement, Dublin, Ireland
Islemic Center of New York University, New York, NY
Bennie Jackson, Recording Secretary, International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 705,* Chicago, IL
Geronimo ji Jaga, Morgan City, LA
Barbara Jeter, Delegate, 1199 Harlem Hospital,* New York, NY
Katie Jordan, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
Bernt Kamin, Executive Committee, Union of Public Employees (ÖTV);* Spokesman, Shop Stewards Committee at GHBG* (Hamburg harbor) Hamburg, Germany
Stuart Katzanberg, Chairman of the General Secretariat, Youth for Justice, Connecticut College,*New London, CT
Robin D.G. Kelley, Professor of History, New York University,* New York, NY
Karl Kiethorn, member, presidium of the Dachau concentration camp community,* Berlin, Germany
Sayoko Kikuchi, Anti-Death Penalty Association,* Tokyo, Japan
Dae-Keun Kim, Management Committee member, South Korea Human Rights Action Australia, Campsie, NSW, Australia
Labor Black League for Social Defense, New York, NY
Raynard LaForest, Director, Haitian Constituency, USA, member, Steering Committee, Haitien Mobilization to Defend Immigrants' Rights, Brooklyn, NY

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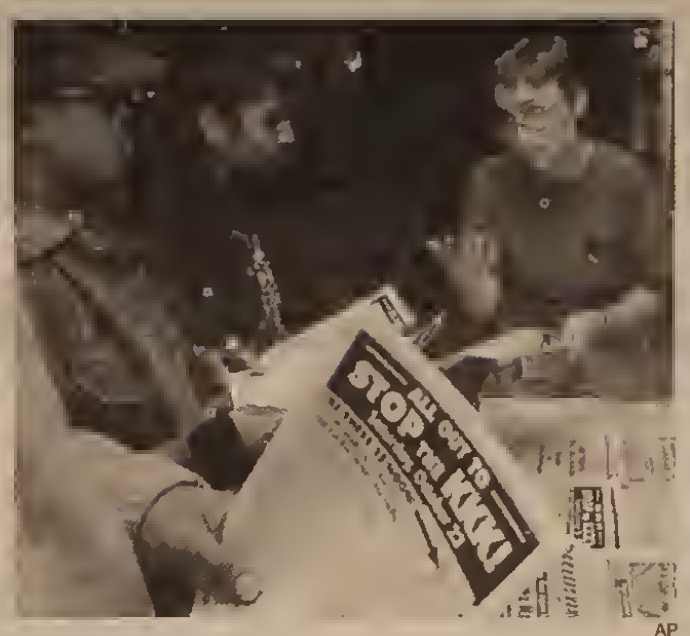

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Building for labor/black mobilization. Left: October 21 PDC press conference denounced collusion by Democrats Stringer and Sharpton with KKK and Giuliani. Right: Mobilizing students at BMCC. Students from campuses around the area turned out on October 23.

a determined, disciplined mobilization of labor standing at the head of all the oppressed to *stop the fascists*, not for small groups to engage in confrontations with the police which accomplish nothing other than getting some heads busted and people thrown in jail.

Beware those who say the Klan and Nazis should be ignored. Beware those self-avowed spokesmen for the oppressed who defend the Klan, arguing it's an issue of "free speech." The KKK provocation has nothing to do with "free speech." The KKK and Nazis "speak" with the lynch rope. Their "words" are fired out of the barrel of a gun. Remember the 1963 bombing of four young black girls in a Birmingham church and the 1964 murder of civil rights workers Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner in Mississippi. "Free speech" for the fascists means the mangled body of James Byrd Jr., dragged to his death in Texas last year; the murderous rampage in Southern California this summer against children in a Jewish community center and the killing of an Asian American postal worker; the murder of a black basketball coach and a Korean student in the Chicago area. This racist terror goes hand in hand with anti-abortion and anti-gay bigotry, from the assassination of Dr. Barnett Slepian to the hideous murder of gay student Matthew Shepard.

The social power to stop the racist killers lies in the hands of the multiracial working class—the transit workers who keep this city's subways and buses running, the municipal workers who keep essential services going, Teamsters and hospital, postal, garment and airport workers. The unions have the power and vital interest to stop the KKK. These attack dogs for the bosses against the very right to organize unions want to bring the "open shop" South to this union town. These lynchers are poison to integrated union struggle and a mortal threat to the whole labor movement.

The workers of this city have been taking it in the neck from Wall Street and Gracie Mansion for years. Enough! A powerful show of labor's force on October 23 against the KKK will send a message to all the union-busters and strikebreakers. For way too long the power of the unions has been shackled, not least by direct government intervention bringing the workers organizations under the thumb of this capitalist government.

To defend its own interests and the interests of all the oppressed, labor must stand independent of all the agencies and parties of the capitalist class enemy. The cops who are called out to attack labor rallies like on May 12 have no place in unions! There must be no illusions in the Democratic Party which has joined with the Republicans in destroying welfare, pushing the racist death penalty and flooding the streets of the ghettos and barrios with more cops. A mass labor/black rally to clear the KKK racist terrorists off the streets would be a big step toward building the kind of party that working people need—a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for their interests and those of all the oppressed against this entire system of capitalist exploitation and racist reaction.

In cities from Washington, D.C. to Atlanta, San Francisco, Chicago and elsewhere, we have initiated anti-fascist united-front mobilizations that have brought out thousands of determined opponents of lynch mob terror. Now, let's make sure that on October 23 the streets of New York City belong to the working people who produce all the wealth in this society. *All Out to Stop the KKK on October 23!*

Partisan Defense Committee
14 October 1999

Wing Lam, Director, Chinese Staff and Workers Association,* New York, NY
Latinos Unidos Con Honor y Amistad, New York University,* New York, NY
League of Antifascists, Leipzig, Germany
League for the Revolutionary Party
Joel LeFevre, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 840,* New York, NY
George Levine, Board member, People's Music Network,* Elmhurst, NY
Long Island University Faculty Federation, Long Island University,* Brooklyn, NY
Angelo Lucifero, Regional Chairman, Union of Trade, Bank and Insurance Workers (HBV), Thuringia; Spokesman, Thuringia Regional Working Collective Antifascism/Antiracism, Erfurt, Germany
Larry Lukkarinen, President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario
James MacDowell, Manager, Devil's Advocates/Triage Records, Brooklyn, NY
Corine Mack, Vice President, Transport Workers Union Local 100,* New York, NY
Coramintta Mahr, Vice President, 1199 NHHSEU,* New York, NY
Manning Marable, Professor of History, Columbia University,* New York, NY
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A Movement for CHHANGE, Brooklyn, NY
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National Union of Mineworkers, South Africa
National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers, Finsbury Park Branch, London, England
Newark Anti-Racism Action League, Newark, NJ
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New York Public Library Guild Local 1930, AFSCME DC 37,* New York, NY
New York Spartacus Youth Club
New York Taxi Workers Alliance, New York, NY
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Clarence Norman Jr., Assembly member, 43rd Assembly District,* Brooklyn, NY
Nuclear Industry Workers Union (SUTIN), Mexico City, Mexico
NYC Jam Session, Inc., New York, NY
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Silvia Orellana, Secretary, Ecuadorian Club, Hostos Community College,* Bronx, NY
Palestine Aid Society, New York, NY
Palestine Education Committee, New York, NY
Parents Against Police Brutality, Bronx, NY
Partisan Defense Committee
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The People of Color Alliance at SIPA, Columbia University,* New York, NY
Neil Persaud, Chairman, 207th St. Inspection Barn, Transport Workers Union Local 100,* New York, NY
Peruvians For All Club, Hostos Community College,* Bronx, NY
Philippine Forum/Panete, New York, NY
Progressive Labor Party
Puerto Rican Organization, Hostos Community College,* Bronx, NY
Queers of Color at Columbia University, New York, NY
Carmen Quiñones,* District Leader, Democratic Party 68th Assemby District, New York, NY
Radical Women, New York, NY
Danielle Redden, Southern Poverty Law Center,* Philadelphia, PA
Redleaf, Washington, D.C.
Refuse & Resist! New York Chapter
Revolutionary Communist Party, New York Branch, New York, NY
Richmond Animal Rights Network, Virginia Commonwealth University,* Richmond, VA
S. Riley, Convenor, Ford PTA Dagenham Shop Stewards Committee, London, England
P. Helle Rivera, President, Dominican Students Association; Vice President, Hostos and the Community Organization, Hostos Community College,* Bronx, NY
Roy Rollin, *College Voice*, College of Staten Island,* Staten Island, NY
Antonio Rosario, member, Parents Against Police Brutality, Bronx, NY
Margarite Rosario, Founder, Parents Against Police Brutality, Bronx, NY
Wally Rosenthal, Shop Steward, New York Metro Area Postal Union,* New York, NY
John Samuelsen, Vice-Chairman, Track Division, Transport Workers Union Local 100,* New York, NY
David Seers, News Editor, WBAI/Pacifica Radio,* New York, NY
Shalom International, Miami Beach, FL
Wesley Shend, Pastor, St. Mark's United Methodist Church, Brooklyn, NY
F. Christophe Silvera, Secretary Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 808, Long Island City, NY
Cleo Silvers, Co-Chair, Committee for Workers Self-Defense, Brooklyn, NY
Mahlomole Skhosana, Deputy General Secretary, National Council of Trade Unions, Johannesburg, South Africa
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Mark Sobel, President, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 294,* College Point, NY
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Social Service Employees Union Local 215 Executive Board, AFSCME DC 1707,* New York, NY
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South Korea Human Rights Action Australia, Campsie, NSW, Australia
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Houston Stevens, Newark Anti-Racism Action League, Newark, NJ
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Standish E. Willis, Chair, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, Chicago, IL
Womyn's Center, New York University,* New York, NY
Keith Wright, member, New York State Assembly;* Chair, NYS Black, Puerto Rican and Hispanic Caucus,* New York, NY
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O. Zerevski, Union Delegate, ATCO, Australian Workers Union,* Sanenbans, Vic., Australia
Zulu Nation @ NYU, New York, NY

* Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Black and Red—The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom in a Workers America

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Smash Racist Terror!

We reprint below the Spartacist League statement distributed at the October 23 mobilization to stop the KKK.

This is the first time in memory that the Klan has tried to ride in New York City. They come not to practice "free speech" as those traitors and fools, the lawyers for the KKK in the New York Civil Liberties Union, would have you believe. The Klan is coming here as the shock troops for a "White America" which has no place for blacks, Hispanics, Jews, immigrants, Catholics, gays and trade unionists—for the vast majority of the people that live and work in this city. The Klan speaks with the burning cross and the lynch rope.

The KKK is well aware that they are coming to enemy territory. But there is much in New York that now encourages these nativist American fascists. Amadou Diallo and Gidone Busch are cut down in a hail of bullets by the city's kill-crazy cops. An aide for Rudy Giuliani touts workfare, designed to replace union labor with impoverished welfare recipients working for starvation wages, under the banner of Hitler's concentration camp slogan, "*Arbeit macht frei*" (work makes you free). Giuliani, who is not Hitler but thinks a lot like him, goes after everyone from immigrant cab drivers to hot dog vendors and moves to close down the Brooklyn Museum for displaying "decadent" art.

These are not just the expression of the unbridled contempt for the masses of this city in which Giuliani openly glories. These atrocities express the class interests of the masters of this capitalist society. Democratic president Bill Clinton has destroyed welfare and implemented police-state measures aimed particularly at blacks and immigrants. Thousands more cops now maraud the streets of America, which has the largest prison population of any advanced industrialized country.

The Klan was born in the aftermath of the Civil War, to extinguish by fire and blood the newly won freedom from slavery of black Americans. Today it is the most extreme, terrorist expression of a society that is based on increasingly brutal exploitation and racist oppression. As overseers of a decaying imperialist order, the bosses must each day increasingly grind down the working masses, here and throughout the world, in the pursuit of profits that fuel their wealth and power, no matter what the price in human misery and death. The fascists are their reserve troops to be deployed—as they were in Germany with Hitler's rise to power—when the anger and outrage of an insurgent working class can no longer be restrained by illusions in bourgeois democracy. The capitalists have no inherent fondness for bourgeois democracy. Indeed, while claiming the mantle of democratic rights (so long as it is convenient) here at home, the imperialist masters have never considered that the masses of the "Third World" countries which they plunder and oppress have any claim to the benefits of democracy.

This mobilization was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The PDC and SL understand that the power to *stop* the Klan lies in the social power of the organized working class standing at the head of all the intended victims of the Klan lynch rope. But for that power to be felt, labor and its allies must stand independent of all the parties and agencies of the capitalist class enemy. In building for today's labor/black mobilization, we fight to give an organized, militant and determined political expression to the outrage of the working people, blacks, Hispanics, youth and thousands of others who know what the Klan is and don't intend to let them ride in our city.

WV Photo

October 23: it took revolutionary leadership to mobilize New York labor and minorities in powerful united-front action to drive out the KKK racist terrorists.

And we face powerful enemies. Not least, of course, is the Giuliani administration, which arrogates to itself the "right" to determine who can walk, speak or protest in New York City and enforces that with an army of cops. But it is not just Giuliani who fears and loathes the spectre of an independent mobilization of the working people who make this city run. Equally threatened are the false "friends of labor" and putative spokesmen for the black population in the Democratic Party such as Al Sharpton, Assemblyman Scott Stringer and their lackeys in the top echelons of the trade-union bureaucracy. They stand behind the efforts of the New York Civil Liberties Union to ensure that the KKK gets a free ride in the name of "free speech."

Lynch rope murder and the racist assassin's bullets—such as those that were fired out the barrels of Klan guns, in broad daylight, to shoot down five leftists and trade-union organizers in cold blood in Greensboro, North Carolina 20 years ago—have nothing to do with free speech. James Byrd Jr. dragged to his death by a pickup truck; Matthew Shepard crucified for being gay; a Filipino American postal worker in L.A. and a black basketball coach in Chicago gunned down on the streets—that is how the Klan and Nazis "speak." The Klan are not right-wing ideologues but paramilitary thugs whose rallies are an incitement to racist terror and murder.

Sharpton cloaks his defense of the "rights" of these hooded nightriders as opposition to Giuliani's assault on the rights of just about everybody in this city. He scoffs that the Klan is little danger when compared to the terror perpetrated against blacks and others by the NYPD. It is true that, for now, the main perpetrators of organized violence against the working class and all those at the bottom of this society are the cops. Yet when blacks and others in New York City exploded over the killing of Amadou Diallo by racist cops who cut him down in a hail of 41 bullets, Sharpton campaigned for a 10-point program for police reform which included the demand that cops get a raise!

Alarmed by the outrage over the Diallo killing and the sadistic torture of Abner Louima, the Democratic Party maneuvered to contain that outrage within the confines of electoral pressure politics. Today the same Sharpton who wore a wire for the Feds, and his fellow Democrats, are working in concert with the Giuliani administration, the cops and courts in defense of the Klan rally! Again the purpose is to contain and muzzle any expression of the anger of blacks and working people, which threatens not only the Klan but its ruling-class masters, who are as much represented by the Democrats as they are by the Republicans.

As Marxist revolutionaries, we know better than anyone the value of free speech. That is why we forthrightly oppose any appeals to the agencies of the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." Every bourgeois law curtailing freedom of expression and assembly—from the 1940s' Smith Act, supposedly directed against the fascists, to today's "conspiracy" laws—has been and will be used to persecute and imprison leftists, trade unionists and all fighters against injustice and oppression. The defense of free speech, the defense of the right to bear arms, are a defense of the very ability of the masses to organize and defend themselves against state terror. But these rights are not secured by the Constitution and Bill of Rights, documents which are only sacred to the dupes of capitalist propaganda, not to the ruling-class masters themselves. What rights the working

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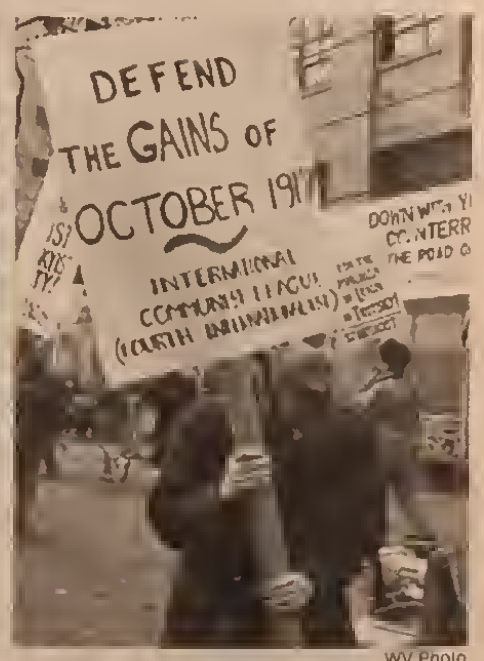

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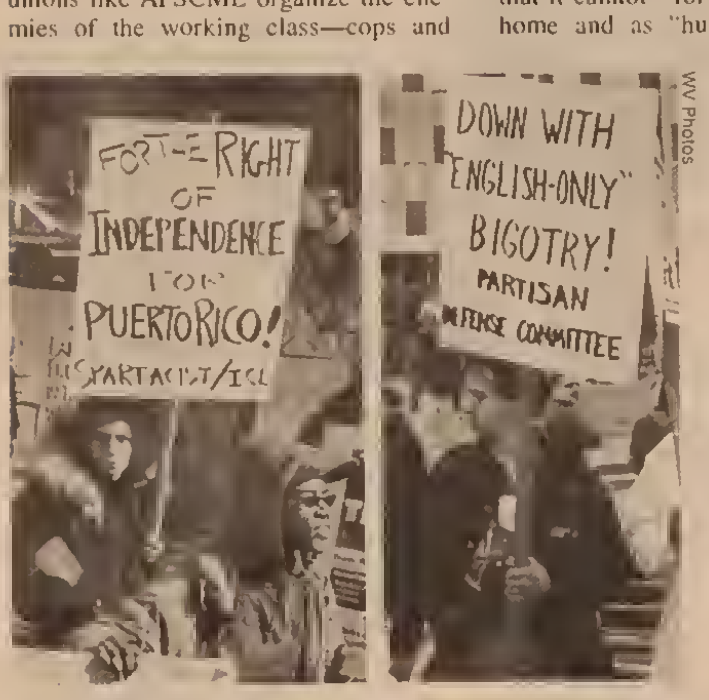
We are the party of the Russian Revolution! Soldiers march in Moscow with banner reading "Communism" after October Revolution of 1917. Protest against visiting Russian counterrevolutionary Boris Yeltsin, NYC, 1992.

class has secured are those that have been won through hard-fought struggle.

The role of the capitalist state is clearly demonstrated by the October 21 federal court decision giving the Klan everything they asked for while denying a sound permit to the PDC at the site where these hooded terrorists intend to rally. This deal is an attempt to guarantee that the Klan will be heard and not their intended victims.

When Sharpton and others—like Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera and others who purport to be the leaders of labor—peddle the Klan's right to "free speech," they are not merely betraying the people of this city to reactionary attack. They are signaling their full acceptance of, and unwillingness to fight, the capitalist state power which sends its rampaging cops through the ghettos and outlaws militant picket lines while holding the unions captive in the bosses' courts and government receivership.

The trade-union bureaucrats have long chained the social power of labor by tying the interests of the workers to the capitalist parties that represent the interests of the class enemy, particularly the Democratic Party. Now a new generation of union tops in New York City and elsewhere calls on the bosses' government to cleanse the unions of "corruption" while unions like AFSCME organize the enemies of the working class—cops and



Signs at October 23 mobilization. Working class must oppose anti-immigrant chauvinism and colonial domination of Puerto Rico.

prison guards—into the ranks of the unions.

They are aided and abetted by groups such as the International Socialist Organization. These cynics joined Sharpton in offering a 10-point program for cop "reform" in the wake of the Diallo killing. Their supporters wrote a blueprint for the state takeover of the Teamsters union. Now they stand behind the efforts of Democratic Party Assemblyman Scott Stringer—in collusion with the Giuliani administration, the NYCLU lawyers for the Klan and the Klan itself—to sabotage the independent mobilization of the working class and all the oppressed to *stop the KKK*. The Stringer rally is built and organized by, among others, Al Sharpton, who filed a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the Klan! Some anti-Klan rally!

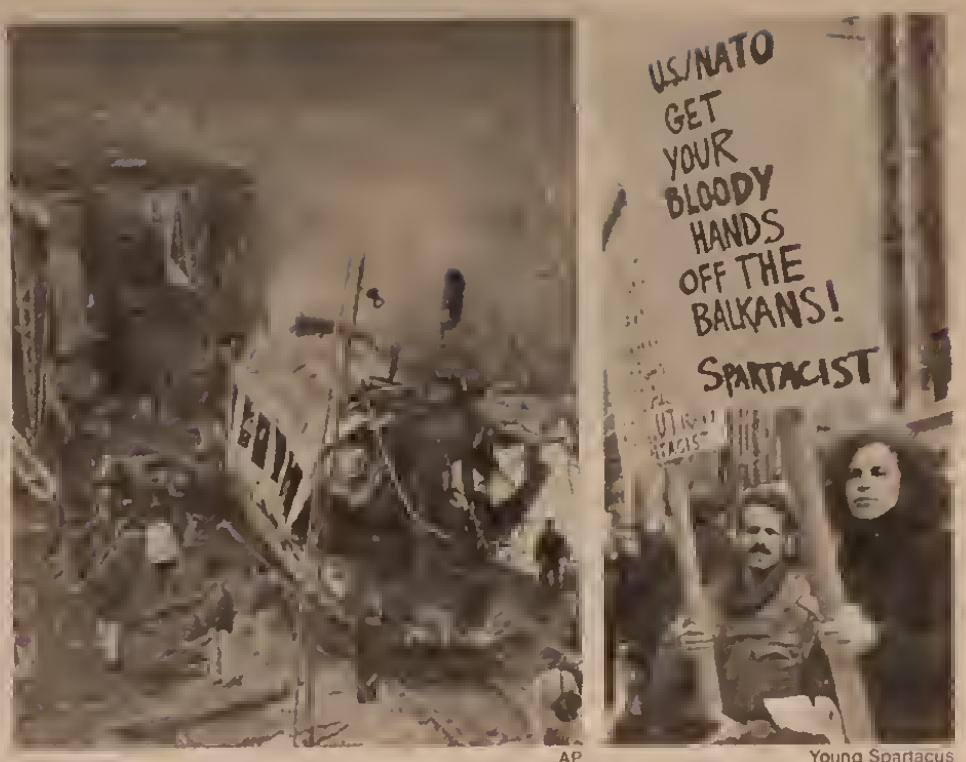
Joining in are organizations such as the Communist Party which long ago made their peace with the rule of capital. As they fall in behind Stringer, all these outfits have the effrontery to claim that they are holding their own "anti-Klan" rally today, when in fact Stringer & Co. have a deal with the KKK, brokered by the NYCLU, to share a sound permit with the Klan, with the sound controlled by the cops, so that the racist murderers can organize for genocide without being confronted with the justified anger of their intended victims.

These same organizations—which remained silent in the face of the Klan threat until given voice by the Democratic Party Assemblyman's appeals for "tolerance"—see the case of black death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal not as an indictment of the inherent racist injustice of capitalist America but as an opportunity to sow illusions in the capitalist courts with their calls for a "new trial." This former Black Panther, award-winning journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization was framed up and sentenced to die solely for his lifetime of struggle against racism and oppression. He has now been served a death warrant and is scheduled to die at the hands of the state's executioners on December 2.

We have been fighting for Mumia's freedom for more than a decade. He is the symbol of what the capitalist "injustice" system is all about and of the racist barbarity which is the death penalty. This innocent man should not be subjected to a new trial, he should be here today alongside us stopping the Klan. In fighting to mobilize labor/black power against the KKK lynchers, we fight to strike a powerful blow against the "legal" lynchers of the capitalist state. The rulers of this country want to kill Jamal because in their eyes he represents what they fear most, a black revolutionary. As opponents of the rule of racist American capitalism, the purpose of the Spartacist League is to bring together the forces for American socialist revolution—labor and blacks under the leadership of reds.

The trade-union tops and their left hangers-on look to the Democrats to assure that the bosses' state act in a way that it cannot—for the common good at home and as "humanitarians" abroad. But the Democrats are in the forefront of pushing bloody war mobilizations abroad and attacks on labor, the poor and helpless at home. These attacks have only increased in the aftermath of the final overturn of the remaining gains of the only successful workers revolution in history—the 1917 Russian Revolution.

We communists of the Spartacist League fought to the end to defend the gains that remained in the Soviet Union against the imperialists who from 1917 on were bent on its destruction. The imperialists received invaluable help from the Stalinists who usurped power from the proletariat in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24 and thereafter pursued policies of class collaboration worldwide which blocked the only ultimate defense of the USSR—new workers revolutions internationally to finally



AP Young Spartacus

Passenger train in Serbia destroyed by U.S./NATO bombing in April. Trotskyists called for military defense of Serbia, defeat of U.S. imperialism through workers revolution.

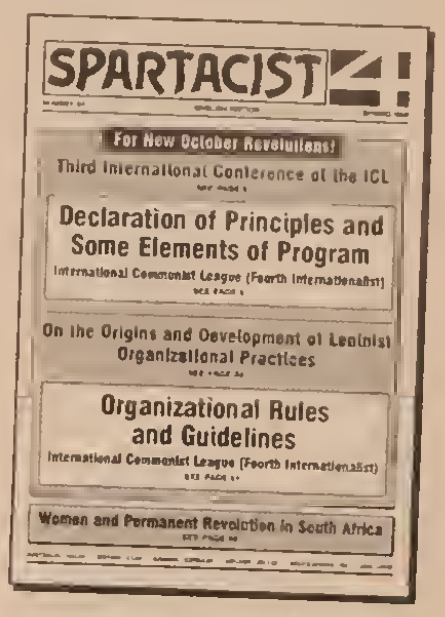
destroy the power of the world imperialist system.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 set the stage for the U.S. imperialists, in the interests of strengthening their world dominance, to export "democracy" and "human rights" on the wings of bombers. A million and a half Iraqis have died, while Serbia was bombed back to the Middle Ages. As the rulers hypocritically rail against "ethnic cleansing" in Serbia, in cities across America the cops are mobilized to protect the KKK whose purpose is the genocidal elimination of blacks and anyone else who doesn't fit their fantasies of a "racially pure" America where trade unions don't exist.

The Spartacist League's strategy of mobilizing the social power of labor in defense of all the intended victims, and all the opponents, of Klan terror derives from our revolutionary purpose. Through such mobilizations we seek to imbue the working class with an understanding and confidence in its own strength as those who produce all the wealth in this society, and with the consciousness that this strength must be brought to bear in defense of all the oppressed, mobilized independently of the exploiting class. Key to unlocking the shackles that bind labor to its exploiters is its active mobilization in defense of the cause of black freedom.

A mass labor-based mobilization to stop the Klan in New York would prepare the way to organize unions in the Klan's home territory, the "right to work" South. The GM and UPS strikes in the last couple of years have showed labor's combativity and its power to shake the capitalist order. The widespread support for these strikes testified to the deep discontent of millions who feel their living standards under attack. The social tinder to ignite mass struggles against exploitation, racism and imperialist war can be seen everywhere. To weld together the struggles of labor and all the oppressed behind a program to smash capitalism and create a workers America requires the revolutionary leadership of a vanguard communist party.

A generation ago, millions took to the streets for civil rights, braving the police clubs, fire hoses and attack dogs of the Southern sheriffs and the murderous terror of the Klan. But in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, their courage and sacrifice won only the most formal and token gains. The segregation of black people at the bottom of racist American



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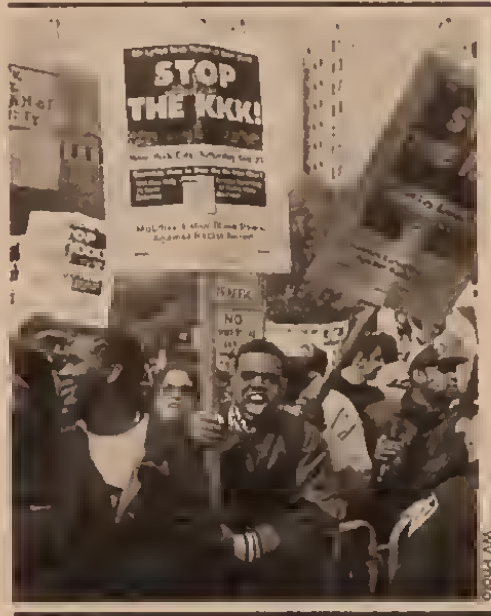
society cannot be "reformed" out of existence; the whole rotten system must be overthrown by a conscious working class under revolutionary leadership. Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!

—23 October 1999



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Speeches at NYC Labor/Black Mobilization

"KKK, No Way! You Ain't Gonna March Today!"

We print below in excerpted form a selection of speeches at the October 23 mobilization to stop the KKK. Because the speeches were interrupted when the KKK was sighted, a number of scheduled speakers from endorsing organizations did not get to address the rally, among them Conrad Muhammad of A Movement for CHHANGE, Alan Goldblatt of Communications Workers of America Local 1180, and representatives of the Newark Anti-Racism Action League, NYC Jam Session Inc., the League for the Revolutionary Party, the Internationalist Group, Progressive Labor Party, the Committee for Workers Self-Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee itself. Also on the speakers list were individuals from the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, Bronx Community College, Martin Luther King Jr. High School, WBAI radio and the People's Music Network.

WV Photo

"We stopped the Klan!" PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson (second from left) on speaker's platform next to SSEU Local 371 president Charles Ensley after KKK had scurried away.

Xandra

Labor Black League for Social Defense

Here in New York City the Labor Black League was first built around the defense case of James Grimes, a black transit worker who was arrested and was faced with a gun rap for defending himself on the job against three muggers. The Labor Black League helped mobilize members of the powerful transit union to come out in support during his trial. The charges were dropped! We say: Gun control kills blacks! For the right of armed self-defense!

Today, what we have on the streets of New York City is a class battle. On our side we have the independent mobilization of workers, blacks, immigrants, gays to defend this city against the racist terrorists of the KKK. On the other side we have Giuliani and his racist cops and also the Democrats, the likes of Al Sharpton, Scott Stringer and some of their lackeys in the trade-union bureaucracy, who have all tried to ensure that the KKK has rights. They have proven that they are our enemies.

What we need now is our own party! A workers party that will be the tribune of all the oppressed and fight for a workers revolution. A party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Russian Revolution, the first time in history that workers took power in their own hands! Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a workers party that will champion all the oppressed!

The black question is key in this country. As Karl Marx said, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." It's time to finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution! Join the Labor Black League!

Charles Ensley

President, Social Service Employees Union Local 371

I was in Los Angeles last week, and I got a call from the Partisan Defense Committee, and they told me that the Ku Klux Klan was gonna march in New York City. I thought they were kidding me! I'm president of the Social Services Employees Union Local 371—a mighty, mighty union! And you can tell 371 is in the house. Let me tell you who we are. We're black, we're white, we're Latino, we're Asian American, we're Native American, but we found the common ground, the common ground is the union. And we're here as a union in the center of New York City to say to the Ku Klux Klan that New York is not Klan country, New York is labor country! I want you to be absolutely clear on one thing. The Klan should not be ignored. When they raise their ugly heads—and their heads are ugly, even though they might be hidden by hoods—it is incumbent upon all of us to stand up and say: We're fired up! We won't take it no more!

Let me tell you, brothers and sisters, the struggle continues. On behalf of the 58,000 of us I'll commit to you that we will be in the struggle until victory is ours. God bless you, and keep the fight going. Free Mumia! Free Mumia!

Anne Bruny

Medgar Evers College

Most of us were told that this was cancelled when I came from school last night. But I didn't believe it, I came anyway. So for those who couldn't be here, I'm here to say that we all support you from Medgar Evers College. And as you all know, Medgar Evers was killed by a KKK member. That's the reason I thought my school government and everyone else from that school should have been here. I know I may not look old enough to know what it's about, but believe me, my parents are immigrants, my whole family is immigrants, I know what it will mean if the KKK has the right to do anything they want in the city. So once again, thank you everyone for coming here.

Ashanti Blaize

Columbia University

Let me hear you, Columbia University students who are here today! I think this is a beautiful thing to see, everybody coming out here, getting together, organizing, unifying for something like this. This is important, important, important—this is so important that we are here today. The KKK thinks that they can come out today and do this without any of the community coming out and saying: Hell no, you all are not doing this today, or any other day for that matter! We're here today to say: No, you will not take over our community! You will not spurt off your hate speeches! Columbia University is 100 percent behind this. All of the cultural clubs, all the political clubs, we are behind this, and we are here to say: KKK, not today!

WV Photo

Ashanti Blaize

Emily Woo Yamasaki

Radical Women

KKK, run away! We control the streets today! We're all gathered here today to show the Klan that we won't tolerate them or any other of their neo-fascist ilk here in New York City. The politics of capitalism are the politics of scapegoating of oppressed groups. That's us, women, people of color, lesbians and gays, political radicals like Mumia Abu-Jamal, workers, trade unionists and immigrants among others. They scapegoat us for the economic crisis. And the KKK is not an isolated expression, it is one of the most extreme expressions. We must build the united front to drive the Klan out of our city though unity of all those who believe in civil rights, equality and fairness. The Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women call on everyone here today to send a united, principled message to the ultraright-wing bigots. Strength through unity on our side! We won't run and we won't hide!

Alma Gomez

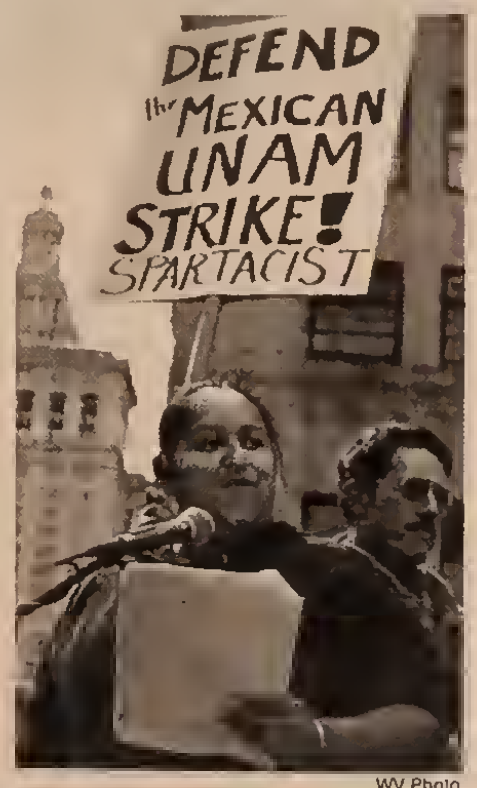
Spartacus Youth Club

Greetings! The Spartacus Youth Club is the youth group of the revolutionary socialist Spartacist League. We have been out there every single day building for this mobilization since news broke that the KKK was planning to bring the burning cross, the lynch rope and the stench of concentration camps to New York City.

We have brought out here contingents of students to join the power of the multiracial working class in New York City, students from NYU, Columbia, Hostos, BMCC, and all over the city. Young workers and students who want to become professional revolutionaries should join us! When you join the Spartacus Youth Clubs you get to politically fight out in the streets and on the campuses for a program of genuine socialist revolution. You get to see this unique program—to combat racial and sexual oppression, to struggle for the working class to lead all the oppressed against the racist KKK killers, to fight for socialism—come alive like it is today, right now.

The Spartacus Youth Club staunchly stands against the ruling class' racist drive against the democratic rights of youth and the oppressed. We say: Down with the squeal rules! For free abortion on demand! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! We fight to win youth to the perspective of building the revolutionary, multiracial workers party that will be the tribune of all the people and the necessary instrument for the victory of the proletariat over capitalism and the fascist murderers it breeds.

Our comrades in Mexico of the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, have been in the forefront in defense of the ongoing Mexican UNAM strike, which has lasted nearly seven months. The striking UNAM students are fighting to repulse the attacks on education being implemented by the Mexican bourgeoisie, lackeys of U.S. imperialism and its NAFTA and IMF dictates. We say: Down with government repression against the strikers! Victory to the UNAM strike!



WV Photo

Alma Gomez

I am sure many of you run across groups supposedly called socialist. For example, you may notice a group called the International Socialist Organization and you may be wondering to yourself why they are not with us today. The reality is that the ISO would much rather join Democratic Party hacks like Stringer and black nationalist demagogue Al Sharpton in a demonstration for so-called

20 Years After

No More Greensboro Massacres!

November 3 marks 20 years since five civil rights activists and union organizers, supporters of the Communist Workers Party, were gunned down in broad daylight in Greensboro, North Carolina by KKK and Nazi gunmen aided and abetted by local police and federal agents. As we wrote at the time, "Those Klan guns were—and *are*—aimed at every single black and minority-group family, every trade unionist and socialist, every social 'deviant' in America" (*WV* No. 243, 9 November 1979). When the KKK announced plans to "celebrate" the Greensboro Massacre one week later in Detroit, the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization which drew over 500, primarily black auto workers, who defied the threat of arrests by black Democratic mayor Coleman Young and made sure *the Klan did not ride in the Motor City.*

As we fight for a proletarian revolution which will ensure that there will be no more Greensboros, we honor the Greensboro martyrs—Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, James Waller. We print below a statement to the October 23 NYC labor/black mobilization by Dr. Paul Bermanzohn, a spokesman for the Greensboro Justice Fund and a survivor of the 1979 massacre.

* * *

On behalf of the Greensboro Justice Fund I wish to extend our support to your effort to oppose the Klan. I cannot be with you today physically but I am with you in spirit.

The Ku Klux Klan is the world's oldest terrorist organization. They stand for a return to government-sanctioned white supremacy and they exist to deprive large sections of the population of their rights. It is hypocrisy for the Klan to stand on its rights when the whole purpose of the Klan is to deprive people of their rights.

It is vital to oppose the Klan and its program of imposing a reign of terror on black people, labor, Jews, gays and the others it targets. Getting rid of the Klan is an essential part of the fight to make the U.S. into a decent society.

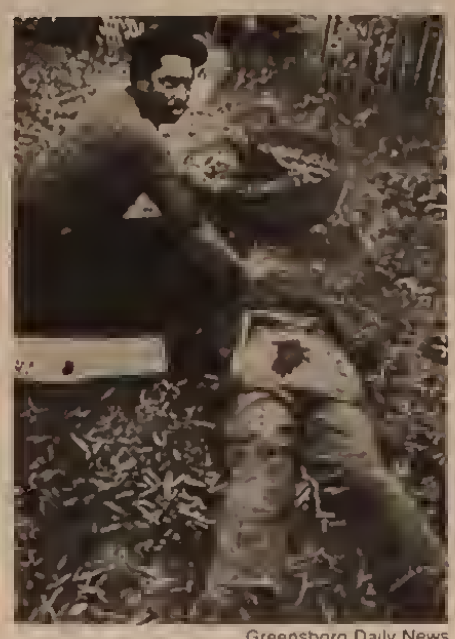
To effectively fight the Klan we must understand its history and how it works. From its start, the Klan has been nurtured and protected by the U.S. government. The state protects the Klan. And the state has been influenced by the Klan. The Klan's influence far exceeds its numbers because government leaders and agencies have adopted important parts of the Klan's violently racist program.

The best example I know of this is my own bitter experience. Almost exactly 20 years ago, on November 3, 1979, I was shot in the head by Klansmen and Nazis when they attacked an anti-Klan demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina. This Klan mass murder is known as the Greensboro Massacre. Although five young labor and community leaders were killed in broad daylight in front of cameras from four TV stations, the Klan and Nazi killers were acquitted in two trials by all-white juries. (The Greensboro Massacre was one of the first examples of Klan and Nazi cooperation since World War II. This unholy coalition shows what the Klan is all about.) It came out that agents of the Greensboro Police Department, the FBI and the federal government's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms conspired with the killers to carry out the Greensboro Massacre. A government agent recruited, organized and led the caravan of cars that carried out the Massacre. Government lawyers who prosecuted the killers did their best to keep the evil role of government agents a secret.

Letting the Klan killers go free in Greensboro sent a green light to the Klan that racist murders would be allowed. This was followed for several years by a rampage of Klan activity throughout North Carolina. Giving the Klan the green light to march in NYC today will only invite more racist actions.

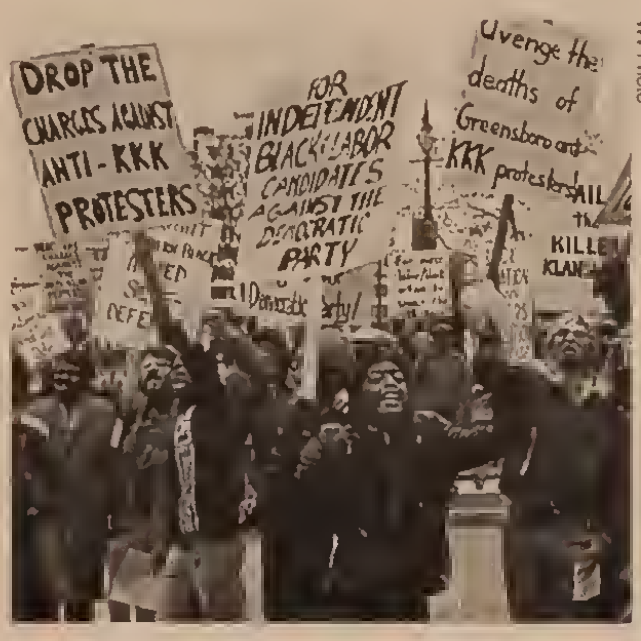
In New York, like in cities throughout the U.S., the influence of the Klan's racist message can be felt. In too many cases, police harass and kill young people of color for no other reason than they are not white, and they are protected by Mayor Giuliani and other city officials. Such police and city officials might as well be in the Klan; their behavior is no different. They act on a deeply-held belief that the value of a black life is less than the value of a white life.

Only an alert, well-organized and strong citizenry can stop these outrages. And a necessary step in that process is to put a stop to the Klan and all it stands for. Keep up the good work. Stay strong and pay close attention. And keep on organizing. Thank you for your time and attention.



Greensboro Daily News

Nelson Johnson kneels by slain comrade following KKK/Nazi murder of five leftists, union organizers, November 1979.



WV Photo

10 November 1979: Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization stopped KKK from "celebrating" Greensboro Massacre in Detroit.

"tolerance" for the KKK! We say *zero tolerance* for fascist killers!

Also out there, there is a group that goes by the name of Progressive Labor. We warn that PL's brand of communism can't tell the difference between a trade union mobilization like this one and church gatherings—even sinister and reactionary ones like the Promise Keepers. True to their program of appealing to the most backward elements in society, PL joins the gay haters like Jesse Helms, the Catholic Church and Pat Robertson in grotesquely proclaiming homosexuality to be a disease! When Matthew Shepard was murdered, they ran an article which described gay rights groups as just another wing of what they call the fascist ruling class. This is gross.

Wally Rosenthal

Member, NY Metro Area Postal Union

I haven't gone postal yet. Wednesday night we passed a resolution which I'll read to you [see page 15]. This was passed unanimously in a local representing about 12,000 workers. A few thoughts that I would add is that we have to beware of the wolves in sheep's clothing. We know about Gingrich and Buchanan and Giuliani—the obvious fascists. If we were in Germany 60 years ago, most of the words and things that we hear in the newspapers and from politicians would be the same as that of the Nazis.

WV Photo

Wally Rosenthal

But the bigger fascists are the ones who don't come out and say it like that. They're the Democrats like Clinton with his drive-by bombings in Iraq and Colombia and elsewhere around the world. It's the fascists like Gore and Bradley who are going to talk about doing nice things for poor people, getting jobs for everybody, raising the minimum wage a dollar. Goddamn, if any of them had to live on, you know, $5.15 or $6 or $7 an hour, forget it, they would go absolutely stark raving mad. So, let's not be fooled by the phony Democrats, most of whom are in Rockefeller's hip pocket. Let's not forget the Klan in blue. So, I'll just stop by saying, "The cops, the courts, the Ku Klux Klan: they're all a part of the bosses' plan!"

Maureen McDougall

NYU Womyn's Center

We are New York University's feminist organization dedicated to the radical dismantling of gender, sex, race, sexuality and class hierarchies. We are here as feminists to contend that all of these isms—racism, sexism, homophobia, heterosexism and classism as well as all the other isms—are all related, they do not exist in a vacuum. We abhor the murderous history of lynching, burning crosses, and racial terrorism that is the Ku Klux Klan. And we must remember that the KKK not only represents racism, but also all these other forms of bigotry. And we will not tolerate the KKK in our city. And we will not tolerate them in their sheets. And we will not tolerate them in their white shirts and ties. And we will not tolerate them in their blue suits hiding behind badges on our streets. We will not tolerate their elected counterpart Rudy Giuliani. We say: Racist, sexist, anti-gay—KKK, go away!

Larry Cutler

AFSCME DC 37 Retirees

When I came here, I was a little nervous coming to this thing. I wasn't afraid of the KKK, believe me, I was afraid of the KKK in blue. Because the KKK in my experience is shit and weak. I was in a demonstration in Scotland, Connecticut in 1980—long time ago—and we destroyed them physically with clubs. What I've been part of, it's always been "Death to the KKK," not "Stop the KKK." By this time already in this particular battle, because this has been a battle, the KKK has already won because of all the exposure they've gotten.

Now, behind all of that is, as was said before, is the big boys and I don't mean by big boys little puny Giuliani or little Clinton or little Pataki. You've got to think in terms of Goldman-Sachs, you've

continued on page 14

Just Out!

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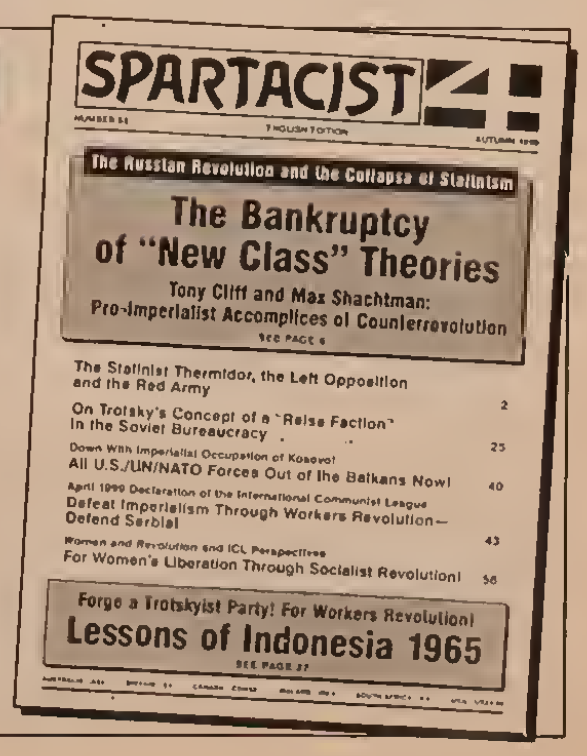

Germany...

(continued from page 16)

capitalists are very aware that they are dealing with a potentially powerful opponent, as the defensive struggles in Italy, France, Spain and Germany in the past years have shown. That is why nearly everywhere in Europe the bourgeoisie is counting on social-democratic/ex-Stalinist parties to govern, or on popular fronts—alliances between bourgeois workers parties and purely bourgeois parties—which are supposed to shove these attacks down the workers' throats. Lenin aptly described parties such as the SPD, the PDS, the British Labour Party or the French Socialist Party of Lionel Jospin as bourgeois workers parties: thoroughly bourgeois in the outlook and program of their leadership but based on the working class. As long as the proletarian base places its trust in "its" party, these parties are especially suited to chain the workers to their own exploiters.

Our strategic goal as communists is to raise the consciousness of the most

AFP

Schröder regime brutally suppressed protests against Turkey's arrest of Kurdish PKK leader Öcalan in February.

advanced workers so that they break with the bourgeoisie's lackeys in the workers movement, and to win the workers to a revolutionary program. Against the attempt of the German bourgeoisie to create a Deutschmark-dominated Europe, we say: "Down with Maastricht! Down with racist Fortress Europe! For a workers Europe!"

Governments formed by the SPD & Co. are capitalist governments through and through, which manage the interests of the bourgeoisie. Especially in Germany, where the working class, still heavily organized, has not yet tested its strength in direct class battle, the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz definitely needed the SPD/Green government in order to carry out its war in the Balkans relatively trouble free. This was the Bundeswehr's first combat mission since 1945 and the end of World War II, when Hitler's troops slaughtered a fifth of the Balkan population. As the *Berliner Zeitung* (25 March) noted: "That a red-green government sent units of the Bundeswehr into a military venture for the first time since the founding of the Federal Republic saved the country from an unproductive ideological and political conflict."

Within the working class, there were audible protests against this war. On May Day, for example, union leaders who supported the government were booed down. The International Communist League intervened on May 1 with a statement headlined: "Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia!" While giving not one iota of political support to the capitalist government of Milosevic, we stated that, during this war, the independence of Kosovo was subordinated to defending Serbia against imperialist attack, and that the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) "freedom fighters" were acting simply as NATO's pawns and ground troops. We participated, as did all sections of the ICL, in the campaign for material aid to Yugoslav workers organized by the Italian COBAS (Rank and File Committee) at Milano's Alfa Romeo auto plant. Despite deep political differences with COBAS as well as with IG Medien and other unionists in Germany who organized a similar campaign for workers in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, we participated in the spirit of the united front: March separately, strike together. This campaign gave workers the possibility of acting concretely against their "own" imperialist rulers in defense of Yugoslav workers.

The Balkans War and the PDS

The PDS, supported by most of the pseudo-left, worked overtime to channel and control protests against the war. Its predecessor, the SED, sat atop the DDR deformed workers state, holding political power as a parasitic Stalinist caste. Its program of "socialism in (half) a country" was *counterposed and hostile* to a class-struggle perspective. They promoted the lie of a "progressive wing" of imperialism or so-called "peace loving" capitalist countries with which they could "coexist." Thus they always had a program of class collaboration and, after leading the counterrevolution and delivering over the DDR, they were indistinguishable from an ordinary social-democratic party. The PDS always and everywhere stressed its goal of backing the SPD in administering capitalism—and they proved their support in Saxony-Anhalt and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. They are infamous for seeking "debates" with fascists and showing "understanding" for racist slogans.

The PDS attempted to distinguish itself as an "antiwar party" wielding nationalist slogans against the American-dominated NATO alliance. They called for "UN peace troops without participation of the NATO states, presently the aggressors" (*Junge Welt*, 12-13 May). *Thus they called for the intervention of imperialist troops*, only under the UN, with greater weight accorded German imperialism and with Russia given a say too! The PDS also called for the return to Kosovo of "observers" from the European-dominated Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Its activities are directly controlled by German imperialism, which played a key role in instigating the all-sided nationalist bloodbath in the Balkans when they pushed for Croatian and Slovenian independence in 1991 as part of their campaign to destroy the former Yugoslav workers state through capitalist counterrevolution.

The PDS is not an "opposition" but is desperately seeking to sell its ties to East Europe and the former Soviet Union to its new masters, the German bourgeoisie. PDS foreign policy spokesman Gehrcke played the German national card and warned of "irreparable damage for Germany, if the relationship to Russia worsens on account of the Kosovo war" (PDS press release, 28 May). This represents the perspective of a sector of the German bourgeoisie, also pushed by the Lafontaine wing of the SPD—more strongly anti-American and for an alliance with

AFP

As SPD's bourgeois Green coalition partner faced near split over German participation in war against Serbia, cops attacked antiwar protester outside Green Party congress in May.

capitalist Russia. It is designed to give German imperialism access to Russia's atomic arsenal and the oil of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, thus making Germany independent from U.S. imperialism. Even before the war, Gernot Erler, vice chairman for foreign policy of the SPD fraction in Bonn, accused Washington of "violating the interests of Europe with its 'numerous affronts' against Moscow.... It is in the interest of Europe to actively draw in Moscow, for example in Kosovo" (*Frankfurter Rundschau* on-line, 29 January). And so it happened: it was to Schröder that Chernomyrdin reported on his negotiations with Milosevic. In this way, Germany will be positioned to play a global role and compete internationally with the U.S. These interimperialist rivalries will lead to a Third World War if the working class doesn't stop the imperialists by overthrowing them through socialist revolution.

Most of the pseudo-left readily took up the hypocritical imperialist war cry for "poor little Kosovo," happy to find a reason to support their own government (see *WV* No. 715, 11 June). Today, the PDS—and the German bourgeoisie—have partly reached their goals: the bombing has stopped, imperialist troops have occupied the devastated Balkans, the official currency in Kosovo is the D-mark. Minister of war Rudolf Scharping said, "The Bundeswehr is going to have to remain in the Balkans for years" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 4-5 September). From the moment imperialist troops began rolling into Kosovo, murderous terror against the remaining Serbian and Roma (Gypsy) populations began, including the massacre of whole families. We say: Down with the imperialist occupation of Kosovo! Bundeswehr, NATO, UN, OSCE out of the Balkans!

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racist State Terror and Fascists

Within the working class, indignation is directed against the cuts in social welfare which hit the most vulnerable in society: women, immigrants, the elderly. The ÖTV bureaucrats worked overtime to disorganize protests against hospital closures in Berlin, which are planned primarily in areas such as Kreuzberg where many immigrants live. But demonstrations took place anyway, reflecting the anger at the base of the union. Together with the governing SPD/CDU coalition in Berlin, the ÖTV bureaucrats have taken direct responsibility for the closure of hospitals and layoffs (*Berliner Zeitung*, 16 September). In numerous other parts of the now-privatized public sector, top union bureaucrats like former Berlin ÖTV chairman Lange moved into top management positions, as at the BEWAG electricity provider in Berlin.

Two-tier wage systems are rapidly spreading. To soothe their base, the union leadership is appealing to the SPD-run capitalist government to change regulations. These appeals are supposed to sow illusions in the government and thus disarm the working class. In contrast, UPS Teamsters in the U.S., who largely work part-time doing back-breaking jobs for miserable wages, demonstrated in their strike two years ago that through class struggle the working class can win some gains against the two-tier wage system. As our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. wrote in a special *WV* supplement on the UPS strike: "A genuine workers party must be based on the understanding that only through their mass mobilization in struggle can the workers fight for their interest and in defense of all oppressed."

Mass unemployment provides the Nazis with fertile soil and is a key tool of the bourgeoisie for suppressing working-class militancy. The situation cries out for a real drive to organize the unorganized—especially "illegal" workers, foreign workers, immigrants and women—to cut through the racism and nationalism. Not a class-collaborationist "Alliance for Jobs," but a class-struggle fight for full

P. Glaser

Westrich/Plus49

Capitalist counterrevolution turned former East Germany into a wasteland, devastating Leuna chemical works (above) and many other industries. Unemployment line in eastern city of Dessau.

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union wages, benefits and protection for all! Down with the two-tier wage system! Equal pay for equal work! Combat unemployment through the fight for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay! To realize even the most basic right—the right to a job at decent pay—leads directly to challenging the capitalist profit system. In the 1938 Transitional Program—a system of demands linking the felt needs of the workers to the fight for proletarian state power—Trotsky noted:

> "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

One of the first acts of the SPD/Green government was a new law on immigration which opened up many for deportation. The SPD "leftist" Lafontaine—one of the originators of "flexible" working conditions in the interest of the bosses—was still a member of the government when this law was passed. He was able to bring to bear his own experience as longtime prime minister of Saarland, where he was responsible for a wave of deportations and racist measures against Roma. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For trade-union mobilizations against deportations!

Naked racist state terror—from the torture and murder of asylum-seekers during deportations to the campaign against the Kurds following the arrest of Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan in February—serves to split and intimidate the multiethnic working class. Arbitrary racist measures, such as banning Muslim women wearing headscarves from teaching—most recently carried out by the SPD minister for education in Lower Saxony—serve the same purpose. Shortly after coming to office, Schröder vowed to protect the interests of industry and the state against the claims of the few surviving people who had been slave laborers in Nazi concentration and death camps. Safwan Eid, a victim of a Nazi arson attack in which ten people died three years ago in Lübeck, was tried twice, while the Nazis captured near the site of the crime with burn marks on their bodies are free. Trials are taking place of Kurds who survived a massacre at the Israeli consulate in Berlin, when four Kurds protesting the kidnap arrest of Öcalan were cold-bloodedly murdered by security guards. The workers movement must fight to beat back the charges and for the immediate release of all the arrested Kurds. Down with the ban on the PKK and Kurdish organizations!

"Legal" state terror encourages the terror of Nazi gangs on the streets. Nearly every day there is a murderous attack on immigrants; Nazi marches, protected by cops, take place regularly. Appeals to the SPD to do something against the Nazis are as impotent as they are suicidal. The SPD *rules* the bourgeois state which holds the fascists in reserve as thugs against the workers movement, and will always use its cops against the left.

We stand for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop the Nazis! The working class is the only force which can put an end to fascist terror and the capitalist system which produces fascism, war and misery. Because of their backgrounds and daily experience of racist government policies, immigrant workers are in general less susceptible to social-democratic lies and will play a key role in this struggle. German and immigrant workers will either advance together or they will be beaten back separately. In order to mobilize the power of the multiethnic working class, a revolutionary party is required which brings communist consciousness into the working class.

The SPD, the Unions and Revolutionary Leadership

The political scientist Bodo Zeuner said at an IG Metall political forum: "The qualitative leap in 1959 [the Gödesberg Program, where the SPD took the label "people's party" instead of "workers party"] meant the SPD's turn away from the traditions of Marxism. The qualitative leap in 1999, if I am not completely mistaken, consists of the SPD's turn away from the tradition of the workers movement altogether" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, June 17).

But the qualitative leap took place in *1914*, when the SPD sent the working class to the slaughter of imperialist war. In Lenin's words, the SPD leadership became "labor lieutenants of capital." Rosa Luxemburg pointed sharply to "the stinking corpse of Social Democracy." In 1918-19 the SPD leadership joined with the fascist Freikorps to smash the German revolution and murder the leadership of the young Communist Party, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. In the following years they unleashed the Freikorps and Wehrmacht to terrorize the working class and drown it in blood.

In the above article, Zeuner asks whether the unions could champion the "political tradition of the workers movement" independently, "without affiliation to any particular party." The "political tradition" which Zeuner has in mind is that of the SPD, of class collaboration. Lenin described the material base for such politics—the labor bureaucrats, the labor aristocracy, a privileged layer paid with the crumbs from the capitalists' table. Within the pre-1914 SPD, it was precisely the union bureaucracy and some of the parliamentarians who constituted the right-wing base of the party.

We stand in the *revolutionary* tradition of the workers movement. We know that the trade-union bureaucracy is tied intimately, by thousands of sticky threads, to the SPD/PDS and the bourgeois state. The IG Bau [builders union] boss Wieschügel, Mr. Minimum Wage himself, pushed for cop and vigilante groups to police construction sites to hunt for "illegal" workers. Using this witchhunt against workers from other countries he shoves backward sections of his base into the arms of the fascists. Wieschügel is considered a "left" SPDer.

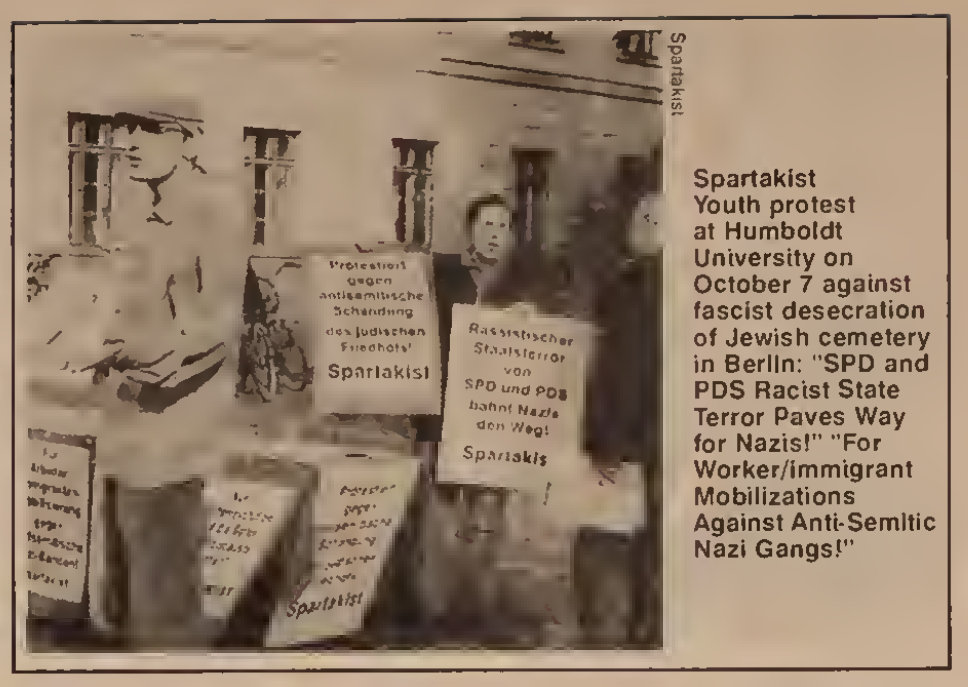
The trade-union leadership also coddles the police "union." The police are the armed agents of the capitalists, the professional strike-breakers and thugs. We say: Police are not "colleagues" and not part of the workers movement! Cops out of the DGB trade-union federation!

When members of the HBV (70 percent of them women) took to the streets in militant demonstrations against the rapidly worsening working conditions, the HBV bureaucrats channeled this into a campaign to uphold the reactionary *Ladenschlussgesetz* (law on shop closing hours). We are for the abolition of this law, which tightens the straitjacket of the bourgeois family and the double oppression of women who bear the main load of housework and are now regimented to do this work during certain hours. This law has nothing to do with "defense" of the workers and everything to do with the attempt of the trade-union bureaucracy to restrain their membership from an organized fight against the capitalists. Trotsky wrote in his 1940 article "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" that capitalism "demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class." He noted:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of the workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

1989-90: For a Red Soviet Germany!

The unfolding political revolution in 1989-90 against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste of the DDR showed the potential power of the working class. Our international party intervened as the revolutionary leadership against the counterrevolution, for the revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East—for a red Soviet Germany. Our program rapidly gained a foothold and was eagerly received by workers who sought a revolutionary socialist perspective. In January 1990, we initiated a united-front demonstration against the fascist desecration of the Soviet war memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park, which was taken up by the SED-PDS under the pressure of its factory base. A quarter of a million people came out to a proletarian, pro-Soviet, internationalist demonstration, where the counterposed programs of Stalinism and Trotskyism were clearly presented. From the platform, a Spartakist speaker called for workers and soldiers soviets and exposed the sellout politics of the Stalinists and the SPD, the "Trojan horse of counterrevolution." Alarmed by this show of proletarian power, after Treptow the bourgeoisie and their SPD lackeys began an onslaught to push through counterrevolution. And the PDS, frightened by the spectre of a proletarian political revolution which would sweep it away, initiated its own offensive—under the slogan of then-DDR prime minister, Hans Modrow: "Germany one fatherland"—and *led the counterrevolution*. Today these traitors pose as an "opposition" in the Fourth Reich, which came into existence with their help.



Spartakist Youth protest at Humboldt University on October 7 against fascist desecration of Jewish cemetery in Berlin: "SPD and PDS Racist State Terror Paves Way for Nazis!" "For Worker/immigrant Mobilizations Against Anti-Semitic Nazi Gangs!"

The Pseudo-Left, the Russian Question and the SPD Government

We Trotskyists fought for the defense and extension of the revolutionary gains of the working class embodied in the proletarian property forms of the former workers states in the Soviet Union and East Europe. We stood for the unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialist aggression and internal counterrevolution. We fought for proletarian political revolution, the mobilization of the working class to seize power from the Stalinist bureaucracy. Today, this is an urgent task for revolutionaries in the remaining deformed workers states of China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea. James P. Cannon, founder of Trotskyism in the U.S., stated: "The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution." Proving this in the negative are practically all other groups on the left, who again and again sided with their own bourgeoisies against the Soviet Union, supported the counterrevolution in the DDR and today, as satellites of the SPD, peddle the "death of communism" in one way or another.

This is the case with the Gruppe Arbeitermacht (GAM), affiliated to the British Workers Power group. They like to talk about "revolutionary program" and a "revolutionary party" even as they support the war aims of their "own" bourgeoisie. But what is their aim? "We are prepared, together with SPD and PDS supporters, to put pressure on 'their' parties and fight against the capitalists." They whine about Lafontaine's "inglorious capitulation" and turn, as all the pseudo-leftists do, begging to the government: "Now the promises must be implemented." And then the main point: they stand for "building SPD/PDS governments.... they are bourgeois workers parties, bourgeois workers governments, which they build" ("A Revolutionary Action Program for the BRD [German Federal Republic]," June 1999).

With one stroke of the pen the GAM disappears Marxist theory: the state is an organ of class rule. This government is a popular front—a governing coalition of the SPD bourgeois workers party and the bourgeois Greens. But even if the SPD/PDS were ruling alone, they would still be ***administering the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie***. They would still be organizing the "special bodies of armed men" and the other institutions that protect the

continued on page 14

SPARTAKIST 4
SPD/PDS: Rassistische Abschiebe- und imperialistische Kriegspolitik
Keine Stimme für SPD, PDS!
Für ein rotes Ostdeutschland als Teil der Vereinigten Sozialistischen Staaten von Europa!

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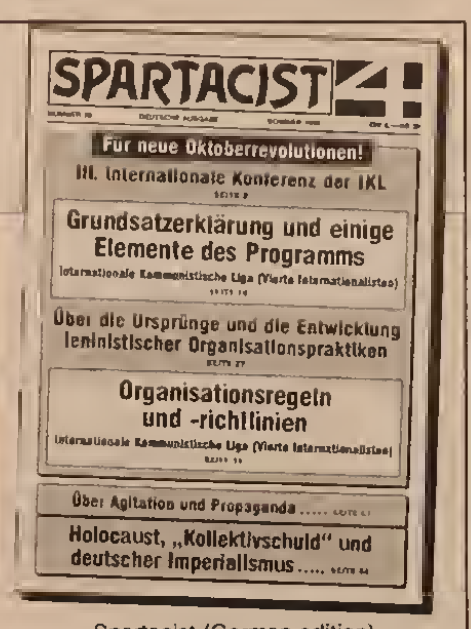
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Speeches...

(continued from page 11)

got to think in terms of Big Oil. You've got to think in terms of old money Rockefellers. That's what you've got to think of—old money/new money. And I hear about this workers party. Well, just voting in a workers party is impossible. It is, in my opinion, nonsense. You need an illegal party. So I say fight for communism, fight for the working class.

WV Photo

Larry Cutler

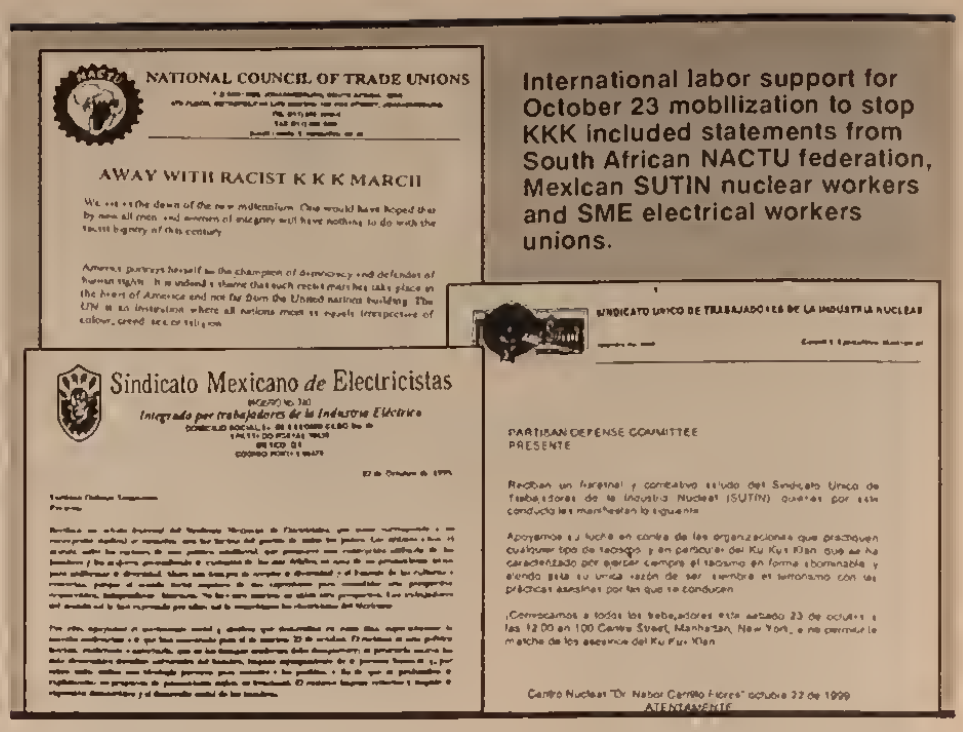
Ed Kartsen

Spartacist League

Wall Street fears you. They fear you because they know what they've been doing to you. They know they have been sharply increasing the cost of living, that they have been making super-profits off of your exploitation. They know what they've been doing to you, so they want to make sure that you are not in a position to stop the Ku Klux Klan. They want to use the Ku Klux Klan to support their system when it is no longer possible to use the powerful police forces that they have deployed nationally in order to protect their profit system. They know that they have been narrowly escaping an international financial crisis. They know that their profit system has created poverty and misery for thousands and millions of people. They know that this exploitation is going to create conditions that are so explosive that this police system will not be able to contain it.

The Democratic Party—Stringer, Sharpton—have been colluding with the city to allow the Klan to get away with this. Now Al Sharpton has gone so far as to file a friend of the court brief on behalf of the Ku Klux Klan. Can you believe this? This lineup of people from Sharpton to Giuliani to the Democratic Party to the Central Labor Council—those people who want to allow the Ku Klux Klan to "speak," allow the Ku Klux Klan to organize—must be exposed. You can see from this lineup why labor has been kept down in the city.

See, Al Sharpton has very skillfully developed the image of being someone who's against police terror. But now he's exposed as defender of the Ku Klux Klan. Al Sharpton channels the just rage that people had against the death squad execution of Amadou Diallo into the Democratic Party and into a "ten-point program." This program calls for a raise for the cops. When was the last time you got a raise? Well, Sharpton's not working for you, he's not working for your interests. He wants more effective cops. He wants cops who more effectively bust your strikes and terrorize your communities. Sharpton and Stringer have exposed themselves as the enemies of labor and the enemies of all those who are the potential victims of the Ku Klux Klan.



NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS

AWAY WITH RACIST K K K MARCH

Sindicato Mexicano *de* Electricistas

Integrado por trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica

SINDICATO UNICO DE TRABAJADORES DE LA INDUSTRIA NUCLEAR

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
PRESENTE

International labor support for October 23 mobilization to stop KKK included statements from South African NACTU federation, Mexican SUTIN nuclear workers and SME electrical workers unions.

Al Sharpton defends the Ku Klux Klan. This sharply contrasts with what Malcolm X stood for. Both we of the Spartacist League and Malcolm X called for organized self-defense to stop Ku Klux Klan violence against civil rights workers. Malcolm X would have had hatred and contempt for what Sharpton is doing. Hatred and contempt for the defenders of the Ku Klux Klan.

The loyal democratic opposition in Germany lulled to sleep the working people and allowed fascism to come to power. We say, the working class needs a party that would ensure that that never happens. Working-class militants need a political program and an organization to enable them to seize power and prevent the fascists from seizing power and destroying the workers movement. And when I say seize power, I don't mean seize the existing instruments of the capitalist state. I mean a complete elimination of the institutions of capitalist rule and its replacement by formations based on workers rule, on the factories and on the industries.

Labor must struggle for its freedom, and that struggle for freedom is linked to the struggle for black liberation. It is linked to the struggle of gays for their rights. It is linked to the struggle of women for their rights. It is linked to the struggle of all those who are oppressed by capitalism.

WV Photo

Spartacist League speaker Ed Kartsen addresses mass labor/black mobilization.

Germany...

(continued from page 13)

bourgeoisie's class rule and property. As Marx put it after the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871: "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." The GAM tries to lie to workers about this simple truth. They are no different from the other wretched "lefts" whose worldview begins and ends with the Social Democracy.

Linksruck, a reformist group allied with Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, was buried for years in the SPD. Today it promotes building "a new socialist party" in order to defend "the victory of 27 September 1998"—the election of the SPD government! They erect a *class line* between "Schröder's CDU politics" and the SPD "lefts" and duh this "civil war in the SPD." They do this to cover the real class line between the bourgeois program of the SPD leadership (including their beloved Lafontaine) and the working-class base in order to prevent the base from splitting from the SPD. They distort the real meaning of civil war—class war of the workers against the bourgeoisie—which, from their parliamentary outlook, would of course be an abomination. They give Lafontaine and Gysi good tips: "Lafontaine sought to carry out politics against the bosses on the parliamentary plane. His mistake lay in not mobilizing the forces which could have pushed through such politics.... Strategically, Gysi is lumbering into the same trap as Lafontaine." Linksruck now wants to iron out this "mistake" and describes in classic reformist jargon how the working class can serve as a mass base for maneuvers: "Only the working class can force reforms in the crisis" (*Linksruck*, August 1999).

On September 4, a congress of the "Initiative to Network Union Leftists" took place in Frankfurt am Main. Originally this "Network" was a PDS-dominated opposition against the DGB union leadership, which directly supported the bombing of Serbia. The focus of the congress was how to go from "neoliberalism" back to the old glorified time of the "welfare state" and "concerted action"—with which the bourgeoisie tried to appease the workers during the Cold War.

Our comrades intervened in Frankfurt on the necessity for *independent* mobilization of the working class, the overthrow of imperialism and a revolutionary multiethnic workers party. The PDS led the counterrevolution and thereby laid the basis for German imperialism to drive ahead the destruction of Yugoslavia which led to the nationalist massacres. When our comrade attacked the "leftists" in attendance for dancing on the graves of the DDR and the Soviet Union and for celebrating the victory of "democracy," it really hit a nerve. There was loud unrest and repeated interruptions by the chairman.

Spartakist

Germany, 1989-90: ICL called for "A Red Germany of Workers Councils in a Socialist Europe" in fight for proletarian political revolution, against capitalist counterrevolution.

Our strategic task as revolutionaries is to split the working-class base from the pro-capitalist SPD/PDS leadership, centrally through a struggle to replace the union misleaders with a class-struggle, revolutionary leadership. The working class must be transformed from a class *in* itself—the object of capitalist exploitation—to a class *for* itself—conscious of the need to overthrow capitalist rule through proletarian revolution. As the experience of the Russian Revolution proved positively, and subsequent experience has proved negatively, this will not happen spontaneously, but only through the active intervention of a revolutionary vanguard party that fights for nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the fight to which the Spartakist Workers Party, as a section of the International Communist League, is committed. We fight for new October Revolutions worldwide!■

When the U.S. wanted to bomb Kosovo, they claimed they were out to stop ethnic cleansing. Well, they want to protect the KKK. They have no intention of stopping ethnic cleansing. Workers can only win by understanding that the struggles of American workers are the same as the struggles of workers of all countries. Workers throughout the world are our brothers. The capitalists throughout the world are our enemies. Workers must stand in solidarity with Puerto Rico, and fight for the right of self-determination for Puerto Rico. They must fight to defend those countries where capitalism has been overthrown—Cuba, China, Vietnam, North Korea. They must fight to defend them against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution.

The only way to permanently stop the fascists is to take industry away from these corrupt, incompetent racist exploiters and rebuild society on a socialist economic plan. Our fight is for a workers future, a fight to transform this massive mobilization of strength into a class-conscious party for a workers revolution. Stop the Klan, this is the hour—Labor and blacks have got the power!

Postal Workers Support Labor/Black Mobilization

The following is an excerpted statement by Mark Sobel, president of National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 294, which was read to the anti-Klan mobilization by branch member Gloria Lum.

This is New York City and I say that with passion! The KKK must never be allowed to utter one paragraph, one sentence, not even one word in New York City. This is a ***union town***! This is a ***multicultural, diverse town***!

I speak to you today with a personal message. As a local union president in one of the most culturally diverse sections of New York City, Flushing, Queens, the letter carriers I represent demonstrate the care and concern to all walks of life, to all religions, to all nationalities, to all colors of skin. In August of this year, our brother, Joseph Ileto, was gunned down, murdered by a racist anti-Semite in Los Angeles. All brother Joseph was doing was his job, delivering mail, when he was murdered because of his being a "non-white, working for the Federal government." Brother Joseph was killed by the same people that wear hoods and burn crosses and splatter blood on the diaspora of America. To give these people a forum and call it First Amendment Rights is a desecration of the Bill of Rights and an insult to every working man and woman in our society.

We rise and denounce all who have propagated this invasion. May this demonstration be the impetus to drive the rodents back to where they belong. Thank you.

* * *

The following are excerpts from a resolution passed by the NY Metro Area Postal Union (NYMAPU) on October 21 and read to the mobilization by NYMAPU member Wally Rosenthal.

Whereas, racism serves the interests of a relatively small group of wealthy individuals, while dividing and weakening the labor movement by creating barriers between different groups of workers; and

Whereas, the KKK's claim of the right of free speech is just a smokescreen to hide the reality of the KKK's long history (right up to the present) of racist actions, from lynchings and other murders to acts of violence, vandalism, etc.;

Therefore, be it resolved that New York Metro Area Postal Union go on record in strong opposition to racism in general, and against the racist acts and ideas of the Ku Klux Klan in particular; and

Be it resolved that NYMAPU call on postal workers, and others, to join protests against the KKK starting at 12:00 noon on Saturday, October 23 near the State Supreme Court Building at 60 Centre Street in lower Manhattan.

Sayfullah El

City College of New York

We've come here to speak on behalf of all the people who've been murdered, lynched and raped by the KKK. We'd like that to be remembered above everything else—all the people who have been

Sayfullah El

murdered. As members of the media at City College, we are not against freedom of speech. But this is not an organization of people who have religious or political theologies. This is an organization of people who have massacred innocent people, children, women, for centuries on end. And this is a city of immigrants and people of color. This is our home and I am a representative of City College, home of immigrants. And we are here to say you don't come in our home. We will not tolerate it any more.

And on behalf of all our ancestors who are standing here today, we will not allow them to walk through this city without seeing all these faces. If you think I'm a n----r, come and look at a n----r, 'cause you're going to have to look at me if you're going to walk through my home. And you'll have to look at me for the rest of your life, because we are a part of this country, and we're here to stay—and like everyone else, we have helped build this country. And we are here to tell the KKK that you are cowards and if you would like to come to Washington Heights, if you would like to come to Harlem, and if you'd like to come to Brooklyn, we are waiting! We are waiting! Because City College is saying that we are a community of warriors. If you don't like us, and you'd like to attack us, come to our real home. Harlem is waiting, KKK! Harlem is waiting!

Roy Rollin

College Voice, *College of Staten Island*

Brothers and sisters, comrades, and friends—it's midnight in the 20th century but the fascists still think it's springtime for Hitler. Well, we in the working class of New York City have had enough. Enough of the cutbacks. Enough of the layoffs. Enough of the givebacks. Enough of the austerity. Enough of getting rid of open admissions at CUNY. Enough of the racist death penalty. Enough of slave-labor workfare. Enough of all the oppression and exploitation that the ruling capitalist Klan—capitalist class, that was not a Freudian slip—enough of the exploitation and oppression that our masters want to foist on us and will not shrink from using the fascist running dogs of the Klan and the Nazi Party and the rest of that wretched bunch to enforce.

This is a labor city. This city was built by black workers, Latino workers, immigrant workers from Germany, from Russia, Asian workers. Now the fascists, if you've read their baloney in the bourgeois press, say they are not a hate group, they are a "white civil rights group." Well, I'm a white workingman and they do not stand for my rights or the rights of any workingman, white, black, or otherwise in this country. Because when the fascists came to power in Germany, the first thing they did was to smash the Communist Party, smash the Social Democratic Party and smash every trade union and every institution of working-class struggle.

Carmen Quiñones

Democratic Party, 68th District

I am a Democratic district leader. But you the people elect me. And I have to represent you. That's where I'm at. I am totally against the KKK. They cannot come in my yard. They cannot come over here and try to take my land that we struggled so hard to build. I have five generations alive. That is very rare. I'll be damned if they're going to come and lynch my grandchildren. We ain't having it. You will not recruit in New York City. You take your recruits somewhere else because I'm here to tell you as a Latina woman, as an Africana woman, as a Taína woman, we will not stand for your bullshit in New York.

And the minute you come down here, we're gonna let you know, because you know what? We ain't scared no more. I got up this morning and I said Jesus Lord, give me the strength, give me the will power to stand up and say how much I hate this, how much I hate sometimes the freedom of speech because it allows assholes like this to come here and try to dictate our lives. We ain't standing for it no more, no matter what party you belong to. This is wrong and we're not taking it no more. *Aquí no, basta ya*—enough is enough.

Carmen Quiñones

Farouk-Abdel Muhti

Palestine Aid Society

Death to the Ku Klux Klan! Death to fascism in the United States and all over the world! We are here to confront with you, with the American people in general, with the huge working class, with the Jewish and the African Americans, with the minorities, against the Ku Klux Klan and against fascism in the United States. We have our own experience in Lebanon many years ago when fascism, the Falangists, tried to destroy the Arab struggle in Lebanon. At the same time we will not forget that fascism is allied to Zionism. Zionism continues today to combat and destroy the rights of the Palestinian people....

Farouk-Abdel Muhti

This speaker was interrupted by news that the KKK had appeared at 60 Centre Street, as the crowd began repeatedly chanting: "KKK, no way! You ain't gonna march today!" ■

Black History and the Class Struggle No. 11
(August 1994)

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- Build an Interracial Revolutionary Leadership!
- A Proletarian-Centered Strategy to Fight Fascism
- Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People
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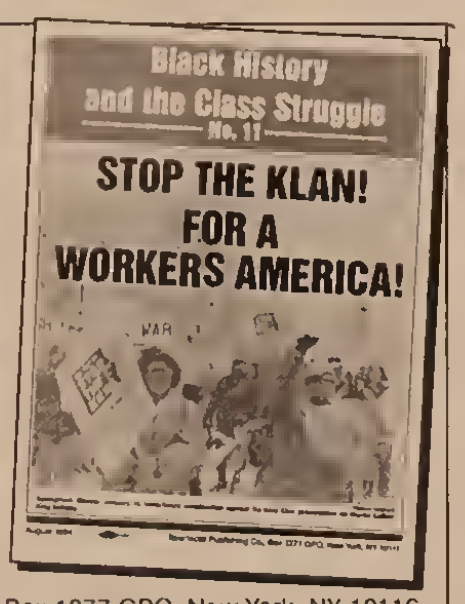

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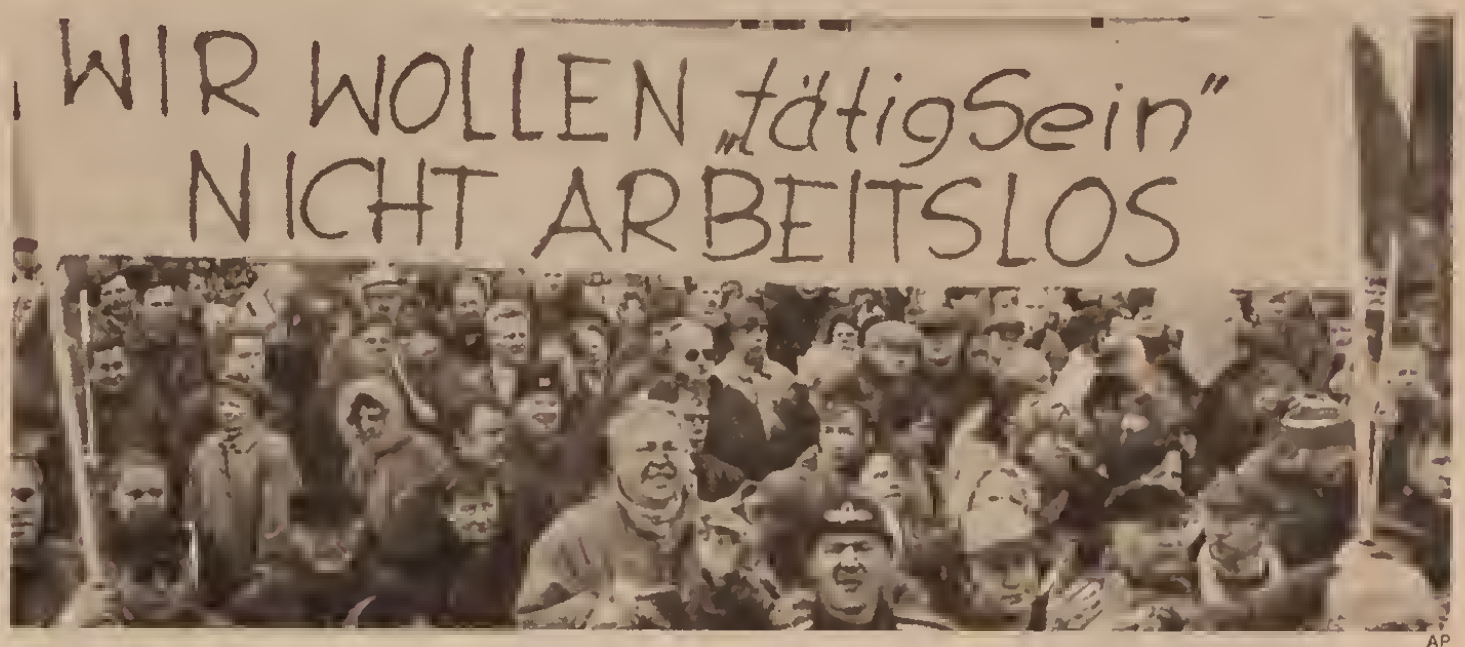
WORKERS VANGUARD

Germany: Workers Protest Social Democratic Austerity

Barely one year after Social Democrat (SPD) Gerhard Schröder, ruling in coalition with the bourgeois Green Party, replaced Helmut Kohl of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) as German chancellor, popular support for the SPD has plunged to all-time lows and the party is riven with factional warfare. As over four million remain unemployed nationwide—and one in five jobless in the east—the SPD's proletarian base is in an uproar over Schröder's plans to slash social welfare programs and attack hard-won union gains.



AP

Workers in eastern German city of Erfurt protest mass unemployment. As millions remain jobless, workers around Germany have taken to the streets against SPD chancellor Schröder's austerity measures.

SPARTAKIST

The ruling coalition nearly collapsed earlier this year as opposition to German participation in the U.S./NATO war against Serbia brought the Greens, headed by Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, to the brink of a split. In the months since, the SPD has suffered a string of humiliating defeats in regional elections, including in the industrial heartland of the Ruhr and most recently in Berlin, where the "left" social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) made significant gains, winning over 40 percent of the vote in the former East Berlin and doubling its vote in the west. Gregor Gysi's PDS is the successor to the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SED) which ruled, and sold out, the East German (DDR) deformed workers state before its counterrevolutionary annexation by the German bourgeoisie in 1990.

Posturing as a left opposition within the SPD is Oskar Lafontaine, who quit as Schröder's finance minister in March and maintains a good deal of authority both at the base of the party and with sectors of the social-democratic DGB trade-union bureaucracy. Lafontaine has been seeking to ride the wave of discontent against the government, recently launching a new broadside against Schröder through the serialization of his autobiography, *The Heart Beats on the Left*.

We publish below, in abridged form, an article translated from *Spartakist* (No. 137, Autumn 1999), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League. This article appeared under the headline, "Lafontaine/PDS: Strategists for German Imperialism—For Class Struggle Against the Capitalist SPD/Green Government! For a Revolutionary Multiethnic Workers Party!"

* * *

After the bloody bombing of the Balkans by the capitalist SPD/Green government, carried out in the interests of the German bourgeoisie, the government is again turning its attacks against the working class at home. Increasingly, however, the workers no longer believe that the SPD party of war is the "lesser evil" and that the class-collaborationist "Alliance for Jobs" has anything to do with their interests. The proletarian base of the SPD is in an uproar against the war policy and against the sharp cuts in social welfare, pensions and unemployment benefits.

The Trade, Bank and Insurance Workers Union (HBV) and ÖTV public workers have held militant demonstrations against Schröder's policies. In the first half of 1999, some 13,600 SPD members turned in their party membership books, over 3,000 in June alone (*Hamburger Abendblatt*, 11 September). In all the recent elections—Saarland, Brandenburg, Thuringia and Saxony—the SPD lost enormously. The losses in the regional elections in North Rhine-Westphalia hit the traditional SPD stronghold, where cities like Duisburg, Dortmund and Essen have been run by the SPD almost uninterruptedly since 1945. Workers simply didn't go to the polls, a direct protest against the Schröder/Fischer government.

The working class is starting to lose faith in its traditional party and is looking for a left alternative. This is a positive development and opens up important opportunities for revolutionaries, who fight to break the working class from its social-democratic misleadership and win it to a revolutionary perspective—for socialist revolution. This development powerfully confirms what we said before last year's Bundestag (parliamentary) election: "No Vote to the SPD, PDS—Racist Deporters and Imperialist Warmongers!" (*Spartakist* No. 133, Autumn 1998).

> "As a loyal servant of the capitalists the SPD offers...to push through the demanded 'structural reforms': attacking the unions, dismantling the remaining social benefits, sending women back to 'home and hearth' and driving workers of Turkish, Kurdish, Yugoslav and Polish origin out of their jobs and out of Germany through chauvinist persecution and police terror."

The PDS is no alternative to the SPD. Bound to this capitalist society, it offers nothing but to pressure the SPD. After the elections in Thuringia, where the SPD came in third after the PDS (as also happened in Saxony two weeks later), PDS head Gregor Gysi advised Schröder: "Only a joint SPD/PDS project can change anything" (*Neues Deutschland*, 13 September).

Union bureaucrats like IG Metall metal workers top Klaus Zwickel, who fully supported the government's war policies, are now concerned about losing control of their membership. In the September issue of *Metall* he warned Schröder, who is depicted in bourgeois pose with a cigar on the cover: "It is still not too late to alter the present course." And at a reception for the union-organized members of the SPD Bundestag fraction, he threatened that "the unions could shift their basic stance toward the Social Democracy" (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 15 September).

A heated debate is going on within an alliance of SPD "lefts," the PDS, union bureaucrats and pseudo-leftists about how the policy of the government can be changed in order to divert the discontent of the workers and rescue the government. Their fundamental conception and their whole politics rely on the SPD which rules this capitalist state and is supposed to reform it. But we communists state with Lenin that "The state is a product and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms.... According to Marx, the state is an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another" (*State and Revolution* [1917]). For exactly that reason, it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist state through a socialist workers revolution and to replace the system of exploitation and war through a planned economy based on workers soviets (councils). This is what the Russian workers did in the October Revolution under the Bolshevik leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. To lead the first successful proletarian revolution, it was absolutely essential to break from the centrist and reformist traitors in the workers movement and build a proletarian vanguard party.

PDS Props Up Racist SPD Austerity Coalition

The Result of Counterrevolution

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe, the German bourgeoisie of the reunified Fourth Reich sees no boundaries, in the truest sense of the word, to its imperialist greed. Because there is no longer a need for the anti-Soviet Cold War alliance, interimperialist rivalries have rapidly intensified. To hold its own in competition with its imperialist rivals, the German bourgeoisie is trying to greatly increase the rate of profit. The "welfare state" was meant to counter working-class protest against the capitalist order following the victory of the Red Army in World War II and the establishment of the deformed workers states in East Europe, including the DDR. It has now served its purpose and is being rapidly dismantled.

But in spite of the triumphal braying over the "death of communism," the

continued on page 12

AP

DPA

German tank in Macedonia near Kosovo border during NATO war against Serbia. Seeking to head off growing working-class discontent, SPD "left" Oskar Lafontaine (top) resigned as Schröder's finance minister in March.

WORKERS VANGUARD

1 November 1999

Special Supplement
10¢

Thousands Come Out to Stop Klan Terror

Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of NYC

WV Photo

The power of labor was evident as SSEU Local 371 members led march toward Foley Square under labor/black mobilization banner, October 23.

New Yorkers came out in their thousands on October 23 determined to make sure the KKK didn't ride in their city. They were mobilized by the call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, "All Out to Stop the KKK on October 23!" Hundreds of working people, students and others joined in distributing 175,000 of the PDC's mobilizing leaflet in workplaces, campuses and neighborhoods throughout the city.

Thousands came out in defiance of the efforts of the Giuliani administration, its cops and the courts to deny their right to mobilize to stop the Klan. They came out in opposition to appeals by the phony "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party and self-appointed spokesmen for the black population who preached a "demonstration for tolerance" for the "rights" of the KKK. They knew this wasn't an issue of "free speech" but of stopping Klan terror and murder. They came out to drive the Klan lynchers off their streets. And that's exactly what they did.

Able to show their faces only under the protection of an army of cops, 17 Klansmen cowered outside the New York State Supreme Court, surrounded on all sides by at least 8,000 determined anti-Klan protesters. "Unmasked and Overwhelmed, the Klan Is Besieged at Rally," headlined the *New York Times* the next day. As these hooded-and-robed racists scurried back into the courthouse under police escort barely midway through their scheduled rally, the trade unionists and others assembled under the PDC "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK!" banner broke into nonstop chanting: "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!"

Headed up by union marshals with their arms linked, they marched up Lafayette Street displaying in victory the militancy, determination and defiance that was at the core of this mobilization centered on the social power of organized labor. "We gave a message to the city: This is not Klan country!" said a member of the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) Local 371. Local 371 came together with members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, postal, construction, civil service and many, many other trade unionists to form the backbone of the mobilization to stop the Klan.

These unionists, who knew that coming to a mobilization to stop the Klan was serious business, were above all what gave the mobilization its disciplined and determined character. They acted as marshals to protect the mobilization at 100 Centre Street. In the vanguard was SSEU Local 371, led by its president, Charles Ensley, whose members stationed themselves right in front of the speaker's platform and then led a large contingent from 100 Centre Street to Foley Square a block away, where thousands of others had drifted in the hope of getting closer to the Klan. A thousand edgy cops, with many more in reserve, were restrained by this show of labor power.

The thousands who turned out saw this labor/black mobilization as their own, and many had indeed helped build it. Workers at transit locations, hospitals and UPS depots, on buses and subways, at municipal office buildings took stacks of leaflets to distribute and poster. Many demonstrators brought their own handmade signs or made them on the spot. People called out suggestions for additional chants to the speaker's platform.

Student governments from Borough of Manhattan Community College, Lehman, Bronx Community, Hostos, as well as students and student organizations from Columbia and New York University, Sarah Lawrence, Cornell and many others, endorsed and helped build the mobilization to stop the Klan. Many students organized contingents from their campuses, which marched into the rally in groups. As the speaker for the Spartacus Youth Club—which helped build campus support—read off the names of the colleges and college groups, students cheered loudly.

For hundreds of students, this was not only their first taste of mass political action, but their first sense of the social power of labor organized in racially integrated unions. Speakers from the student contingents spoke with fire and passion, as exemplified by a young woman from City College who declared: "We are here to tell the KKK that you are cowards and if you would like to come to Washington Heights, if you would like to come to Harlem, and if you'd like to come to Brooklyn, we are waiting! Harlem is waiting, KKK!"

A Workers Party in Action

What was seen in the streets of New York City on October 23 was exactly what the PDC had said was necessary to stop the Klan: a powerful mobilization of the social power of the multiracial working class, standing at the head of blacks, Hispanics, Asians, immigrants, Jews, Catholics, gays, youth and all those the Klan has lined up in its sights. Our purpose was to give an organized and militant expression to the massive outrage against the Klan.

It was a united-front mobilization, which allowed for the expression of many

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KKK Out...

(continued from page 1)

diverse political viewpoints by all those who shared a commitment to the urgent necessity to *stop the KKK*. But it tapped into far more than that, intersecting the accumulated anger among the city's working people, particularly blacks and Hispanics, who are fed up with being pushed around for years in the one-sided war against workers and the poor.

It galvanized the anger against the marauding, racist cops which exploded earlier this year over the killing of black African Amadou Diallo by the NYPD. It gave expression to the hundreds of thousands in this city—from unionized workers to immigrant cab drivers and hot dog vendors, CUNY students, artists, AIDS victims—who have had it with Giuliani's mini-police state. It demonstrated an alternative to the Democratic Party politicians, their black front men and labor flunkies, who worked as feverishly to try to demobilize any independent outpouring of the working people and all the enemies of Klan terror as they had done to contain the protests over the Diallo killing within the confines of electoral pressure politics.

Many of the thousands who mobilized behind the anti-Klan rally were looking for the answer not only to stopping Klan terror but to fighting back against the entire system of racist capitalist exploitation and oppression. Demonstrators listened raptly to all the speeches from the platform. Many shouted, "That's right, that's right" when PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson denounced both the Democratic and Republican parties as enemies of labor and the oppressed. Calls for the working people to build their own class party were met with applause.

What was seen on the streets of New York City on October 23 was a microcosm of a workers party in action, i.e., the working class mobilized in its own interests, acting independently of the government and parties of the capitalist class. The PDC—a class-struggle legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the views of the Marxist Spartacist League—initiated the call which brought to bear the social power of labor and its strong, militant component of black workers in defense of all the oppressed. That same power, those same forces which stopped the Klan from riding can organize the unorganized and unemployed, can mobilize in defense of the masses in the ghettos and barrios, can crack the "open shop" South—itself a product of KKK anti-union terror.

The successful labor/black mobilization brought to life the connection between labor's fight and the fight for black freedom. Black oppression is the cornerstone of racist American capitalism. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power, and there will be no proletarian revolution to end class exploitation unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things that the ruling class appropriates for itself—health care, education, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership necessary

WV Photos

Trade unionists were the backbone of NYC mobilization to stop the KKK. Right: Postal workers carried signs honoring their brother Joseph Ileto, gunned down by fascist killer in Los Angeles in July.

to fight—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow down to the bosses' laws, parties and state agencies, a workers party that doesn't respect the property "rights" of the bourgeoisie. We need a workers party that fights for a workers government to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and institute a planned socialist economy that operates not for the profit of a few greedy exploiters but for the working people who produce the wealth of society. That is the kind of workers party that we communists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build.

The Political Battle to Stop the Klan

Just as the mobilization to stop the Klan in New York City on October 23 gave a real taste of the social forces and leadership required for socialist revolution in this country, it also starkly exposed the enemies and obstacles to organizing struggles of the working class in its own interests and in the interests of all those at the bottom of this society. These included the capitalist cops, courts and Giuliani city administration; the American Civil Liberties Union, which continued its revolting decades-long defense of "constitutional rights" for the fascist terrorists; the Democratic Party, whose calls for a "demonstration for tolerance" were aimed at trying to demobilize the working people and others who wanted to stop the Klan; Al Sharpton and the black establishment *Amsterdam News*, who grotesquely filed a court brief on behalf of the Klan; the International Socialist Organization (ISO), who leapt into the camp of Giuliani, the Democrats, Sharpton, the ACLU *and* the Klan *against* the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization.

From the day that the Klan's rally was publicly announced in a 13 October article in the *New York Post*, there was a contention of two counterposed class forces—those representing the interests of the capitalist ruling class and those representing the interests of the working class and its allies. The moment the PDC heard of the KKK's plans, it applied for a permit to hold a demonstration at the same time and same place as the Klan's announced rally site, 100 Centre Street. The call for a labor/black mobilization was issued immediately, and met with overwhelming support when it hit the streets. This mobilization had an impact on city politics not seen in years. The issue captured the front pages of the tabloids, dominated talk shows and call-ins on black radio stations, reportedly split union executive boards and drove the Democratic Party establishment to distraction.

The Giuliani administration and NYPD responded by setting to work in an attempt to block this mobilization. Colluding with them was an unholy alliance ranging from the New York Civil Liberties Union's Norman Siegel, lawyer for the KKK, to Democratic State Assemblyman Scott Stringer and black Democrat Al Sharpton. The KKK's rally site was secretly moved a block away to 60 Centre Street, information that was not made public for days. As it became clear that thousands of New Yorkers were rallying behind the PDC's call, as tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed over the weekend of October 16-17, this cabal moved into high gear.

Stringer, joined by Sharpton and other Democratic Party pols, called a press conference on October 19 to announce that he had applied for a permit for a "demonstration for tolerance" at 60 Centre Street, where the Klan would stage its rally. That evening it came out, as a PDC press release reported, that Stringer & Co. were "colluding with the Klan and the Giuliani administration to cut a deal to share a sound permit with the KKK at 60 Centre Street." The following day, Sharpton filed his *amicus* brief on behalf of the Klan. *We* fought on behalf of the tens of thousands of New York's working people who wanted to *stop* the KKK, waging an incessant battle in the courts for *their* rights to free speech and assembly.

On October 21, a federal district court gave the Klansmen everything they had asked for and the working people were told they were to be muzzled. The court approved the deal cooked up by Siegel, Stringer and the Klan to share a sound permit and gave the KKK the right to stage their race-hate provocation in hoods with masks. The judges denied a sound permit for the labor/black mobilization at 60 Centre Street. As PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein declared, "This deal is an attempt to guarantee that only the Klan will be heard and not their intended victims." She added, "The denial of a sound permit to the anti-Klan rally is a provocation against the mobilization organizers' ability to hold a militant, orderly mass demonstration. A rally without centrally located sound and leadership is like a car without a steering wheel."

Even the right-wing *New York Post* (23 October) denounced the court's decision that the anti-Klan mobilization could not use loudspeakers at the same time as the KKK on the grounds that that would "snuff out the free speech" of the Klan. Indeed, the court ruling was a graphic illustration of the race and class bias of the capitalist "justice" system—a free ride for Klan terror and no rights for their intended victims! This was punctuated by the fact that the courthouse was literally used as a shelter for the KKK when it staged its race-hate rally.

When the Klan's permit to rally with masks was retracted in a federal appeals court on October 22, a disinformation campaign was set in motion aimed at convincing people there was no reason to come out the next day since the KKK would not be there. A PDC press release that evening declared: "Whatever reports are circulating that the KKK currently has no permit to stage its race-hate provocation, the working people of this city have no reason to trust the word of these racist terrorists or the Giuliani administration. The only way to guarantee that the Klan does not rear its head in New York tomorrow is if the streets are filled with its opponents."

And, on October 23, there were many thousands of determined opponents of the Klan filling the area around Centre Street. Here was the answer to Sharpton's defense of the Klan's right to "free speech." Many of those who came out had personal experience with the burning cross, the lynch rope, the shotguns through which the Klan "speaks." Despite being separated by helmeted riot cops and police barricades at different locations, they had come out not to show "tolerance" for the KKK as preached by Stringer and the Democrats but in response to the PDC call to *stop the KKK*.

The ISO—*Traitors* Exposed

Except for some of the Democratic Party faithful, like Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, and a token endorsement by the leadership of the Central Labor Council, Stringer, Sharpton et al.'s call for "tolerance" fell on deaf ears. The *only* organization to leap into Stringer's camp with energy and purpose was the International Socialist Organization, which did its level best to give a cover to the Democratic Party—and the Klan—*against* the organized working class.

The ISO endorsed a meeting called by a variety of lawyers and liberals to organize behind Stringer's "demonstration for tolerance." When representatives of the PDC intervened to call for uniting all those who wanted to stop the Klan on

Reuters

AP

WV Photo

Liberal and fake-socialist enemies of labor/black mobilization provided platform for KKK racist terrorists: NYCLU's Norman Siegel at Klan rally, Democrats Al Sharpton and Scott Stringer, ISO speaker next to police banner at Democratic Party diversion.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 723 — 12 November 1999

Thousands Ride Klan Out of NYC

Class-Struggle Fight for Black Freedom

We print below, in edited form, a presentation by Ed Kartsen, one of the organizers of the labor/black mobilization that drove the Klan out of New York City, at a New York Spartacist League public forum on October 30.

On October 23, the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were confronted in New York City by at least 8,000 militant protesters who came out to stop them. This demonstration was initiated with a united-front call by the Partisan Defense Committee around the slogan: All Out to Stop the KKK! Due to the mass, militant and disciplined nature of this mobilization, the 17 KKKers were forced to scurry back into a courthouse barely halfway into their rally. When it became clear that the fascist KKK had been forced off the streets by their mass, disciplined numbers, trade unionists and others assembled under the PDC banner chanted: "We stopped the Klan!"

This labor/black mobilization was a small example of what a workers party is in action. It was an example of the working class mobilized in its own interest, independent of the government and the political parties of the capitalist class.

This anti-KKK mobilization changed the political landscape of NYC. Analyzing all of the political forces put into motion to prevent masses of anti-KKK protesters from hitting the streets in the thousands reveals the true political character of the organizations and politicians in this city. The courts, the New York Civil Liberties Union, Republican mayor Giuliani, Democrats Scott Stringer and Al Sharpton and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) all lined up in various ways to prevent a mass, militant mobilization to stop the KKK.

The Democrats called for a demonstration of "tolerance" and planned to share a sound permit with the KKK. As it turned out, this diversion wasn't taken seriously by anyone except the ISO, which was the main group that actively built for it. One group that did rally for the Democratic Party diversion was the Latino Officers Association, a police group whose banner the ISO spoke in front of. But the crowd that accidentally ended up at that site had been mobilized around the PDC call to stop the KKK! They showed no tolerance for the rally for tolerance. And in fact they booed Democratic Party electioneering.

Sharpton worked hard on black radio shows to convince black people not to come out to stop the KKK and even filed a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the Klan. At the very last minute, the night before the KKK's scheduled rally, rumors were spread that the KKK wasn't going to march because an appeals court had upheld the city's requirement that the KKK rally without their masks. In defiance of the diversions and the deceptions, thousands of New Yorkers hit the streets to stop the KKK. And the PDC-initiated mobilization gave a political expression and direction to these thousands.

While it is widely understood that Giuliani is the enemy of working people, prior to this rally many workers and black people would have regarded Democrats like Stringer and Sharpton as some kind of alternative. Many workers would have regarded Dennis Rivera, president of 1199/SEIU (health workers) as some form of progressive labor leader. Many liberal students would have regarded the ISO as some form of progressive organization. All of these actors are now exposed as enemies of the working class and of all the would-be targets of fascist terror.

October 23 labor/black mobilization to stop KKK gave taste of social power needed for fight against capitalist system of exploitation and racist oppression. Below: Strike last spring at Virginia's Newport News shipyard, in racist "open shop" South.

WV Photos

Capitalism Breeds Fascist Terror

From the death-squad-style execution of Amadou Diallo to the killing of Hasidic Jew Gidone Busch by the NYPD, an atmosphere has been created in which the KKK feels that it has an opportunity to grow here. Nationally, the 1996 anti-crime bill pushed through by both Democrats and Republicans has led to a sharp escalation in the prison population as well as in racist cop terror. In this right-wing environment, the KKK felt that it could bring its organizing for racist terror to this city. This is the environment in which Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal was turned down by the U.S. Supreme Court, although his death warrant has been stayed.

The gap between the rich and the poor in the U.S. has grown so wide recently that the richest 1 percent of the population has as much expendable annual income as the bottom 100 million people! This demonstrates that increased profits for the capitalist class means more poverty for the vast majority of the population. Fully conscious of the potential for social unrest caused by this trend, both parties of capital, Democrats and Republicans, have been working to increase government repression—expanding the number of crimes punishable by the death penalty, increasing the length of mandatory sentences and the types of crimes requiring longer prison stays. They have targeted the ghettos and the barrios for racist police terror.

The capitalists maintain their enormous wealth and privileges by constantly attacking the democratic rights of working people and the poor and by constantly strengthening the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. There are historic conditions, however, under which the police and the National Guard will prove insufficient to suppress mass unrest. When the normal institutions for maintaining this system of exploitation prove inadequate, the capitalist rulers look to the fascists to mobilize reactionary sections of the population for racist, union-busting terrorism.

Klan Terror from Reconstruction to the Civil Rights Movement

The American ruling class faced a major crisis in 1873. In that year, the capitalist economy fell into the worst crisis experienced up to that point in

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Celebrate NYC Victory Over Klan

Build the Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners!

The labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23 was an important victory for all workers and the oppressed, not least those imprisoned for fighting against racist capitalist oppression. Join the Partisan Defense Committee in the 14th annual Holiday Appeal fund drive to celebrate that victory and to help build a powerful movement to fight for the freedom of the class-war prisoners.

The Holiday Appeal helps to sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners and provides extra funds for holiday gifts for them and their loved ones. This is not an act of charity, but rather the duty of fighters against injustice to those inside prison walls as we struggle for their freedom. The same forces—centered on the social power of the trade unions—which turned out to drive the Klan from the streets must be brought to bear in the fight to free Mumia and all class-war prisoners.

TROTSKY

For New October Revolutions!

LENIN

November 7 (October 25 by the old Russian calendar) marks the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the first and to date only successful workers revolution in history. Surrounded from its inception by hostile imperialist powers and undermined by Stalinist bureaucratic misrule beginning with the political counterrevolution in 1923-24, the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon stated while the Soviet Union fought for its life against Nazi Germany during World War II, the Fourth International was founded in the fight to defend the October Revolution and to fight for new Octobers on a world scale.

The Russian Revolution proved three things for all time.... First, it proved that the party and the leadership necessary for victory can be created by the proletariat, as they have been created by the Russian proletariat.

Second, the Russian Revolution proved—I am now repeating what I said before—that the system of nationalized industry and planned economy, introduced by a Soviet revolution, is superior, more progressive, more productive, than any device of capitalism, whether democratic or fascist.

And the third thing which we can say is demonstrated by the revolution, and proved now in the test of war, is that only one class is capable of solving the great social problems of our epoch. That class is the proletariat.

The Fourth International, with its program and its tactics anchored to these three propositions, has been proven correct by the whole test of events. Therefore, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution, we do not change our course. We see not only the Soviet regime's terrible weakness, which derives from bureaucratic mismanagement and control. We see also the strength and the power which derives from the revolutionary origin of the Soviet Union and its basic conquests....

The Russian Revolution is in the greatest peril today. We do not delude ourselves about that. We do not deceive ourselves or others with any false optimism about the danger confronting the Soviet Union. We see the situation as it really is. We know that the fate of the Soviet Union hangs in the balance, that it depends now, more than ever, on the world revolution of the proletariat and the colonial masses. But we have faith in the world revolution, and because of that, we retain our hope in the ultimate regeneration of the Soviet Union. We keep undimmed our faith that the world revolution will release humanity from this terrible vise of the war and open up a new stage of progress on the way to the communist future.

—James P. Cannon, "The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution" (November 1942); reprinted in *Speeches for Socialism* (1969)

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No. 723 **12 November 1999**

Mumia Abu-Jamal, December marks 18 years of Mumia Abu-Jamal's imprisonment. Former Black Panther, well-known journalist, "Voice of the Voiceless," MOVE supporter—Jamal was framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs and defiance of the racist capitalist order.

This October 13, Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge signed a warrant for Mumia's execution. Ridge's order, setting an execution date of December 2, came just nine days after the U.S. Supreme Court opened its term by turning down an appeal by Jamal. While Mumia has now won a stay of execution from a federal judge pending a decision on his *habeas corpus* petition, he is no less endangered by the police and government forces which have sought his execution. Ridge's death decree came amid an escalating campaign for Jamal's legal lynching spearheaded by the Fraternal Order of Police and a broader speedup in the assembly line of death pushed by both the Republican and Democratic parties. The crusade to kill Jamal is designed to sanctify the state's machinery of death.

Jamal continues to fight from behind bars with biting commentaries which are published in newspapers across the country. Mumia's book, *Live from Death Row*, is a searing indictment of this racist injustice system. Jamal's case has won support from death penalty abolitionists, labor and anti-racist fighters internationally. When Ridge ordered Mumia's death in 1995, international mass protests stayed the executioner's hand. The PDC calls on working people, minorities, youth and all opponents of racist capitalist repression in the U.S. and around the world to raise the cry: *Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!*

WV Photo

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Jerry Dale Lowe, United Mine Workers (UMWA) member framed up on federal charges in the July 1993 shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia. The scab was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. For the "crime" of defending his union, Lowe was sentenced to nearly eleven years in jail in Ashland, Kentucky with no possibility of parole.

WV Photo

Jerry Dale Lowe

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa,** former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Victims of racist FBI COINTELPRO operation, framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on the basis of perjured testimony and sentenced to life. Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to lessen sentences so that they can be considered for parole. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, MN and Mondo is at Lincoln, NE.

Jaan Laaman and **Ray Luc Levasseur** were arrested in 1984 and '85 and are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism. They were sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late '70s and '80s. Jaan Laaman is at Leavenworth, KS and Ray Luc Levasseur is in Atlanta, GA.

Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. Militant anti-racist, leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. In prison for over 30 years. He is currently serving a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay prison in Crescent City, CA.

Eight MOVE members are in their 22nd year in prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 1978 police attack on their Philadelphia home, falsely convicted of killing a police officer. **Chuck Africa** and **Michael Davis Africa** are imprisoned at Graterford; **Debbie Sims Africa, Janet Holloway Africa, Janine Phillips Africa** at Cambridge Springs; **Edward Goodman Africa** at Camp Hill; **Delbert Orr Africa** and **William Phillips Africa** at Dallas. This past summer MOVE filed a PCRA appeal to overturn the frame-ups.

Jamal Hart, Mumia's son, was sentenced last year to 15½ years on bogus firearm possession charges, targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department took over the case in order to have Hart thrown in prison. Jamal's appeals have been denied and he is not eligible for parole. Hart is at Fairton, New Jersey.

Send Your Contributions to the PDC Now!

The cops and courts seek to ensure that those who fight the poverty and racism endemic to capitalism are "safely" housed in prison hellholes or their graves. In 1986, the Partisan Defense Committee revived an International Labor Defense (ILD) tradition of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners as an expression of solidarity. In addition to its regular monthly support, the ILD raised extra funds during the holidays for the prisoners and their families. Help build our program of monthly stipends to these victims of racist capitalist injustice.

The PDC is a class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense organization that champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

All proceeds collected for the Holiday Appeal will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund.■

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Jamal's Freedom

New York	Chicago	Bay Area
Friday, December 10	**Sunday, December 5**	**Sunday, December 5**
6 to 9 p.m.	**3 to 8 p.m.**	**1 to 4 p.m.**
AFSCME District Council 1707	UE Hall	ILWU Local 34 Hall
75 Varick St. (at Canal)	37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)	4 Berry St., San Francisco
For more information:	For more information:	For more information:
(212) 406-4252	(312) 454-4931	(510) 839-0852
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta.	P.O. Box 802867	P.O. Box 77462
New York, NY 10013	Chicago, IL 60680	San Francisco, CA 94107

SPONSOR: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

On October 26, a federal district judge in Philadelphia granted Mumia Abu-Jamal a stay of his execution, which had been scheduled for December 2. This must not lull for one moment the millions of workers, youth and opponents of racist state repression who have rallied to Mumia's defense internationally. As Jamal wrote in 1995 when an earlier death warrant was stayed through an international campaign of protest, "The state of Pennsylvania still has every intention of killing me—just not right now."

Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge waited only nine days after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Jamal's legal appeal before signing a new death warrant on October 13. The warrant came even as Mumia's attorneys were preparing a federal *habeas corpus* petition detailing 29 constitutional violations in the travesty of justice which led to the 1982 frame-up conviction of this innocent man. The federal judge who will rule on the *habeas* appeal then forced Jamal to wait 13 torturous days before granting a stay, which routinely follows immediately after such an appeal is filed.

With 83 people dragged off to the death chambers since January, 1999 has already seen the highest execution rate in 45 years. Meanwhile, the forces screaming for Jamal's legal lynching, spearheaded by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), have revved up their crusade to speed his execution and intimidate the growing ranks of his defenders. Most recently, the F.O.P. has called on cops throughout the area to stage a "protest" provocation outside a rock concert featuring Sting this month in Upper Darby, Pennsylvania in order to "send a message" to this supporter of Mumia's cause (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 1 November).

While favoring the use of all possible legal levers on Mumia's behalf, the Partisan Defense Committee has stressed from the moment it took up his defense more than 12 years ago that the way to free him from the clutches of the state's executioners is through mass mobilizations centered on the social power of labor. A taste of that social power could be seen in the streets of New York City on October 23 in the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization which rode the KKK out of town. Thousands of trade unionists, minorities and youth joined in chants of "Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!" The political program on which they were mobilized is based on an understanding that labor must champion the fight for black freedom, that the capitalist state is a force for organized violence against the exploited and oppressed.

Counterposed to this class-struggle perspective are those who build deadly illusions in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. Supporters of Jamal have been active in recent weeks both in the U.S. and internationally. But the perspective of the liberal and reformist organizers of many of these events is exemplified by an editorial in the liberal *Nation* (15 November) signed by Angela Davis, June Jordan and Alice Walker calling for "a new trial"—as if Jamal could ever get a fair trial from the courts of the Dred Scott decision, the courts which sent the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs to their deaths. Just as many thousands around the world raised the

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When the Partisan Defense Committee publicized black Democrat Al Sharpton's collusion with Republican mayor Giuliani and the KKK in seeking to prevent the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan, Sharpton retorted, "Who *is* the PDC?" This demagogue, who would himself be a target of Klan terror, worked every angle he could trying to dissuade black people from coming out to stop the hooded nightriders, cynically claiming it would be a diversion from fighting police brutality and the threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. This is a sick joke coming from a fink who wore a wire for the Feds against black community leaders a few years back and has done next to nothing to win Mumia's freedom.

Nonetheless, we will take Sharpton's slimy innuendo as the opportunity to explain to the many thousands of the KKK's intended victims—trade unionists, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Jews, immigrants, gays and others—who rode the Klan out of New York what the PDC is and the class-struggle policies through which this mobilization was built. As we state on the back page of every issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, "The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League." The PDC is guided by the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state—the cops, courts and prisons—is an organ for the repression of the working class and oppressed: "We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the 'justice' of the courts."

No. 26, Winter 1998-99
50¢ (16 pages)
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P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013-0099

What Is the Partisan Defense Committee

Cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people: Raising funds for victims of U.S.-backed Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats, 1989; NYC united-front speakout for Mumia Abu-Jamal chaired by Ossie Davis (far right), 1994.

WV Photos

Initiated by the SL in 1974, the PDC stands in accordance with the record of principled defense work conducted by the SL, guided by the anti-sectarian principles of the early communist movement. We draw on the internationalist defense traditions bequeathed from the early years of the Communist International (CI), organized by Lenin and Trotsky in the aftermath of the Russian October Revolution of 1917. Through the tactic of the united front—"march separately, strike together"—the CI sought to achieve the maximum unity of the working masses in their defensive struggles while exposing in action the bankruptcy of the reformist misleaders and the inability of their program to win against the ruling class. The free debate of contending strategies and programs in the context of united action around common demands is vital to advancing the consciousness of the working class and anti-racist youth.

In 1922, the CI launched the International Organization for Relief to Revolutionaries (MOPR), known as the International Red Aid, whose first activities were relief efforts for victims of counter-revolutionary White terror in East and Central Europe in the 1920s. Our legal and social defense work is modeled on the International Labor Defense (ILD), American affiliate of MOPR, in its early years when James P. Cannon was its secretary. Cannon's ILD merged the non-sectarianism of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—encapsulated in the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all!"—with the internationalism of the MOPR.

Our first major international publicity and protest campaign succeeded in winning asylum in France for Mario Muñoz, a Chilean miners' leader who fled the 1973 coup there only to be targeted for death in 1976 by the Argentine military junta. In 1985, the PDC launched the Aid To Striking British Miners Family Fund Drive, which raised over $23,000 from workers around the world to help support the miners after their union's funds were seized by the British government under Mrs. (later Baroness) Thatcher during their bitter year-long strike.

In 1989, the PDC offered to organize an international brigade to Afghanistan to fight alongside the forces of the left-nationalist Kabul regime against the imperialist-backed anti-woman Islamic fundamentalists on the occasion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. When the Afghan government instead proposed that we organize financial support, we launched a campaign which raised over $44,000 for the victims of the mullah-led assault on Jalalabad. More recently, the PDC joined in the campaign initiated by the Italian COBAS (Rank and File Committee) at Alfa Romeo to aid the workers of Zastava and other factories in Yugoslavia bombed by NATO. Through the efforts of the PDC and other fraternal defense organizations, the International Communist League fought to extend this important campaign internationally, giving many workers in the countries where we are present the possibility of making a concrete internationalist gesture in defense of the Yugoslav workers and *against* their "own" imperialist rulers, without giving an iota of political support to the Serbian capitalist regime of Slobodan Milosevic.

Central to our work has been support to those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. In 1986, the PDC revived an ILD tradition of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners (see Holiday Appeal, page 2). Past recipients included British miners locked away for defense of their union during the 1984-5 strike, U.S. steel worker

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Young Spartacus

Join the SYC!

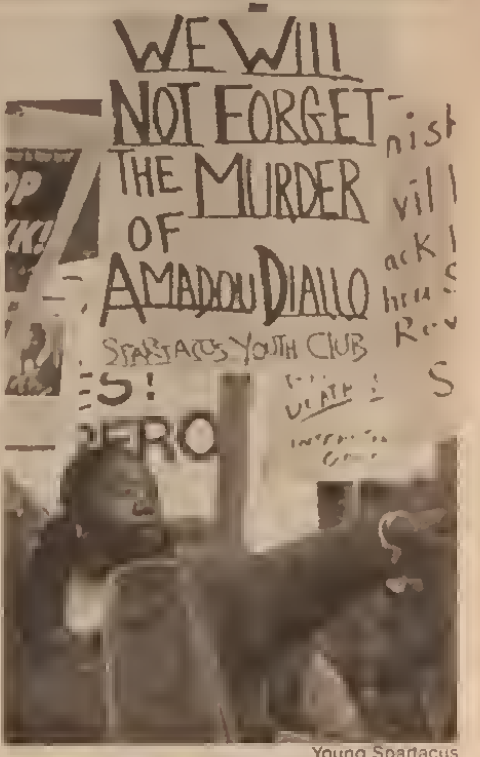
The following are excerpted comments by a New York Spartacus Youth Club member during the floor discussion at the October 30 NYC Spartacist League forum.

We worked very hard alongside the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League for the last couple of weeks to build this demonstration and to bring it to the campuses. And you can see from the photographs on the walls that contingents came from NYU, Columbia, Bronx Community College—from across the city. And one of the things you encounter in building such a demonstration is the difference between a revolutionary socialist party that puts out a call to stop the KKK and all the other organizations out there that claim to be revolutionary, but in reality have no interest in doing such things.

All of them basically stayed silent for a whole week waiting to see what the Democratic Party was going to do. And when Scott Stringer issued his call for a "rally for tolerance," defending the Klan's "rights," suddenly they all jumped on that demonstration. The ISO and the Communist Party endorsed the Democratic Party diversion, against the labor/black mobilization. They didn't want to see labor and black come out that day. They didn't want to see all the intended victims of the Klan coming out behind the power of the trade unions to stop the KKK on the streets of New York City. That was the last thing they wanted to see, that was the last thing the Democratic Party wants to see, and that's the difference between us and them.

We want to build more of these things. We want to bring the understanding of what fascism is and what the capitalist state is. The cops were clearly on the side of the Klan—they herded the Klan into the courthouse, appropriately enough. That's what the capitalist state does. We fight against the idea that capitalism can be reformed, that the capitalist state can be reformed. We think there needs to be a workers revolution, with the leadership being people like the ones who were out there last week. In that light, what we think is necessary for the youth in this room is to go out to build this party that's going to lead this.

You have to ask yourself a question: Who issued the call last week that mobilized all these people? It took socialists to do that. And we think what's necessary is to build this workers party. Youth can be a very important component of that by mobilizing on the campuses and where they work to help build the Spartacus Youth Clubs that are the youth group of the revolutionary socialist Spartacist League. So if there are youth here who are interested in socialism, you should join the Spartacus Youth Club and become a communist fighting for a better future against all forms of racial and sexual oppression. ■



Young Spartacus

Meet the New York Spartacus Youth Club!

Come meet and join the New York SYC every Saturday in the month of November at our office from 2:30-4:30 p.m. The address is 299 Broadway (north of Chambers St. between Duane and Reade), Suite 318 in Manhattan. We also have planned weekly meetings and public events to build on the October 23rd victory against Klan terror. For more information: (212) 267-1025.

Mexico: Down With State Repression Against UNAM Strike!

We reprint below a leaflet distributed on October 15 by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, and the Juventud Espartaquista in response to a vicious police attack against striking students at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM). The state continues its campaign of terror against the student strikers. On October 13, Ricardo Martínez, an activist with a Zapatista solidarity group, was kidnapped and held for a day and a half. The six-month student strike, which has gained considerable support from teachers and workers, particularly in the STUNAM campus workers union, is directed against administration plans to sharply raise tuition, privatize the university and further restrict access, especially for working-class youth.

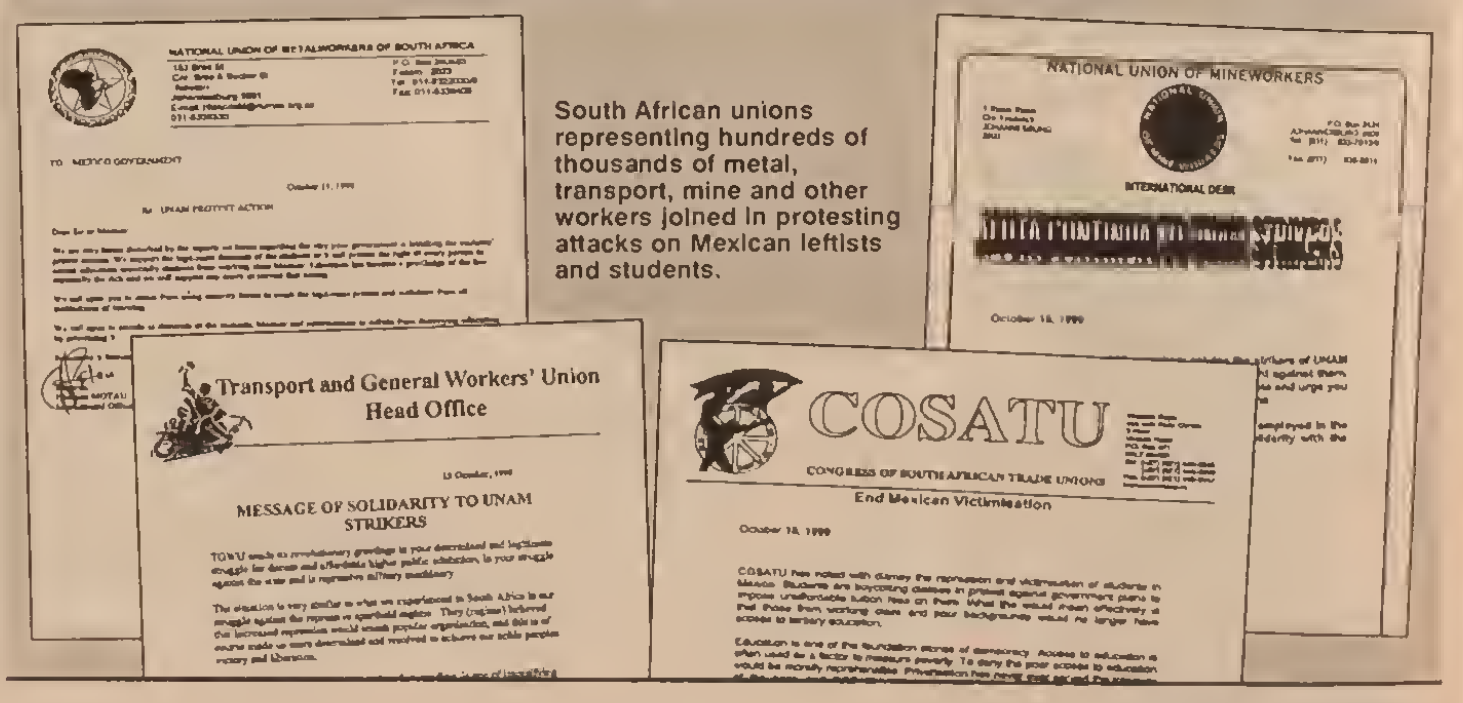
The brutal beating on October 14 of UNAM student strikers by riot police of the DDF [Federal District Department]—leaving several students injured, one seriously—was carried out under orders of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) government, now under the administration of Rosario Robles. This once again exposes the role of the PRD as a bourgeois party and class enemy of the workers, and the cops as the armed fist of the bourgeois to repress the labor movement, the left and all the oppressed. *Cops are not "workers in uniform." They are the guard dogs of the bourgeois state, and they must be expelled from workers unions.* On the UNAM campus, the cops of Auxilio-UNAM are in charge of maintaining the bourgeois order. That is why we Spartacists have called for *Auxilio-UNAM out of STUNAM and UNAM!*

On the other hand, the administration's dirty tricks are obvious. They say they want to negotiate, and then they unleash a bloody police riot against the strikers to try to intimidate them into capitulating. This bourgeois terrorist campaign against education and the unions was already manifest on October 5, when the well-known student leader Alejandro Echavarría (el Mosh) was abducted and brutally beaten. That same day, Humberto Herrera, a longtime unionist and supporter of the strike, who is a supporter of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, was abducted for several hours and threatened with death. The only real response to this criminal state terror is to extend the strike to the proletariat, which has the social power to fight against the bourgeoisie's privatization drive that aims to put an end to public education as well.

We Spartacists of the International Communist League have initiated emergency protests around the world, urgently demanding: "Defend UNAM strikers beaten by Cárdenas' cops!—Down with state terror against the left!" Protests have been held at Mexican consulates and embassies in Boston, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Toronto, Vancouver, London, Berlin, Paris and Sydney. Sections of the ICL have also obtained significant solidarity statements from powerful workers unions, representing tens of thousands of members. Particularly noteworthy are the powerful miners and transport unions of South Africa, the French CGT/CEGELET, as well as dozens of other unions from postal workers in Canada to Service Employees Local 1877 Justice for Janitors in California.

Free quality education for all, in the cities and the countryside! For union strikes against privatizations and in defense of education! Cops out of the unions! For workers revolution! Build a Leninist party! ■

South African Unions Defend UNAM Student Strikers



South African unions representing hundreds of thousands of metal, transport, mine and other workers joined in protesting attacks on Mexican leftists and students.

Running Dogs of the Democrats

ISO Covers for KKK

Mass Labor/Black Mobilization Rattles PL

The October 23 labor/black mobilization that drove the Klan from the streets of New York left an imprint on the consciousness of thousands of workers, black and Hispanic militants, students and others who got a taste of what could happen when the social power of the multiracial proletariat was mobilized independently of the capitalist class enemy. It also laid bare the obstacles to such a class mobilization in the form of not only the open agencies and parties of the capitalists—the cops and courts, Giuliani's City Hall and the "friend of labor" Democrats—but also the self-styled socialists who do their bidding. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) acted purely and simply as running dogs for the capitalist Democrats. For its part, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) dismissed the mass labor-centered mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and sought to substitute its own small forces against the Klan terrorists.

The ISO social democrats provided a pale pink cover for the cynical machinations of Democrats Scott Stringer and Al Sharpton as they actively worked to head off the labor/black mobilization. Stringer colluded with the Giuliani administration as the Klan's rally site was secretly moved from where the PDC had called for the labor/black mobilization to *stop* the Klan and then agreed to *share a sound permit with the KKK*. Sharpton worked the airwaves trying to convince black people not to come out against the KKK lynchers, then endorsed Stringer's "tolerance"—for the Klan—diversion and even went to court on the Klan's behalf on October 20.

That very evening, at an organizing meeting for the Stringer/Sharpton "demonstration for tolerance," an ISO member gushed about what a wonderful speaker Sharpton was and how many people he would draw. On the morning of the October 23 mobilization itself, an ISO member from Columbia University baited one of our comrades: "If anyone is going to bring out thousands, it's Al Sharpton, not you guys!" In the upshot, Sharpton didn't even bring himself out, no doubt ill-inclined to face the fury of demonstrators disgusted by his defense of the Klan. Now, well after the fact, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (5 November) slaps its erstwhile idol Sharpton on the wrist for defending the KKK!

In another ruse to cover its tracks, the ISO put out a flyer for an October 28 meeting on "Lessons of the Anti-KKK Demo" which asks: "Who Do the Government and Cops Serve?" Well, on the afternoon of October 23, some of these cops served to hold up the banner of the Latino Officers Association that provided a backdrop for the ISO speaker on the Democrats' platform, while their fellow cops massed to protect the robed and hooded racists.

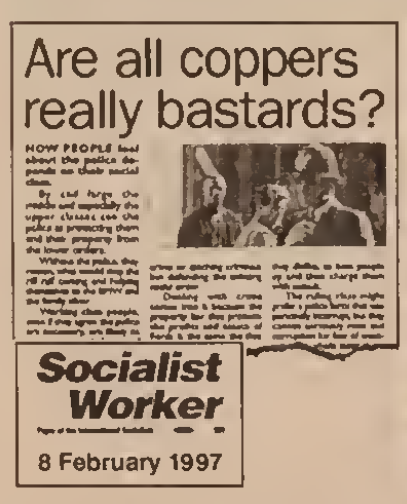
Left Wing of "Democratic" Imperialism

Providing cover for the racist nightriders in league with the cops and capitalist politicians certainly strips bare what socialist pretensions the ISO has. But such treachery comes naturally to these reformists, who see in the "democratic" capitalist state and its cops and courts potential allies of the oppressed and have supported police "strikes" from one in NYC in 1971 to one by Toronto prison guards in 1996. The ISO's British patron, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, even ran an article titled "Are All Coppers Really Bastards?" which claimed that the cops would cease to be "agents of the state" if they "rebel collectively" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 February 1997). How about the NYPD's "collective rebellion" in September 1992, when 10,000 armed cops besieged City Hall in a lynch mob frenzy against black Democratic mayor David Dinkins? When the cops "rebel collectively," it is to get more firepower and throw off any constraints on their murderous rampages against working people and minorities.

WV Photo

ISO cynically asks who cops serve after sharing platform with them at Democrats' tolerance-for-Klan diversion on October 23. ISO views cops as "workers." ISOer with security guard at Columbia University.

Young Spartacus



Just as the ISO views cops as "workers," it looks to the capitalist class enemy to "clean up" the unions. The ISO-supported Teamsters for a Democratic Union literally wrote the blueprint for the Justice Department's takeover of that union in the late 1980s, capping a decades-long government vendetta against the Teamsters. We say: Cops out of the labor movement! Government hands off the unions!

Embrace of "democratic" capitalism has been the Cliffites' lodestar since that tendency's formation. Cliff was expelled by the Trotskyist Fourth International at the outset of the Korean War in 1950, when he refused to defend North Korea and China against U.S. and British imperialism in the Korean War. In the name of "anti-Stalinism" and their spurious, anti-Marxist "theory" that the Soviet degenerated workers state was "state capitalist," the Cliffites went on to support every reactionary force intent on smashing the Soviet Union—from cutthroat Islamic fundamentalists fighting the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan to CIA/Vatican-backed Polish Solidarność (see "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories," *Spartacist* No. 55, Autumn 1999). When Russia's Boris Yeltsin and his pro-imperialist "democrats" in 1991 launched the capitalist counterrevolution which led to the final undoing of the October Revolution of 1917, the Cliffites cheered, "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

As long as the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe existed, we Trotskyists called for their unconditional military defense against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, as we do today in the case of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. We fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies.

PL: Revolutionary Phrasemongering

Where the social-democratic ISO openly embraced the Democrats who provided a platform for the Klan, the Stalinoid Progressive Labor Party counterposed its confrontationist posturing to the PDC-initiated mobilization of labor/black power which rode the Klan out of New York. PL actually called on people to assemble at the PDC rally site and had a contingent there, endorsing the labor/black mobilization on the spot. Immediately after the mobilization, a PL Internet statement ludicrously claimed that "thousands" were "led by PLP" that day and crowed, "It took the PLP to lead a breakaway march of hundreds who really wanted to confront the Klan." In fact, as we wrote last issue, "what PL did was 'lead' itself straight into a line of riot cops a short distance away."

Now PL's *Challenge* (3 November) rails about "the enemy in our midst" in the form of "two counter-demonstrations," one organized by "liberal politicians from the Democratic Party" and the other by "the fake leftists of the Spartacist/Partisan Defense Committee." The *Challenge* report recounts futile attempts by isolated groups of PLers to push through police lines—"Back and forth we went, fighting the cops, trying to get more people into our group so we could lead an all-out attack on the Klan"—and enthuses that when the KKK first showed up "three anti-racists organized by PLP" managed to land a few blows against the Klansmen. The PDC has contributed to the legal defense of the arrested anti-Klan protesters and demands: Drop all charges now!

But such substitutionalism is utterly ineffective as a strategy to stop the fascists. It dismisses the need for and is in fact counterposed to the mass mobilization of labor and its allies. As the PDC call for the labor/black mobilization declared: "What is needed is a determined, disciplined mobilization of labor standing at the head of all the oppressed to *stop the fascists*, not for small groups to engage in confrontations with the police which accomplish nothing other than getting some heads busted and people thrown in jail." What kept the cops at bay on October 23 was the show of labor power, including disciplined contingents of trade unionists, mobilized by the PDC.

PL is clearly rattled by this mass anti-Klan mobilization initiated by those it customarily denounces as "Trotskyite fascists." In the issue of *Challenge* (27 October) immediately following the anti-Klan mobilization, PL came out for the defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal after refusing for years to defend him on the grounds that Jamal is a "black nationalist." *Challenge* even acknowledges that "the Trotskyite group, the Spartacists, have made Mumia a major thrust of their organizing one of the main defense committees." PL then attacks us as "very unprincipled" for "never criticizing Mumia's nationalist politics." Our policy of class-struggle defense of those victimized by the racist capitalist state is non-sectarian, i.e., it is not dependent on the political viewpoints of those we defend. Moreover, our position for revolutionary integrationism as against all currents of black nationalism and liberal reformism is expressed in numerous publications which we distribute at Jamal defense rallies.

PL's sectarianism is directly linked to its rejection of the need for a political struggle to win the proletariat to revolutionary consciousness. In fact, while in practice carrying out "left-center

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Reporter's Notebook

Building the Anti-Klan Mobilization

We publish below excerpts from a report by a Workers Vanguard *correspondent who interviewed Spartacist League supporters and others actively involved in building the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated united-front labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City.*

New York City's working people embraced the anti-Klan mobilization as their own. When we did sales, flyer distributions and soapboxing the weekend before the demonstration, at some sites the literature tables were practically overwhelmed. This was particularly the case on Saturday at the Fulton Mall and at Flatbush and Nostrand in Brooklyn.

At one Manhattan Sanitation facility, workers practically dragged one comrade into the shop and told other workers to shut up while they had her give a speech on the demo. When Giuliani's name was mentioned, one of the workers said, "Giuliani is our *boss*. We hate him." At Harlem Hospital, when our comrades got there for the first time early in the week before the demo, the flyer had already been posted all around the hospital, in the lounge and the reception area, in the coffee shop across the street. One black transit worker told a co-worker he had never seen anything like this before: "Everybody in the neighborhood is talking about it. The leaflet is everywhere."

At a UPS location, a black worker volunteered to help build the demo but said, "I thought the Klan was denied a permit." When a comrade argued that you can't trust the courts, the cops and Giuliani, the worker turned to his friend, a young Asian, and said, "That's right. Look, it's like for us. We never trust the boss. We know that everything he says is a lie."

Two young women from the Fort Greene housing projects in Brooklyn came to the SL public office and got leaflets to build the demo. Four students from Transit Technical High School in the East New York section of Brooklyn helped distribute some 2,000 leaflets. On her way home the night before the rally, a comrade ran into a group of black women transit workers talking about the PDC mobilizing leaflet and sold a *Workers Vanguard* subscription to one of them. Another pointed to the leaflet and said, "Is that you organizing that demonstration? I want that paper." As comrades were walking to the mobilization site on Saturday morning carrying "Stop the KKK!" posters, bus drivers honked in solidarity. At the demonstration, one transit worker said, "This is working people against the Klan."

Young Spartacus

SYC rallies support at NYU for October 23 labor/black mobilization.

The party acted as the tribune of the people, mobilizing blacks, Hispanics, Asians, immigrants. Scores, probably hundreds, of merchants posted the flyer or took stacks for distribution. Every fast-food restaurant in the Flatbush/Nostrand area took it, as did all the stores and coffee shops around one of the bus depots in Brooklyn and Indian newsstand vendors in lower Manhattan. A Korean grocery store owner in Harlem came out of his store to contribute $10 and started giving out leaflets. Some grocers offered our comrades free cokes when they saw the poster. A bar owner near a Brooklyn bus depot offered free drinks to anyone who went to the demo. Hundreds of individuals took stacks of leaflets to distribute, from a jogger in Jersey City's Journal Square to black youth in Flatbush/Nostrand.

When comrades were soapboxing in Chinatown, a merchant came out, took a stack of leaflets and told them how to say KKK in Chinese—*San K Dang* ("3K Party"). After one youth told them how to say "Stop the Klan"—*Tingzhi San K Dang!*—the response was enormous.

A number of people reported discussions on subways and buses. In one instance, someone involved in building the mobilization offered the PDC flyer to another passenger on the subway and soon everyone in that section of the train was talking about the demo. When the supporter said that everybody who is targeted by the Klan should come out—blacks, Jews, Hispanics and homosexuals—a black woman who had been reading Farrakhan's *Final Call* said, "Right on!"

As one PDC worker was taking the mobilization leaflet to the printer, she told the Asian cab driver about the demo. He said the Klan provocation was part of the government going after immigrants. He added, "We're all immigrants in this country, especially in this city."

On the campuses, a wide variety of immigrant and other groups leapt to make the demo their own. A member of the Arab Club at Hunter College took leaflets to help organize the demo. At NYU, the organizations that endorsed included LUCHA, Asian Initiative, Womyn's Center, Catholic Center, Islamic Center, Chabad. The 14 students who attended a Spartacus Youth Club planning meeting at NYU included an NAACPer who had already been leafletting for the demo; a woman from Chabad, a Jewish religious group, who supported the anti-Klan mobilization but couldn't come because it was on a Saturday; and an Islamic woman in a headscarf who said, "Giuliani probably wants to be in the Klan, but he can't because he's Italian Catholic."

At Borough of Manhattan Community College, there was a hitter debate in the student government over the question of "free speech for everyone." Some Caribbean students argued that Hasidic Jews always try to stop their Caribbean Day parade, so why should they stop a parade by people who hate Jews. A PDC representative spoke sharply against this kind of backward consciousness and anti-Semitism, which had been evidenced on both sides of the debate. The student government voted to endorse the anti-Klan mobilization.

Many of these campuses have, in the past period, become practically police states. At Hostos, a comrade was escorted off campus by cops and told that even students cannot distribute leaflets or post flyers without administration approval. When some students at Bronx Community College raised the "free speech" issue, this comrade told them, "You're worried about free speech for the fascists, and *you* don't even have that right!" By the end of the week, students were putting up mobilization flyers without getting approval.

Many of the community college students have to hold down jobs while they study, and they spread the news at their workplaces. The morning after a mobilizing team went to Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, a team at a UPS facility met a worker who told them that the student government at Medgar Evers was building the demo.

The call to stop the KKK also struck a chord at a number of private colleges. A contingent of 40 students from NYU marched into the demo chanting. Other contingents came from Columbia and Cornell. Students at Sarah Lawrence organized a van of 18 students to come to the demo, plus some others who came on their own. One student said, "I really like this idea of the working class being the ones who have social power."

Our political fight against the Democratic Party's "free speech" cover for the Klan acted to polarize the unions and black organizations. As the date of the KKK provocation drew closer, and workers came to understand that the PDC was not calling on Giuliani to ban the Klan but rather for a mobilization of labor/black power to *stop* the racist terrorists on the streets, the question of "free speech" became much less of a hot issue. By the Thursday before the demo, the day after Al Sharpton filed his "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the KKK, workers in one transit shop who had been defending Sharpton weren't doing so any more. One worker said, "Sharpton is just a politician like all the rest of them."

The polarization caused by our political fight against the "free speech for the Klan" forces was reflected in the trade-union bureaucracy, which was caught between the groundswell of pressure at the base to stop the KKK and its traditional Democratic Party allies. Sharpton and Assemblyman Scott Stringer promoted "tolerance" for the KKK and tried to organize a diversion from the only mobilization aimed at stopping the lynchers. One union local president said he couldn't endorse our demonstration (because the union lawyer told him he couldn't!), but he kept asking incredulously, "Why is Sharpton doing this? How could he do this? What's up with Sharpton?"

A municipal union official we had been trying unsuccessfully to contact all week finally took a phone call on Friday, saying, "It's a damn shame. It looks like they're going to let them march." She offered to get an endorsement from AFSCME District Council 37 but later said DC 37 was split down the middle and therefore was not endorsing either the PDC demonstration or the one called by Democrats Sharpton and Stringer. Another municipal union official also told us, "We can't endorse either demonstration. Our local is divided down the middle." The same was true with other union locals.

SEIU Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, himself a leading figure in the state Democratic Party, endorsed the Stringer/Sharpton "free speech" diversion in his own name. But the local did not take a position. At a Local 1199 delegates meeting, the delegates overwhelmingly understood that this was not a question of free speech, and many took stacks of leaflets from a PDC representative to take back to their work locations. When the purpose of the Democratic Party rally endorsed by Rivera was explained, one Local 1199 member told a team leafletting outside her hospital, "I voted for Rivera but I can't support him anymore if he's helping the Klan."

Some unions that didn't endorse gave some support to the PDC-initiated mobilization in other ways. The Laborers Union didn't endorse, but they took

Spartacist Forums

Black and Red: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of New York City!

—Organizers' Eyewitness Reports—

Saturday, November 13, 7 p.m.
Lecture Hall E, Science Center
Harvard University
For more information:
(617) 666-9453

BOSTON

Monday, November 15, 7 p.m.
Mary Ward Residence, Cantina Rm.
San Francisco State University
For more information:
(415) 395-9520 or (510) 839-0851

BAY AREA

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Plus: Update on Urgent Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saturday, November 20, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street West (One block west of Spadina Station)

TORONTO

For more information: (416) 593-4138

WV Photos

Members of SEIU Local 371, postal, civil service, transit and other unions formed backbone of October 23 mobilization to stop the KKK.

stacks of leaflets and put them in the union halls. An official in another union said he couldn't get an endorsement but put us in touch with the union dispatcher to try to organize some marshals for the demonstration.

When a team distributed flyers near Rev. Herbert Daughtry's church in Brooklyn the Sunday before the demo, Daughtry had just given a news conference calling for free speech for the Klan. One deacon tried unsuccessfully to make the team go away, while another later took an endorsement packet and told the comrades that there was a split among the deacons and that he did not agree with Daughtry.

The danger posed by the Klan was understood by the mass of the population. Many New Yorkers had directly experienced racist Klan terror. Workers who came from the South, or had family in the South, were especially clear on the need to stop the Klan. One said, "We should be *right there*, where the Klan is!" A transit worker who brought his two children to the demonstration and bought a subscription to *WV* originally came from Mississippi and said his neighbor's family had been bombed out of their home by the Klan.

A Mexican worker said that he had worked in Georgia for a guy whose father was in the Klan. A member of the Social Service Employees Union described how she had been terrified as a child in the South when the Klan burned a cross on her family's lawn. Another demonstrator said, "My mother brought me from South Carolina 38 years ago to get away from stuff like this. They killed my grandfather. Now it's 39 years later and it's the same thing." His wife added, after the Klansmen had scurried off into the courthouse under police escort, "And they're protected within the confines of the courthouse!"

As a PDC spokesman led chants of "Remember Greensboro, Stop the Klan Now!" at the demonstration, workers from the SSEU Local 371 contingent called out the names of other victims of Klan terror to him on the podium: "Remember Emmett Till...Remember James Chaney...Remember Michael Schwerner...Remember Andrew Goodman...Remember Medgar Evers!"

At the victory party after the demonstration, one woman from the New School said, "I saw on TV that there were several different demonstrations, but I knew which one I wanted to go to. I felt empowered today."■

Workers World, CP

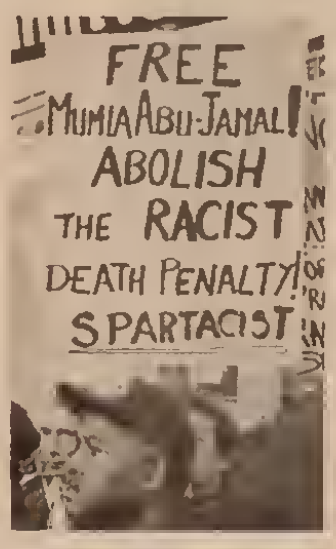
Covering for Democrats, Disappearing the Reds

The mobilization of New York City's working people and minorities to ride the Klan out on October 23 required a ceaseless political battle by the Partisan Defense Committee against the courts, the Giuliani administration, Democratic Party politicians like Scott Stringer and Al Sharpton and the phony socialists who covered for the Democrats' efforts to provide a "free speech" platform for Klan terror. They *failed* in their attempt to sabotage this labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK, and now the Democrats and their "left" tails are desperately trying to cover their tracks.

Stringer now proclaims, "The real story is that *we ran the KKK out of town* (*New York Press*, 3 November [emphasis in the original]). The real story is that Stringer and his fellow Dems who preached "tolerance" for the Klan were jeered by many of the thousands who had come to run the KKK out of town. Chiming in is the Communist Party (CP), which endorsed Stringer's diversion and now talks of "a spontaneous anti-Klan protest by 8,000 New Yorkers" (*People's Weekly World*, 30 October). In a similar vein, the Workers World Party (WWP) reported, "Thousands of anti-racists turned out to confront the Ku Klux Klan here on Oct. 23" (*Workers World*, 4 November)—without any mention of either the Democrats who opposed those thousands or the PDC-initiated mobilization which brought them out. With this bit of deception, WWP tries to hide its own role: while not openly supporting Stringer's diversion, WWP (in the name of an "Emergency Mobilization" which mobilized nothing) issued a last-minute call for protesters to gather at the Stringer rally site.

That the WWP covers for Sharpton's despicable role in defending the Klan should come as no surprise. Two years ago, *Workers World* (25 September 1997) urged its readers to support this capitalist politician's mayoral bid as a "vote of solidarity with the African American, Caribbean and Latino communities." Continuing its opportunist sleight of hand, the *Workers World* account of the anti-Klan mobilization reports that "signs and placards demanding freedom for political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal were clearly visible." Indeed they were, but the bulk of the signs distributed by the WWP, in the name of its International Action Center, read, "New Trial for Mumia!" WWP even sent a handful of supporters to the PDC rally site to distribute its signs. But of the anti-Klan demonstrators who had unwittingly taken them, most traded them in for PDC signs demanding *freedom for Mumia* when our comrades explained that the "new trial" call sowed illusions in the very courts which had railroaded Jamal to death row and had upheld the KKK's "right" to rally for genocide.

WV Photos



NYC, October 23: WWP's International Action Center sows illusions in "justice" of capitalist courts, SL fights for freedom for Mumia.

As many thousands of New Yorkers know—and is evident from the numerous accounts in our "Reporter's Notebook" (page 6)—it was the PDC call "All Out to Stop the KKK on October 23!" which galvanized the mass outrage against the fascists. Hundreds of working people, students and others joined in distributing 175,000 flyers for this united-front demonstration, which was endorsed and built by the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black League as well as dozens of trade-union, student and minority organizations.

As we wrote in our article on the mobilization (*WV* No. 722, 29 October), "What was seen on the streets of New York City on October 23 was a microcosm of a workers party in action, i.e., the working class mobilized in its own interests, acting independently of the government and parties of the capitalist class." For the reformist tails of the Democratic Party, such a mobilization is a crime against nature.

In his *History of the Russian Revolution*, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky noted: "The mystic doctrine of spontaneousness explains nothing.... To the smug politicians of liberalism and tamed socialism everything that happens among masses is customarily represented as instinctive." It was clear from the outset that there was mass outrage among New Yorkers against the Klan. But it took Bolshevik leadership and organization to give direction and political expression to what the most politically conscious workers, black militants and others knew had to be done.■

ISO...

(continued from page 5)

coalition" opportunist maneuvers within the unions, PL dismisses the unions as "pro-boss" organizations that must be "smashed." PL explicitly denies any class distinction between the mass organizations of the working class under pro-capitalist leadership and church groups, the imperialist army and thoroughly reactionary outfits like the all-male religious bigots of Promise Keepers!

The social-democratic ISO is abjectly servile to the bourgeois liberals. The Stalinoid PL combines adventurist confrontationism and empty "fight for communism" rhetoric with philistine backwardness. But these are flip sides of the same opportunist coin: both the ISO and PL despair of the possibility of making the working class conscious of its historic interest in overthrowing capitalism. For this, it is necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party on the model of Lenin's Bolsheviks, who led the Russian proletariat to victory in the October Revolution of 1917. The October 23 labor/black mobilization in New York City was a step on the road to forging that party.■

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International Student Centre, U of T
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November 23: ***For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky: The Fight for a Revolutionary Party***

Room 212, Student Union Bldg., UBC
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 1)

U.S. history. Millions lost their jobs and unemployment remained high for several years. By 1877, the cumulative hardships stemming from the prolonged depression had created widespread discontent. The Great Railway Strike broke out in 1877, and the capitalists mobilized the police and the National Guard to suppress it. Also in 1877, the last nail was put in the coffin of Reconstruction with the complete withdrawal of Union troops from the South.

This, of course, only encouraged the KKK in its campaign to destroy as many gains of the Civil War as possible. A former Confederate general and Freemason, Nathan Bedford Forrest, founded the Ku Klux Klan and served as its first Imperial Wizard. Following the Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan launched a campaign of terror that targeted for beatings or assassination local Radical Republican leaders as well as blacks who asserted their rights in dealings with white employers. The Klan decimated the Republican organization in many localities. Increasingly, the new Southern governments looked to Washington for survival. Congress enacted a series of Enforcement Acts authorizing national action to suppress political violence. In 1871, the administration launched a legal and military offensive that virtually destroyed the Klan.

Harper's Weekly

1868 election rally of freed black slaves in South during post-Civil War Reconstruction. KKK was formed to smash newly won black freedom through terror.

The depression that began in 1873, however, put economic questions in the forefront of capitalist politics, and Reconstruction became expendable. When Democrats won control of the House of Representatives in 1874, for the first time since the Civil War, it was clear that Southern Republicans could expect little further help from Washington. Northern Republicans, besieged by labor strikes and economic crisis, forged an alliance with the Southern Democrats to stabilize American capitalism on the foundations of anti-strike terror by cops and troops in the North and KKK lynch mob terror in the South.

The strength of the KKK has peaked and receded at various times in history, coinciding with the rise and decline of social and economic discontent. There were surges in KKK membership in the 1870s, the early 1920s and in the 1950s and 1960s. This corresponds with the racist terror campaign to overturn Reconstruction in the 1870s, the white race riots and economic downturn of 1919-1921, and the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and '60s, when the KKK went on a rampage of violence against civil rights workers.

The 1990s has seen a resurgence of KKK activity. The KKK faction that was chased off the streets of New York last Saturday was the Indiana-based American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which has been the most active KKK faction in the last two years. Led by Jeffery Berry, it was formed in 1995 and has organized rallies throughout the Midwest and the South. It has carried out a recruitment drive in central Illinois. The Rantoul, Illinois chapter of this KKK faction shares a post office box with the World Church of the Creator. This is the fascist organization Benjamin Smith was associated with, the man who went on a shooting spree last July Fourth weekend, killing two and wounding nine Jews, blacks and Asians.

These are the kind of killers the capitalists plan to unleash when mass discontent erupts on a scale that will overwhelm the existing forces of the state. In August 1998, the New York Stock Exchange plunged 554 points. This led to a meltdown in September of stock markets around the world. In a matter of a few weeks, $2,300 billion of "paper profits" vanished into thin air! This illustrates the anarchy of capitalism. This illustrates the basic instability of international financial capital, where thousands of dollars of paper speculation are traded for every dollar of real value.

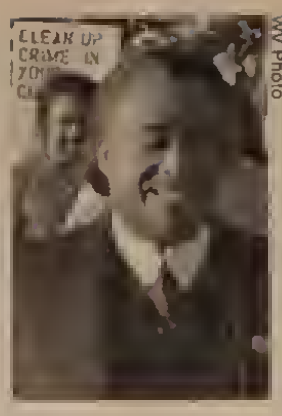
The capitalists keep the fascists in reserve, intending to survive the most devastating economic collapse and social crisis by placing the fascists in power at the head of a mass movement of reactionary violence. The capitalists protect the paramilitary fascists of the KKK, including by invoking "freedom of speech," as if the lynch rope and the gas chamber are simply forms of expression. The courts, as part of the capitalist state, used the "free speech" argument to justify granting the KKK a public platform in Manhattan to organize terror. Meanwhile, they refused to grant the PDC a sound permit for the site where the city administration had moved the KKK rally. The capitalist courts will bend over backwards to protect the KKK while attacking the democratic rights of the would-be victims of the fascists to be heard!

Revolutionary Leadership and the Fight Against Fascism

Al Sharpton played a major role for the capitalist rulers; he went so far as to file a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the KKK's "right" to spread lynch mob terror in NYC! Al Sharpton has been developing the image as an opponent of racist cop terror for years. He has now been exposed as a *defender of the KKK*. This should spell the end of his political career as a fake opponent of racist repression. If some of his followers overlooked the fact that he was a fink for the FBI in the 1980s, they will find it impossible to support this black front man for the KKK.

Malcolm X would have had utter contempt for Al Sharpton and all the defenders of the KKK! Malcolm X warned the head of the American Nazi Party that "if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings, that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self-defense—by any means necessary."

The pro-capitalist trade-union leaders subordinate the independent power of the unions to the Democrats. When transit workers called for a union mobilization to protest the cop execution of Amadou Diallo, TWU Local 100 president Willie James refused to mobilize the membership and instead had a token contingent of TWU officials at a Sharpton rally. The trade-union leaders who tie the unions to Democrats like Sharpton must now be seen as fake union leaders who are subordinating the labor movement to the defenders of the KKK.



WV Photo

Democrat Al Sharpton led pro-cop "anti-crime" march in Brooklyn in August; defense of KKK in October made headlines in black press in Britain.

The Democratic state assemblyman from the 67th District, Scott Stringer, played a prominent role in organizing a diversion from the PDC united-front mobilization to stop the KKK. On October 21, Stringer worked out a deal with the city that allowed his demonstration to share a sound permit with the KKK: the Stringer people would speak between 12 noon and 1 p.m. and the KKK would speak from 2 to 4 p.m. The Stringer leaflet was titled "Come tell the KKK their message of hate has no place in NY!"

It was clear that the thousands who came out on the streets of NYC last Saturday weren't interested in a dialogue with the KKK. They came out to stop them! The intent of the Stringer demonstration was to divert people from that objective. Fortunately, their call for a dialogue with the KKK was aggressively rejected by the thousands who came out. Stringer is a liberal Democrat who, like Sharpton, pretends to defend the interests of the oppressed. But his collaboration with the Giuliani administration in a failed attempt to divert and split the mobilization to stop the KKK clearly exposes him as an enemy of labor and all those targeted by the KKK.

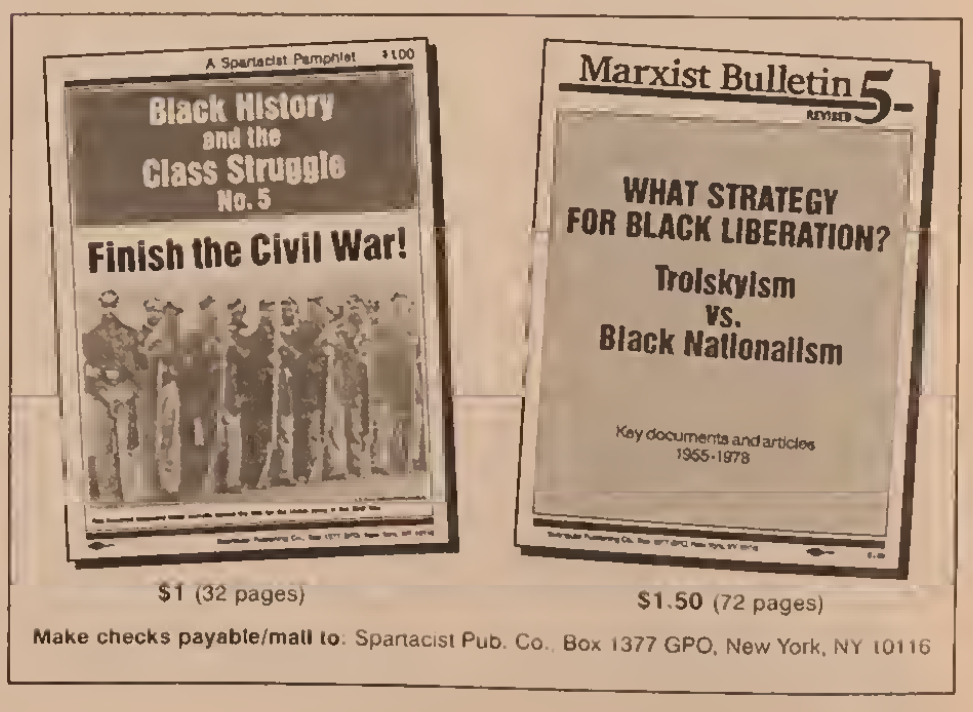
On October 20, representatives of the PDC attended a meeting built by the ISO and several other left and liberal groups which was advertised as an organizing meeting to protest the Klan. It turned out that this was an organizing meeting for the Stringer diversion. The PDC representatives appealed for the broadest possible unity against the fascists of the KKK and for endorsing the united-front mobilization that the PDC had called. Eventually, a spokesman for Stringer simply stated that the difference between them and us is that they recognize the constitutional rights of the KKK! And they went on to build a rally for tolerance for the Klan.

In Germany during Hitler's rise to power, there was a political party much like the ISO, the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Unlike the ISO, the SPD had a real mass base in the working class of Germany. By 1932, the year before Hitler became chancellor, the SPD rested on the sullen, halfhearted support of the German workers. The Social Democrats worked hard to make German society safe for capitalism by sacrificing struggles even for reforms. They kept a suspicious watch on the working class in order to appease the capitalists. But for the German capitalist class, the time for halfway measures had passed. In order to find a way out of the crisis, the capitalists sought to rid themselves of all pressures exerted by the working class. Their intention was to eliminate the workers organizations, that is, to completely crush them.

The Stalinist-led Communist Party of Germany was politically incapable of tearing the masses away from the influence of the Social Democratic Party. For one thing, instead of proposing to the SPD united-front defense measures against the Nazis as revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky was urgently calling for, the Communist Party ultimatistically demanded that social-democratic workers abandon the SPD, which it labeled "social fascist." The subservience of the Social Democracy to the capitalists and the inability of the Stalinist Communist Party to provide a revolutionary alternative opened the road to the seizure of power by Hitler's Nazis. We do not intend to allow this to happen again!

The October 23 labor/black mobilization was a united-front demonstration initiated by the PDC, a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League. The united front provides the only effective organizational method for stopping the KKK with the maximum possible forces. In the united front last Saturday, everyone who came out to stop the KKK was welcomed to join the demonstration and present their own opinions. These opinions are not necessarily harmonious. But the expression of all these opinions offers workers an opportunity to determine which is the most effective strategy for defeating the KKK.

We base our tactics on the lessons of the October Revolution of 1917 and the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. The Russian word for council is soviet. And the workers soviets which were the basis upon which power was seized in Russia were the highest expression of the united front. But it was the Bolsheviks who provided the leadership for revolution. Two months before the workers seized power, the Bolsheviks were able to lead workers to defeat a counterrevolutionary mobilization led by General Kornilov, winning over troops to



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U.S. Imperialism Hands Off Iraq!

Constant Terror Bombing, Starvation Blockade

AFP

Civilian buildings in Iraq reduced to rubble by U.S. bombing in summer.

For eleven months since last December's concentrated four-day air assault, the Clinton administration has continued to wage a savage aerial war against the people of Iraq. In one of the few reports in the capitalist press on this constant terror bombing, the longest sustained American military operation since U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary war in Vietnam in the 1960s and '70s, the *Washington Post* (30 August) headlined "U.S. Air Raids on Iraq Become an Almost Daily Ritual." The U.S. and its ally, Labour prime minister Tony Blair's Britain, have carried out *over 27,000* sorties—including the use of 2,000-pound concrete-filled bombs against densely populated areas containing supposed military targets—killing some 200 Iraqi civilians since December.

Meanwhile, the starvation blockade imposed under the auspices of the United Nations in 1990 continues to claim the lives of *6,000 children every month*, while fully one in four Iraqi children suffers from chronic malnutrition. On top of the tens of thousands killed by the U.S.-led "Desert Slaughter" in 1991, some 1.5 million Iraqis have died from disease and hunger because of the imperialist sanctions.

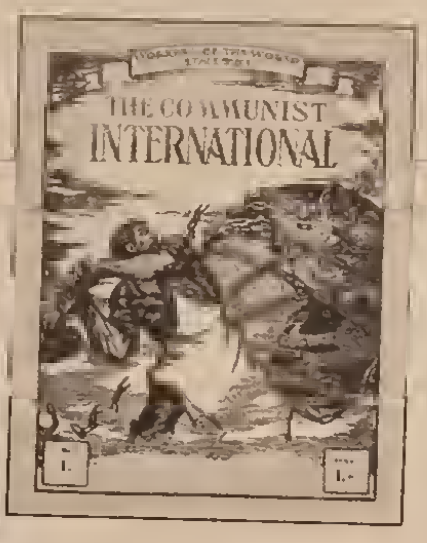
Having failed to get rid of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein through repeated assassination attempts and starving and immiserating the population, the U.S. has also devoted nearly $100 million to fantastical schemes aimed at cohering an internal mercenary force through the Iraqi National Congress, an unsavory lash-up including Islamic reactionaries, former military men, monarchists and pro-imperialist Kurdish and Shi'ite minority spokesmen. The *New York Times* (28 October) recently reported that some of these imperialist stooges are being trained at a military base in Florida "to organize a military in an emerging state." Saddam Hussein is a butcher of Iraqi workers and Kurds and other minorities, whose bloody anti-Communist efforts were fully supported by the U.S. imperialists for years. It is the task of the Iraqi proletariat, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party committed to the program of permanent revolution, to lead the peasantry and all the oppressed in sweeping away his despotic regime.

Washington's cynical prating about restoring "democracy" in Iraq is a transparent cover for its real purpose: to assert control over the vast oil and natural gas resources in the region. In turn, America's imperialist rivals, especially France, have been increasingly vocal in pushing for an end to the UN sanctions in order to facilitate investment in the area. Within the U.S. as well, there has been growing sentiment among sectors of the bourgeoisie that the economic sanctions against Iraq have outlived their usefulness.

Echoing such sentiments, groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Workers World Party (WWP) plead with Democrat Clinton to "lift the sanctions" and "end the bombing." Betraying its appetites, the ISO recently gave as an example of growing opposition to the U.S. rulers' war on Iraq a liberal anti-sanctions advertisement in the *New York Times* (28 April) which "evenhandedly" declared: "The Iraqi people are suffering because of the actions of both the Iraqi and U.S. governments."

Reformists like the ISO and WWP promote the illusion that American imperialism can be pressured to pursue a more peaceful and humane policy. But the death and destruction being wreaked upon the people of Iraq show what imperialism is all about, a rapacious system based on the exploitation, subjugation and murder of the workers in order to expand the profits of a handful of filthy rich capitalists. The only way to put an end to imperialist mass murder, exploitation and oppression is through the forging of a revolutionary workers party to lead the multiracial U.S. proletariat to the conquest of state power. ***Down with the starvation blockade! U.S. hands off Iraq!***

Wide World



Black poet Claude McKay speaking at Communist International's Fourth Congress, Moscow, 1922. First issue of CI journal, 1919.

the side of the revolution as they prepared to march on the capital. Kornilov was placed under arrest. After his defeat, the masses decisively swung to the side of the Bolsheviks and the October Revolution moved ahead more rapidly.

A social and economic crisis in Russia led to a successful workers revolution because of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. In Germany in the 1930s, a social and economic crisis led to the conquest of power by the Nazi Party due to the fact that an effective revolutionary workers party didn't exist.

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

America needs a workers party that will ensure a workers' future. The mass outpouring of militant defiance to the KKK last week must be transformed into a class-conscious revolutionary workers party. The demonstration to stop the KKK was an expression of what a party like this would be in action. With disciplined workers at its core, it would mobilize all those who are oppressed by capitalism, who are also the intended victims of the KKK. A workers party will lead the working class in fighting the oppression of immigrants, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, women, gays, youth and others. It would stand in firm opposition to all forms of bigotry.

Last week's anti-KKK mobilization demonstrated the ability of labor to win when it is mobilized in its own name, independent of the capitalist politicians and the capitalist state. The struggle by the working class to free itself from wage slavery is inseparable from the struggle for black liberation. Karl Marx put it this way: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Labor must not only mobilize to stop the KKK as it did last Saturday, it must destroy the system that promotes the growth of the KKK. Labor must fight to offer a future for the youth in the ghettos and barrios other than that of poverty and prison. The unions need to win a living wage protected by a full cost of living adjustment. They need to establish union-run recruitment and training programs that will provide union jobs for all those who have been thrown on the economic scrap heap by this system. They need to fight for full employment and a reduction of the workweek with no loss in pay. Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program in 1938:

> "Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a disintegrating society. The ***right to employment*** is the only serious right left to the workers in a society based upon exploitation."

All the slave-labor programs that force welfare recipients to work for their benefits must be abolished. Giuliani's new scheme to force the homeless to slave in order to sleep in city shelters must be defeated as well. All "workfare" workers should be recruited to the unions with full union wages, benefits and protection.

This is also the case for immigrants that slave in thousands of sweatshops throughout this city from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. In addition to full union wages and benefits, they need to be defended against anti-immigrant laws. The position of the workers movement should be that anyone who has made it to this country has a right to be here. The unions must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

But in order for the unions to be effective in the struggle to win these gains, they must break free from the stranglehold of the Democratic Party. Labor must get the cops out of the unions and take responsibility for cleaning its own house. The cops who are the first line of enforcers of strikebreaking, who play the role of an occupying army in the ghettos and the barrios and who defend the KKK killers are not part of the labor movement. Labor must demand: Cops out of the unions! The unions need to protest in large numbers against racist police shootings like the execution of Amadou Diallo and fight for the freedom of framed-up class-war prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

TWU Local 100 members, whose contract expires in December, should regard the policy of the union's New Directions outfit of suing the union in the capitalist courts with contempt. It was these courts that imposed the Taylor Law fines following the sellout of the 1980 strike. But

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Black Freedom...

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it should also be remembered that a more severe anti-strike law called the Condon-Wadlin Act was effectively abolished after the victorious 1966 TWU strike.

Last week's mobilization showed that the determined mass, militant social power of labor was able to overcome all of the legal obstacles and police threats protecting the KKK. If labor beat back these obstacles to driving the KKK from the streets of Manhattan, it can defeat the Taylor Law. The working class needs a leadership that understands that strikes aren't won or lost in the courthouse or in the legislature but on the picket line!

The fight to organize the open-shop South with its newly built industries will mean carrying out a struggle to defeat the KKK. In November 1979, the KKK, with the assistance of federal agents, massacred five leftists at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, North Carolina. Throughout the South, the KKK has been associated with the burning of black churches, cross-burning and murders, including the dragging death of James Byrd Jr. in Texas last year. Organizing the South means the formation of massive workers defense squads to protect labor organizing efforts from KKK terror.

To paraphrase Trotsky, ultimately it will be disciplined, militant detachments of armed workers, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, which will successfully defeat the fascist gangs. The struggle against fascism starts in the factories and ends in the streets. Scabs in the factory plants

AP

1966 NYC transit strike brought center of finance capital to a halt.

are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. Strike pickets, on the other hand, are the nuclei of the workers' army.

The Wall Street capitalists serve as the nerve center for promoting anti-labor terror internationally, from backing the police-state measures of the Mexican government against striking UNAM university students to the terror bombing in Serbia and Kosovo. There can only be a workers' future if workers of all countries stand as one against the capitalists of all countries. The main enemy of the American working class is the American ruling class. This means that workers in this country must fight for the right of self-determination for the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico. Those countries where capitalism has been overthrown—Cuba, North Korea, China and Vietnam—must be defended against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution.

The only way to permanently remove the threat of fascism is to take industry out of the hands of the incompetent, corrupt, racist exploiters and rebuild society based on a socialist economic plan. A workers' future means a socialist future, an economy that will no longer rest on the chaos of the capitalist market and the impoverishment of human society for the benefit of a minute minority. It will mean the final elimination of poverty, racism and imperialist war. In order to accomplish this, a workers party needs to be built. We of the Spartacist League are the core of that party.

* * *

The following are excerpts from a speaker's comments during the floor discussion following comrade Kartsen's presentation.

I just want to say, I was around the Spartacists for a while in the late '60s. I do support a lot of the positions of the group. I just wanted to compliment the demonstration last week.

I don't know if people know this, but when I was coming to the demonstration, the trains that go from the East Side at 96th Street were all turned off and you couldn't take a train down to this demonstration. You had to go to Harlem, 125th Street, and wait for the so-called special express. I didn't do that. I took the bus across town and took another train on the West Side. And I was reminded by what the speaker was saying of reading about the Russian Revolution. It was just like living in the history of it from Trotsky because it was so clear: We weren't supposed to get there.

I had been called late the night before by a friend who told me it was all off. She was watching the news. And it was only because I had been in touch with the Partisan Defense Committee that I had the phone number by my phone and I called them up at 11:30. And they were there! The importance of these little things makes the difference between whether you're just talking about it or you actually get there. And it's very much of a war. I really know that. I have been in wars since I left the party. I was a war correspondent briefly. I know what it's like to be on the lines where you may be shot at.

I really, really, really loved it that there were all those signs that you could pick, you could carry your own. And so you weren't under control. I mean, you could have said none of them fit you and you didn't have to carry anything. I could actually feel the power of being in a group that actually changed the way the police treated us. At first, the police were telling me with my gray hair: "Move back ma'am, move back ma'am. Move back, you can go over there and see the Klan." And by the end, they were moving away from us!

* * *

During the discussion, another speaker asked why there weren't more blacks and Hispanics attending leftist events. Comrade Kartsen addressed this and other questions in his concluding remarks.

America was founded on lynch mob terror and union-busting. This is a deeply racist society. This is what makes it possible for it to be such a profitable operation for capitalism. There was a time, during the 1930s, after several general strikes, when the Communist Party drew thousands and thousands of black militant workers to its ranks. And for the first time in the history of this country, you had a massive participation of black industrial workers fighting for the cause of black and labor liberation. Something happened to that. It was betrayed.

The position of the Stalinist CP was "socialism in one country." Stalin revised Lenin, revised the program of international revolution. Instead of relying on the mobilization of the working class internationally to defend the Soviet Union and to crush fascism when Nazi Germany attacked the USSR in 1941, he instead put his lot in with the "democratic" regimes of Britain and the United States and France. And accordingly, he instructed the American Communist Party to abandon the fight for black liberation and defense of the unions. That goes a long way to explaining why, in the years that followed, many black people, and white workers as well, turned their backs on the Communist Party.

In fact, the Spartacist League defines as one of the aspects of its existence a fight during the civil rights movement to give communist leadership to that struggle. It was one of the points over which we broke with the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP's position was: whatever black leadership came forward—whether that black leadership was for peaceful nonviolence or for militant self-defense—it just didn't matter, they supported it. Well, that's an abdication of leadership.

We fought for the program of revolutionary integration, against both liberal integrationists and black nationalists. And that is what gave us the ability to do this mobilization. It was the understanding of the need to combine the essential fight for black liberation with the fight for workers emancipation into one solid fist. And this is what we're building on. So if you see the American left being mostly white, there is a historical reason for that. We are providing an answer to that. And the mobilization was key to it.

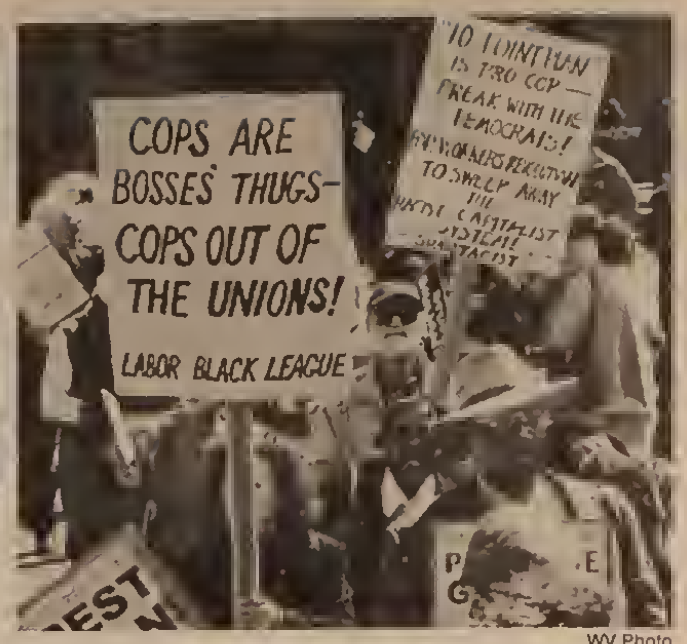
The landscape of this city has been changed politically by this massive anti-Klan mobilization. The political organizations in this city have now been defined and will be defined in terms of what they did on October 23. Did they defend the Ku Klux Klan? Or did they stop the Ku Klux Klan? There's no doubt that Sharpton will be supplemented by other black misleaders. But one thing's for sure: the old misleaders such as Sharpton will never look the same again.

Armed with a Marxist understanding of the roots, the causes of what drives capitalist society and what occurs within it, and based on the authority which we have gained from this mobilization, we are in a position to better unmask the misleaders that the capitalist political machine will throw up against the working class and nonwhite sections of the population in the future. What we want to do is deepen the political understanding as to who stands in the way of the fight for the liberation of minorities and the working class in this city. This mobilization went a long way to doing that. It went a long way toward the struggle for a workers future. But this advance must be transformed into new recruits for the revolutionary movement of the working class, must be transformed into new recruits for the Spartacist League, the Labor Black League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs.

Capitalism can maintain its existence only by lowering the standard of living of the working class. Now it is time to build a party that can provide leadership for the struggles to come—a party that can lead in winning the battles against the encroachments of capital. Last week, a significant battle was won. Let's turn that victory into the building of a party that will transform labor into an invincible force that will sweep capitalism and its fascist killers into the junkyard of history.■

Spartacist

1966 antiwar protest: SL fought for revolutionary perspective in struggle against imperialist slaughter in Vietnam, racist oppression in U.S. Right: SL/LBL at March 29 NYC protest over cop execution of Amadou Diallo.



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Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

demand "Free Angela!" when she was in prison in the 1970s, so today the call must he "Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

There is no justice in this racist capitalist *iujustice* system. The federal district court which is to hear Mumia's *habeas* appeal upheld the 15-year sentence of his son, Jamal Hart, on a bogus weapons possession charge. When the Supreme Court agreed to hear four new death cases, some death penalty opponents questioned whether it might be planning to slow the pace of executions. "The answer to that question," wrote the *New York Times* (30 October), "is almost certainly no." Indeed, just last week the Court turned down an appeal by a Nevada man who was 16 years old at the time of the murder for which he was convicted, despite an international treaty prohibiting the death penalty against juvenile offenders.

That ruling was made on "the Clinton administration's advice" (*New York Times*, 2 November)—not surprising given Clinton's role in pushing through the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act which gutted federal *habeas corpus* and vastly expanded use of the death penalty. Yet, as underlined by plans for an international delegation to Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno this month on Jamal's behalf, the call for a new trial is designed precisely to appeal to the Democratic Party politicians who will fight *against* any independent mobilization of labor and blacks for Mumia's freedom, just as they fought to head off the NYC mobilization to stop the Klan. The counterposition was clear as day on October 23. The reformists of the Workers World Party who were parading with "New Trial for Mumia" signs that day also threw their forces into the Democrats' "free speech for the Klan" diversion.

The drive for Jamal's death is backed to the hilt by both the Republican and Democratic parties of capitalism, who seek to kill this eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman because they see in him the spectre of black revolution. They want to execute Mumia not only to silence his voice, but to send a message to all who would protest racist terror in the ghettos and barrios, defend labor's rights on the picket lines, or speak out against imperialist mass murders abroad. To put an end to the racist death machine with its killer cops, lynch ropes, electric chairs and gas chambers once and for all means getting rid of this whole capitalist system through workers revolution. ***Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!***■

PDC...

(continued from page 3)

Bob Buck, former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Irish Republican Socialist Party supporter Eddie McClelland and nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, sentenced to 18 years in an Israeli prison for exposing the vast scale of the Zionist rulers' nuclear arsenal.

For more than 12 years, beginning with a New York City SL defense forum in June 1987 which featured Mumia's wife Wadiya, the PDC has played a leading role in the fight to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty. We have publicized the facts of his frame-up—including through a widely shown PDC video titled "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal"—and ensured that he would not be yet another nameless, faceless victim on death row by making possible the publication of his powerful writings around the world. We have succeeded in bringing larger forces behind Mumia's cause. Most importantly, we have sought to mobilize the social power of labor, the power that was evident on the streets of New York on October 23, by bringing Mumia's fight to trade unionists around the world and initiating labor-centered united-front mobilizations to demand his freedom and abolition of the racist death penalty.

WV Photo

Atlanta, 1989: PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization brought out 3,500 in defiance of massive army of cops and National Guardsmen who protected Klan terrorists.

The labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK on October 23 was one of many the PDC has initiated in cities across the U.S.—giving thousands of trade unionists, minorities and students first-hand experience of what a class-struggle policy is all about. They embody our commitment to the social defense of the whole of the working people, which in the deeply racist United States necessarily means a fight to mobilize the power of the multiracial labor movement in defense of blacks and other minorities, who are targeted by ruling-class reaction and its fascist spearhead.

Bearing important lessons about the nature of the capitalist state and the corollary need for the independent mobilization of the working class, these necessary defense actions play an important role in advancing the consciousness of the proletariat and prepare the way for broader class struggle against the capitalist oppressors. As Cannon wrote, "We are organizing workers on issues which are directly related to the class struggle. The workers who take part in the work of the ILD are drawn, step by step into the main stream of the class struggle. The workers participating begin to learn the ABC of the labor struggle."■

Teamsters...

(continued from page 12)

While preaching confidence in the capitalist state, the Hoffa leadership has also been escalating a crude, racist, protectionist campaign against Mexican truckers which has been pushed by the IBT bureaucracy for years, branding Mexican drivers who operate in the U.S. as untrained and a hazard to safety. A recent article in the *Teamster* (October 1999) was headlined, "Fighting the Mexican Truck Invasion." Such vile rhetoric is poison to working-class struggle, undercutting the union in general and the Overnite strike in particular.

A class-struggle union leadership would carry out a policy of international working-class solidarity *with* Mexican drivers. But all wings of the Teamster bureaucracy demonstrated their contempt for minority workers when they turned their backs on the Latino truck drivers—predominantly of Mexican and Central American descent—who appealed to the Teamsters for help in organizing a union on the docks south of Los Angeles. The IBT tops refused to lift a finger when these workers went out on strike in 1993 and 1996.

During the 1950s, when Hoffa's father negotiated the National Master Freight Agreement, the Teamsters were manifestly the strongest union in the country. In fact, that is the reason why in the 1950s and early '60s the government, spearheaded by Democrats John and Robert Kennedy, railroaded Hoffa to prison. Since then the union has steadily lost ground in the freight division. From having represented more than 60 percent of truck drivers nationally, the union now organizes only 20 percent.

Victory in the Overnite strike is crucial not only for the future of the Teamsters but for the labor movement as a whole. With Overnite's corporate headquarters in Richmond, Virginia—the capital of the old slaveholding Confederacy—this strike poses the key task of organizing the racist, "open shop" South. This is particularly the case in the wake of the solid four-month Newport News shipyard strike earlier this year and the union recognition victory by 5,200 textile workers at six Fieldcrest Cannon plants in Kannapolis, North Carolina. The fight to unionize the South means an intransigent struggle against the entrenched racist oppression of black people.

It is necessary to return to the class-struggle policies which built the Teamsters into a powerful industrial union in the 1930s. The core of this leadership which organized over-the-road drivers throughout the Midwest were the Trotskyists who led the 1934 Minneapolis general strike to victory. They mobilized the power of labor through mass picket lines, workers defense guards and secondary labor strikes. In opposition to the other union leaders of that period, the Trotskyists did *not* support the "liberal" party of American capitalism—Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party—but instead fought to build a revolutionary workers party. And that is the only way forward for the American working class today.■

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

seeking an abortion. The number of abortion providers plummeted by 14 percent just between 1992 and 1996. In 1996, 86 percent of all U.S. counties lacked an abortion provider. Further, only half of all abortion facilities provide abortion services past the 12th week of pregnancy (i.e., the first trimester)—all of which means that those women unable to find either the money (an abortion can cost more than $1,700) or a doctor in time are forced into an almost impossible search for the kind of abortion Congress wants to outlaw. All this has to mean an increase in "back alley" abortions, recalling the days before legalization when upwards of a million women a year sought a clandestine abortion and thousands died.

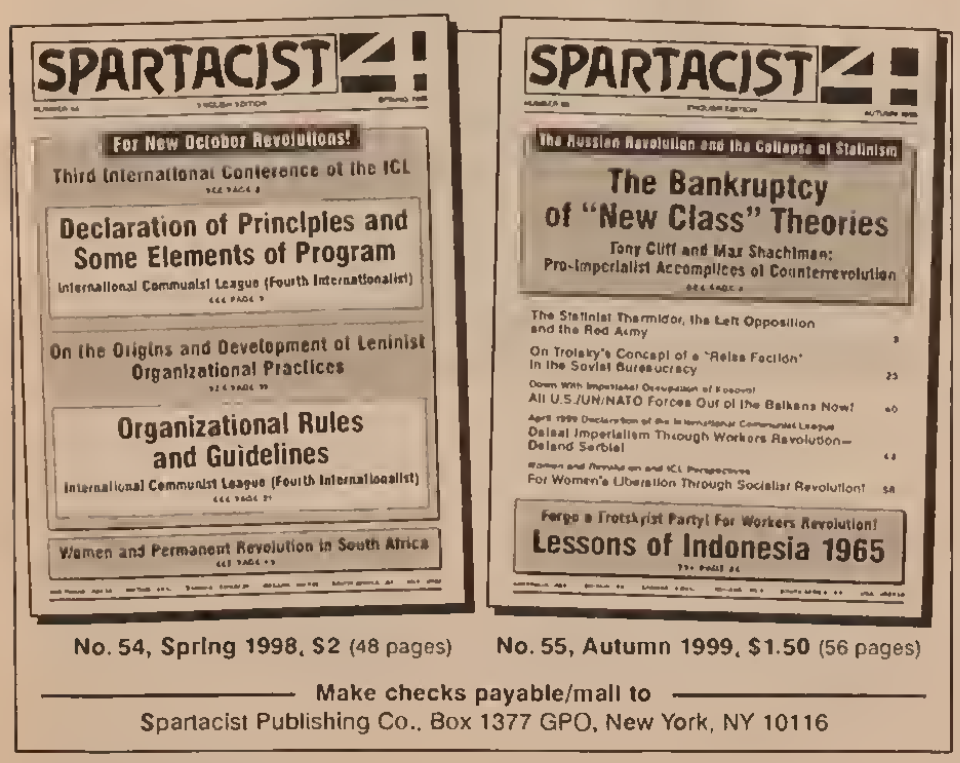
The drive to reverse the legalization of abortion is part of the "family values" anti-sex campaign promoted by Republicans and Democrats alike. The aim is to reinforce the family, the chief institution for the oppression of women in class society, and instill bourgeois morality in order to regiment the population to bow to the dictates of the ruling class. This is part of a generalized onslaught against the working class.

Accompanying and fueling the judicial and legislative assault on abortion rights are the clinic bombings and assassinations perpetrated by "right to life" terrorists, like the killing of Dr. Barnett Slepian near Buffalo, New York last year. Six other courageous men and women have been murdered by anti-abortion bigots, many of whom are linked to the nightriding Ku Klux Klan and far-right Christian fundamentalist groups.

In opposition to liberal feminists like NOW (National Organization for Women), which has focused virtually all its efforts since Clinton's election on appeals to its man in the White House, we do not look to the bourgeois state—its courts and cops—to defend women against anti-abortion terrorists. As we wrote in "Anti-Abortion Bigots' Trail of Murder" (*WV* No. 700, 6 November 1998) following the killing of Dr. Slepian:

> "The fight to defend the right to abortion—and to make that right meaningful for millions of working-class, poor and minority women—requires a break with the partner parties of capitalism. The bankruptcy of the liberals' and feminists' reliance on Clinton's Democrats is revealed not least in the absence of any significant outpouring of protest in the wake of the killing of Barnett Slepian. It is necessary to disperse the rightist mobs who lay siege to the clinics through mass mobilizations backed up by the social power of the labor movement."

It is necessary to link the social power of labor to the struggle for the emancipation of all the oppressed, through the building of a revolutionary vanguard party. ***Free abortion on demand—free, quality health care for all! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!***■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Organize the Unorganized!

Victory to Teamsters Strike Against Overnite!

Anti-Mexican Chauvinism Is Poison

NOVEMBER 7—For two weeks, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) has been on strike against Overnite Transportation Company, the sixth largest trucking company in the country and the largest non-union outfit in the industry. At stake is a battle to organize over 8,000 truck drivers and dock workers in 166 terminals in the 50 states as well as in Canada, Mexico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico and Guam. This is one of the largest efforts at union organizing in the private sector in decades and the first national strike since World War II against a company where the workers have neither a contract nor full union representation.

Although the Teamsters do not have a majority of the Overnite workers organized, they have a powerful strategic base of 3,600 drivers and dock workers in 37 terminals, including some of the largest ones. With the lucrative holiday shipping season approaching, Overnite has already had to close a number of terminals. Furthermore, a good and powerful move by the Teamsters in this strike was to enlist the support of the nine major railway unions, which have pledged to honor Teamster picket lines at rail yards and freeze Overnite freight nationwide if the company, a subsidiary of Union Pacific Railroad, carries out its threat to shift freight to the railroads.

WV Photo

Teamsters picket Overnite terminal in Bedford Park, Illinois. Instead of building mass pickets to shut down company, union tops push reliance on capitalist government.

Since the Teamsters began trying to organize Overnite in 1994, the company has pulled every dirty trick in the book to smash the union, repeatedly filing decertification petitions at terminals where the union has succeeded in winning recognition, harassing pro-union workers and firing many others. Several hundred such workers have been fired in the last four years at the Memphis terminal alone. Since the strike began, the company has brought in an army of strikebreaking "security guards" and hired scabs to augment those workers who refused to join the strike. Strikers have been hit by scab trucks and menaced by company goons wielding guns and knives. A number of strikers have also been arrested. We say: Drop all the charges!

Instead of mobilizing the full power of the union against Overnite by organizing mass picket lines that nobody dares cross, the Teamster leadership is relying on what one union communiqué called "federal laws that protect American workers," complaining that "Overnite workers played by the rules but the Company will not." This class-collaborationist claptrap will set up the strike for attacks from the Feds and the company. Workers must clearly understand the role of the state as the repressive apparatus of the capitalist class enemy.

It is scarcely surprising that the current Teamster leadership preaches reliance on the capitalist state and its laws. James P. Hoffa became union president last March through a government-run election. In fact, the government has directly controlled the leadership and finances of the Teamsters for many years—with the complicity of both Hoffa and his predecessor Ron Carey as well as the so-called Teamsters for a Democratic Union. The Feds ordered the recent election in large part to punish Carey for the successful and popular strike against UPS in 1997. UPS agreed to a union demand to provide 10,000 full-time jobs for part-timers. But these jobs have *never* materialized—a source of deep-seated anger throughout the UPS workforce, particularly among the heavily black and Latino youth who form the bulk of the part-time workforce.

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Courts Trash Women's Rights

Free Abortion on Demand!

On October 26, a federal appeals court in the Midwest upheld Illinois and Wisconsin laws that criminalize a late-term abortion procedure and threaten life imprisonment for any doctor who aids a woman in what should be a purely personal, medical decision. The drive to ban late-term abortions, misleadingly labeled "partial birth" abortions by bigots, is aimed directly at rolling back the 1973 decision legalizing abortion nationally as part of a relentless campaign spearheaded by Christian fundamentalists to outlaw abortion entirely. Already some 30 state legislatures have voted for similar bans. And in late October, the U.S. Senate voted yet again to outlaw the same late-term abortion procedure, a measure already passed by the House of Representatives.

To a large extent, Clinton owed his election as president to the votes of women who opposed the virulently anti-abortion stand of the Republican right. While Clinton has said he would again veto the proposed Congressional ban on late-term abortions, he has done so on the narrowest of grounds—that it should allow for some exceptions based on a "woman's health." More fundamentally, this Democratic administration has axed welfare for millions of poor women and children, while *implementing a host of anti-abortion measures* including denial of federal funds for abortions.

WV Photo

SL/SYC at NYC protest over murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian, October 1998. Attacks on abortion rights by capitalist politicians and courts embolden "right to life" terrorists.

We are for free abortion on demand, regardless of what trimester it should fall in, as part of free, quality health care for all. A woman's decision whether or not to carry a pregnancy to term is hers alone to make, just as a terminally ill patient has the right to make fundamental decisions on his or her final care, without outside interference from state authorities.

Abortion is still technically legal in this country—but if you're poor or young, it's increasingly impossible to get one. Thirty states have "squeal rules" requiring parental consent or notification for a minor

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October 23, there were no takers. While Sharpton was outrageously defending the Klan's "rights" in court, at the meeting the ISO enthused over what a good speaker Sharpton was and how many people he would draw to the Democratic Party diversion! As it turned out, Sharpton never even showed up on October 23, doubtless not anxious to face the jeers of the thousands who had come out to stop the KKK. But the ISO was there with bells on.

While shamelessly enlisting with the Democrats, the ISO tried to cover its despicable role by issuing a little-distributed leaflet under the heading "Stop the Klan!" Since their main purpose was *opposed* to stopping the KKK, this was pure cynicism. On site on October 23, the ISO continued to try to deceive people who had mobilized in response to the PDC's call by steering them into the site of the Democrats' location, which was a police trap. When people discovered this deception, many who tried to leave found their way blocked by the cops.

Having been provided a temporary, if unwitting, audience by the ISO's treachery, Democrats like Senator Charles Schumer and others tried to turn the event into an election rally. They were repeatedly booed by the angry protesters who had not come out for election speeches or messages of "tolerance" but to stop Klan terror. While the anti-Klan demonstrators understood the role of the cops in protecting these nightriding terrorists, the ISO speaker stood in front of the banner of the Latino Officers Association. This is not unusual for the ISO, which has a long history of viewing the cops as "workers" and upholding their "right" to organize. Will these social democrats whose British paper once headlined "Are All Coppers Really Bastards?" now ask, "Are all Klansmen really bastards?"

With the ISO acting as the donkeys for the Democratic Party in trying to demobilize the mass labor-centered protest to stop the Klan, whatever pretenses it had to the cause of "workers power" have been stripped bare. The ISO stands exposed as the servants of capital against the interests of the working class, black people and all the oppressed.

While the rest of the left did not play so forward a role as the ISO in serving the interests of the Democratic Party, most remained silent in the face of the deadly Klan threat until Stringer and Sharpton started to call for a liberal diversion. The Communist Party endorsed the Stringer rally. Workers World Party (WWP) tried to have it both ways. Feigning some mock independence from the Democrats, they called for people to assemble at Stringer's site, but somewhat later than the official starting time. Then, on October 23, WWP also had people at the PDC rally site, where they handed out placards that called to "stop the Klan" and for a "new trial" for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. When SYC comrades pointed out that this sowed illusions in the very same courts that had sentenced Jamal to death and had upheld the "right" to Klan terror, many of the people who had unwittingly taken WWP's placards traded them in for PDC placards demanding *freedom* for Jamal.

In a very unusual move, the Stalin-lovers of Progressive Labor Party (PL), who smear "Trotskyites" as fascists, called on people to assemble at the site of the PDC mobilization, signing an endorsement form on the spot. Now a PL Internet statement crows how "thousands" were "led by PLP" and asserts, "It took the PLP to lead a breakaway march of hundreds who really wanted to confront the Klan." In fact, what PL did was "lead" itself straight into a line of riot cops a short distance away. PL's whole strategy of individual confrontations with the cops and the fascists is based on a rejection of the working class as a force for social struggle. Giuliani's cops did arrest several anti-Klan protesters on October 23. We demand: Drop all the charges now!

The self-proclaimed redder-than-red communists of PL—who can't tell the difference between a trade union and right-wing religious bigots like the Promise Keepers—are guided by absolutely *no* class criteria. Thus, they expressed no solidarity with the powerful Teamsters union during its strike against the UPS bosses. Instead, they dismissed this struggle as a battle between two wings of the ruling class! With its utter contempt for the organized working class, PL's cries of "Kick the bosses in the ass" and "Death to the Klan" are little more than the bleatings of grandstanding liberals.

WV Photo

October 23: It took revolutionary leadership to mobilize New York labor and minorities in powerful united-front action to drive out the KKK racist terrorists.

Linking the Power of Labor to the Anger of the Ghettos

The clear intent of the liberal Democrats and their allies was to block any independent expression of the power of labor and *its* allies to stop the Klan on October 23. But they seriously miscalculated the outrage throughout this city against the Klan rally and failed miserably in their efforts. Throughout the building for this labor/black mobilization, the Democrats and their labor lackeys evidently realized they couldn't even try the usual violence-baiting and redbaiting of the PDC which has been attempted against previous PDC-initiated anti-fascist mobilizations. That's not because they had any less fear of or hostility to labor being mobilized behind a class-struggle program, but because they recognized they couldn't openly come out against the labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in a city where the overwhelming mass of the population is directly in the cross hairs of the racist terrorists.

Many unions told us that they couldn't endorse the PDC mobilization because their leadership was split over the question. Nonetheless, a number that didn't endorse asked for stacks of the PDC's mobilizing leaflet to put in their union halls. Dennis Rivera, who runs a well-oiled machine in Local 1199, made no overt attempt to mobilize his membership behind Stringer's "free speech" diversion. Likewise, the hidebound craft-union bureaucrats at the head of the Central Labor Council who endorsed Stringer's "demonstration for tolerance" did not put out the word that trade unionists should stay away from the labor/black mobilization.

What was reflected here was the fear of the labor bureaucrats and black Democrats that by opposing the PDC's anti-Klan mobilization they could potentially detonate the anger building at the base of the unions, the outrage in the ghettos and barrios. But that didn't stop them from trying to head it off.

In defending their legal efforts on behalf of the Klan, the editors of the *Amsterdam News* grotesquely echoed the racists who compared the Klan with Khallid Muhammad. Condemning this equation of the victims of Klan terror with its perpetrators, PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson responded: "The purpose of this is to conceal the real enemy and deny the true nature of the KKK. Khallid Muhammad is an anti-Semitic demagogue, but that's all he is. The Klan is a *terrorist action group* whose purpose is genocide." Speaking at a PDC press conference on October 19, Jim Webb of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists added, "Khallid has never murdered, lynched, burned churches, synagogues and homes."

In its call initiating this mobilization, the PDC noted that the Klan was making a big mistake by thinking it could ride in New York City, and October 23 proved that. The thousands who turned out that day sent a powerful message that the KKK had better not try it again. This mobilization was also a powerful response to the demagogy of Muhammad and his former mentor, Louis Farrakhan, who seek to channel the anger of the ghetto into bigotry against Jewish, Arab and Asian shopkeepers in order that they can be the sole exploiters of the ghetto masses. This response was palpable in minority neighborhoods throughout the city.

A Korean shopkeeper in Harlem came out of his store to donate money and hand out leaflets to build for the anti-Klan mobilization. In Chinatown, a merchant took a stack of leaflets and taught PDC soapboxers how to say "stop the Klan" in Chinese, immediately drawing sympathetic crowds. At the mobilization itself, many black participants remarked on the multiracial character of the turnout and echoed denunciations of anti-Semitism from the speaker's platform.

In contrast to the preaching of liberal "diversity"—like Jesse Jackson's "rainbow coalition" or David Dinkins' "beautiful mosaic"—which means acceptance of the racist status quo and Democratic Party ethnic politics, this was a powerful demonstration of *class unity* and unity of the oppressed behind the social power of the multiracial working class. One chant in particular resonated at the PDC mobilization: "Asian, Latin, black and white—Workers of the world, unite!" Everyone could see that proletarian power right before their eyes in this labor-centered anti-Klan mobilization.

The Fight for a Workers America

The Klan was born out of the bloody reaction in the South following the defeat of the slavocracy in the American Civil War. These were the hooded-and-robed agents of the former Confederacy, who carried out a campaign of terror, intimidation, mutilation and murder aimed at strangling the political rights that were won by the freed slaves during Reconstruction. The KKK spearheaded the restoration of white supremacy in the form of the system of Jim Crow segregation that held sway for nearly a century. It heralded a resurgence, reaching several million strong in the 1920s, with the lynching of Jewish businessman Leo Frank in Georgia in 1915.

Today the Klan is the lowlife, terrorist bunch held in reserve by the American

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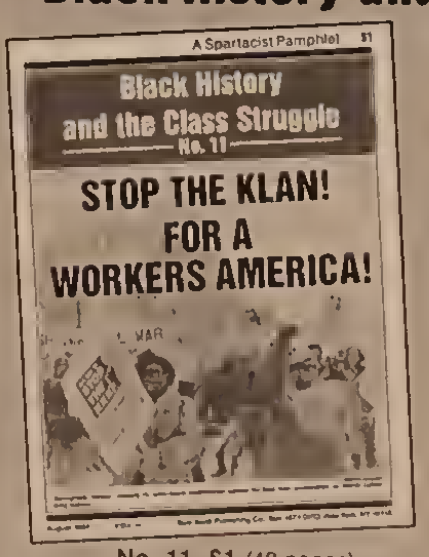

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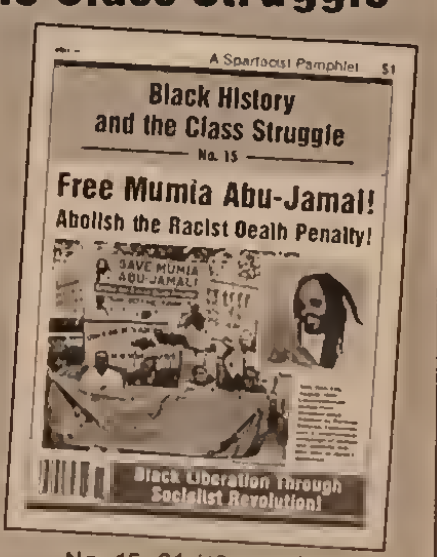

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Stay of Execution Granted, Danger Remains

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia!

OCTOBER 26—*As we go to press, it has just been announced that Mumia Abu-Jamal has won a stay of execution from a federal judge pending a decision on his* habeas corpus *petition. No one among Jamal's millions of defenders must be lulled by this news into thinking that Mumia is any less endangered by the police and government forces which have long waged a concerted campaign for his legal lynching.*

We print below a speech by Paul Cooperstein of the Partisan Defense Committee at a victory party immediately following the October 23 anti-Klan demonstration.

We have another urgent fight on our hands—the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. To win his freedom, we have to mobilize the same social forces that routed the Klan today, the multiracial unions which were the bedrock of this mobilization.

Ten days ago, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge signed an order for Mumia to be executed on December 2. And despite Jamal's filing for *habeas corpus* in the federal courts, that warrant of execution has not been lifted. They are determined to kill Mumia. We must be more determined to win his freedom. The lynch rope of the KKK is just the other side of the legal lynchings of the capitalist state. In mobilizing against the KKK we must raise our voices to demand: Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

The capitalist state—made up of the cops, courts, prisons, corrections officers—is an instrument for the capitalist rulers to defend their massive profits, their class rule through vicious repression and terror against workers and minorities. The prisons today are flooded with young black and Hispanic men and women, mostly as a result of the racist "war on drugs." With them are those who have stood up for the rights of labor and blacks against this oppressive capitalist system—former Panthers like Mumia, coal miners like Jerry Dale Lowe, MOVE members. We fight for the freedom of the class-war prisoners—their fight is our fight!

At the core of this state terror machine is the racist death penalty. In this country, the death penalty is a direct legacy of slavery. It is part and parcel of the racist cop terror on the streets and the extralegal terror of the KKK. It is the lynch rope made legal. It is no accident that joining in the cops' drive for Mumia's death is the fascist National Association for the Advancement of White People. The crusade to kill Jamal is designed to sanctify this killing machine, which has already taken nearly 80 lives since January—the most in 45 years.

The Tom Ridges, the Giulianis, the Clintons—and those over there on Wall Street whom they serve—want to kill Mumia because he is a powerful spokesman for the poor and oppressed. In their eyes, he represents the spectre of black revolution. Why such concern? Because the cause of black freedom and the fight against the grinding exploitation of labor in this racist capitalist society are potential social dynamite if combined.

The PDC is a class-struggle legal and social defense organization. Guided by the principles of the early International Labor Defense, we stand unconditionally on the side of the working people and their allies in struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. We place *all* our faith in the power of the masses and *no faith whatever* in the justice of the courts.

There are some who build deadly illusions in the courts which have condemned Mumia to die, promoting the call for a new trial for Jamal. Among them are Al Sharpton, who also threw his weight behind the effort to make sure the Klan could rally for racist terror here today. Justice in the courts? The same courts that protected the Klan's rights while denying those who wanted to stop the KKK killers a sound permit? What the courts, Stringer, the New York Civil Liberties Union wanted was to prevent us—the masses of this city who are the Klan's intended victims—from taking the streets.

Can Mumia get a fair trial in the courts of the Dred Scott decision, which said that blacks had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, the courts which declared "separate but equal" segregation the law of the land?

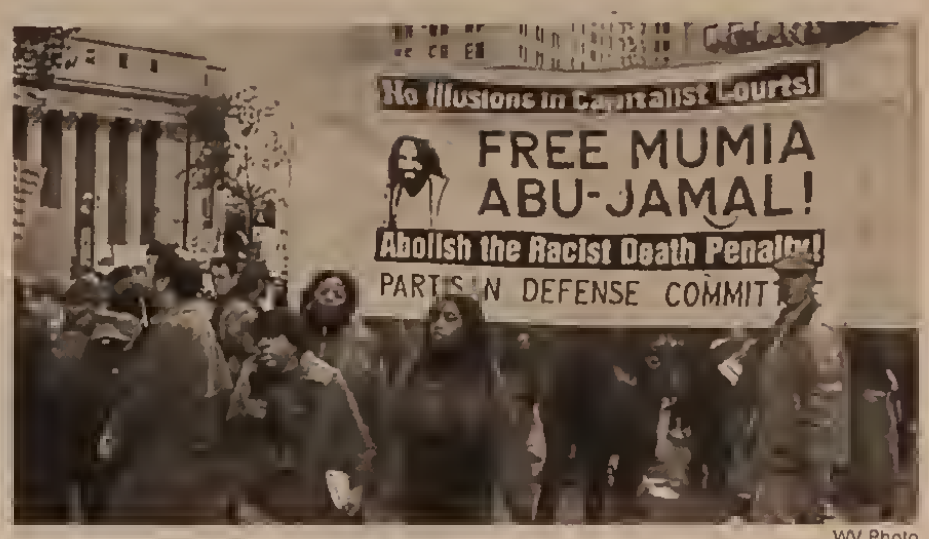
Can Mumia get a fair trial in the courts that said it's irrelevant that the death penalty is racist, that said it is not unconstitutional to execute an innocent man?

Can Mumia get a fair trial in the courts that ordered the execution of the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs—that let the racist cops who killed Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Anthony Baez, Amadou Diallo, Gidone Busch walk the streets to stalk their prey every day?

Can he get a fair trial in the courts that enforce the slave-labor Taylor Law? Hell no!

We say: Free Mumia! That means mobilizing now, centered on the power of the multiracial working class, the workers who run the trains, make the cars, drive the trucks, lay the pipe, move the garbage, create all the wealth in this society. The workers who, by withholding their labor, can shut this city, Philly and other cities down cold, choking off the lifeblood of this racist killing machine: capitalist profits.

To win the freedom of the class-war prisoners, to put an end to this racist killing machine of lynch ropes, gas chambers and lethal injections, means getting rid of the racist capitalist system once and for all—through workers socialist revolution. Free Mumia!



WV Photo

PDC banner on October 23. Mobilizing labor/black power to win Mumia's freedom is counterposed to reliance on Democrats, capitalist courts.

Holiday Appeal Benefits for Class-War Prisoners

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KKK Out...

(continued from page 3)

capitalist ruling class. This ruling class, a tiny minority which expropriates all the real wealth of this society, believes that everyone else has no rights which this rich, white man's government is bound to respect. This capitalist ruling class needs the homegrown Nazis of the KKK, to be deployed to crush the organizations of the working class when the masses can no longer be lulled by the lie that their interests are represented by capitalist "democracy."

The political battle required to build the labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from riding in NYC contains important lessons for all those who want to struggle against union-busting, racism, poverty, homelessness, war and all the other hideous expressions of a system rooted in exploitation and racial oppression. Central is that the capitalist state is not neutral. It is the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of one class—the capitalists—over another class, the proletariat. As Marxists, we know that the bourgeois state at its core consists of special armed bodies of men—the cops, the military, the prison system and the whole "justice system"—whose job is to protect the profits and rule of the capitalists and to repress the workers. All historical experience has shown that the working class cannot reform the state and use it in its own interests but must create its own state, a workers state. The revolutionary fight for proletarian state power is the only road to black freedom and the emancipation of labor and all the oppressed.

We didn't invent the perspective on which our anti-Klan mobilizations are based. It is the concrete application of the experience of the Bolshevik Party which led the first, and only, successful working-class revolution in history—the October Revolution of 1917. Like the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy in this country which undermines the gains that were won through hard class struggle, the gains of the Russian Revolution were betrayed by the Stalinist bureaucracy which hijacked the exercise of political power by the workers. Paralleling the policies of the AFL-CIO tops, the Stalinists pursued class collaboration, not internationalist class struggle. Ultimately, this led to the destruction of the Soviet Union by the forces of imperialism and domestic counterrevolution in 1991-92.

Since then, the imperialist rulers have been celebrating the "death of communism." But communism isn't dead—it is the program that expresses the class interests of the workers and oppressed, growing out of their aspirations and struggles for a society of genuine equality and social justice. What is needed to realize those aspirations is a workers party, which can bring the consciousness to the working class of its social power and historic interests in fighting the rule of capital and every manifestation of the barbarity of this system. What is needed is a workers revolution, which will break the power of the few and liberate the many—the working people and their allies—who will employ the wealth created by their labor for the benefit of the majority both in America and around the globe. On October 23, thousands of New York's working people and minorities got a small taste of that workers power. ■

It Took Money to Drive the Klan Out of NYC

Working people, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, gays, Jews, Catholics and other minorities as well as immigrants, students and youth—all opponents of racist terror—won a stunning victory over the KKK nightriders in New York City. But that cost a lot of money. If you or your organization have not yet made a contribution, show your support for stopping the KKK by sending a contribution now, payable to the Partisan Defense Committee, earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send to: Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 724

26 November 1999

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Down With Capitalist Rulers' War Against Blacks, Immigrants!

The labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23 brought to bear the social power of the working class, acting in its own interests and independently of the government and the Democratic and Republican parties of capital, in defense of all the oppressed. As we wrote then, "That same power, those same forces which stopped the Klan from riding can organize the unorganized and unemployed, can mobilize in defense of the masses in the ghettos and barrios, can crack the 'open shop' South—itself a product of KKK anti-union terror" (*WV* No. 722, 29 October).

Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, this united-front mobilization provided a glimpse of the kind of fighting workers party needed to lead the working class in struggle against the attacks of the capitalist rulers and against the very system of capitalist exploitation. It brought to life the connection between labor's fight and the fight for black freedom. Black oppression is the cornerstone of racist American capitalism. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power, and there will be no proletarian revolution to end class exploitation unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

WV Photo

New York City, October 23: Labor's power can and must be mobilized in struggle against black oppression, anti-immigrant chauvinism. For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the exploited and oppressed!

Just as they use anti-black racism to divide the working class, the capitalist rulers, aided and abetted by the labor bureaucracy, foster anti-immigrant chauvinism to pit native-born workers—black as well as white—against immigrants. This was clear last week when racist NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani seized on the despicable refusal by some cabbies to pick up black passengers to launch a police vendetta against the city's largely South Asian and black African taxi drivers and fuel anti-immigrant bigotry among black people. Such chauvinism is poison to the struggles of all the oppressed.

A workers party would fight against every manifestation of injustice, racist discrimination and chauvinist bigotry, particularly in defense of the millions of immigrant workers who are denied legal rights, making them prey to anti-union terror and superexploitation. In "Operation Vanguard" the Immigration and Naturalization Service has targeted thousands of meatpacking workers in the Midwest. Similar raids against hotel and janitorial workers in the Southwest resulted in the firing of some 500 members of Service Employees International Union Local 1877, including many involved in leading a campaign for the first national master janitorial contract (*Nation*, 25 October). In going after immigrant workers, the capitalists aim to drive down the living standards and undermine the organizations of all workers. Labor must demand: ***No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all workers, "legal" or "illegal"!***

We publish below a presentation on the fight against anti-immigrant racism by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at SL forums in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area this fall.

* * *

In March 1991, four white Los Angeles cops brutally beat a black motorist named Rodney King, whom they had stopped for a traffic violation. They repeatedly kicked him and hit him with a baton as he lay writhing on the ground. This was in no way an unusual LAPD practice. And certainly no one would have predicted it would lead to events of some historic importance. But it did.

A bystander happened to take a videotape of the beating. And when it was shown to millions on television throughout the U.S. and, indeed, around the world, the public response was one of shock and outrage. The L.A. authorities were sufficiently embarrassed by this

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Gropp/Sipa

WV Photo

INS immigration cops round up Latino immigrants. Labor must oppose racist deportations, fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

7 25274 81030 7 48

Defend Chechen Independence!

Defeat Russian Invasion of Chechnya!...7

New York City, 1939

Trotskyists Mobilized 50,000 Against American Nazis

Socialist Appeal

50,000 ANTI-NAZIS ANSWER S.W.P. CALL

AT THE GARDEN PICKET LINE

1,780 LaGuardia Cops Protect Nazis from Workers' Wrath in Brutal Attack on Demonstrators

Printed below is a report, excerpted from Socialist Appeal *(24 February 1939), of a mass protest against the Nazis organized by the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.*

An imposing, fighting demonstration of fifty thousand workers assembled near Madison Square Garden on Monday evening to protest the first big fascist mobilization in New York City.

In addition to the fifty thousand demonstrators who responded to the call of the Socialist Workers Party for a labor rally against the fascist concentration, official police estimates given to the press counted another fifty thousand among the spectators. With few exceptions, the latter made clear their sympathy with the aims and slogans of the demonstrating thousands. With a brutality recalling the days of Czarist Cossacks, 1,780 of Mayor LaGuardia's police, the largest number of cops ever collected in the city against a single demonstration, slugged and trampled under horses' hooves scores of workers in an unsuccessful attempt to break up the demonstration. From 6 pm until 11, the workers engaged in a series of bitter clashes with the police.

Size Exceeds All Hopes

The size of the workers' counter-demonstration far exceeded the expectations of even the most optimistic.

Efforts had been made on all hands, prior to the Nazi meeting, to minimize the significance of the call issued by the Socialist Workers Party, to smother it by a campaign of silence, and to sabotage it directly.

Supercilious critics of the "Trotskyists" in the social-democratic camp sought to dispose of the counter-demonstration by ridicule and disdainful talk of our alleged insignificance. Neither the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas nor the Social-Democratic Federation would take any cognizance of the call for the demonstration, much less endorse it. They were nowhere to be found in the demonstration.

CP Role Despicable

The Stalinists played a particularly despicable role, which aroused widespread bewilderment and confusion in their own ranks, which contain thousands of workers who really want to fight against Fascism.

On the day of the demonstration, all that the Daily Worker had to say was its report of a speech in favor of democracy by acting Mayor Newbold Morris. Not a single word about the "Trotskyists," or their call. It would have been a little embarrassing even to such brazen penslaves as Stalin employs in New York to write, on this occasion, diatribes against the "Trotsky-fascists"!

Rank and File Comes

Rank and file Stalinists, perplexed and irritated by the criminal sabotage of their officialdom, but nevertheless determined to demonstrate "unofficially" against the Nazis, whom they realize to be the menace they are, came to our rally by the thousands.

No less gratifying was the fact that one of the banners borne in the demonstration signified that the youth organization of the Thomasite Socialist Party had come to the anti-Nazi rally in spite of the shabby indifference of the party elders.

Equally inspiring was the contingent of Negro workers who came spontaneously to the tumultuous gathering, bearing their own posters and placards, including one signed by the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Thousands Cheer SWP

The placards and posters of the Socialist Workers Party were uplifted amid the cheers of thousands. Almost simultaneously, on both streets, which by this time were choked to capacity by huge crowds reaching from Broadway to 8th Avenue, a spontaneous drive was launched to get through the police lines and into the immediate Garden area.

Action began on 48th Street. From the corner of 8th Avenue where a solid line of mounted cops was stationed, stirrup

continued on page 4

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Fight Against National Oppression

International unity of the working class against the capitalists can be realized only through intransigent struggle against national oppression. While opposing all nationalism, the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin fought for the right of self-determination for the myriad oppressed nations in the tsarist empire, and implemented that right after the October Revolution of 1917. Capitalist counterrevolution, prepared by decades of nationalist Stalinist misrule, has once again brought the question of national self-determination to the fore in the lands of the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere.

Socialists cannot achieve their great aim without fighting against all oppression of nations. They must, therefore, unequivocally demand that the Social-Democratic parties of the *oppressor* countries (especially of the so-called "Great" Powers) should recognise and champion the *oppressed* nation's right to self-determination, in the specifically political sense of the term, i.e., the right to political secession. The socialist of a ruling or a colonial nation who does not stand for that right is a chauvinist.

The championing of this right, far from encouraging the formation of petty states, leads, on the contrary, to the freer, fearless and therefore wider and more universal formation of large states and federations of states, which are more to the advantage of the masses and are more in keeping with economic development.

In their turn, the socialists of the *oppressed* nations must unfailingly fight for complete unity of the *workers* of the oppressed and oppressor nationalities (this including organisational unity)....

Imperialism is the epoch of the constantly increasing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of "Great" Powers; it is therefore impossible to fight for the socialist international revolution against imperialism unless the right of nations to self-determination is recognised. "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations" (Marx and Engels). A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its "own" nation cannot be a socialist proletariat.

—V.I. Lenin, *Socialism and War* (July-August 1915)

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is November 23.

No. 724 **26 November 1999**

Celebrate NYC Victory Over Klan

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Jamal's Freedom

The labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23 was an important victory for all workers and the oppressed, not least those imprisoned for fighting against racist capitalist oppression. Join the PDC in the 14th annual Holiday Appeal fund drive to celebrate the anti-Klan victory and help build a powerful movement for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners.

The Holiday Appeal helps sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners and provides extra funds for holiday gifts for them and their loved ones, a tradition dating back to the International Labor Defense of the 1920s. This is not charity but an act of solidarity with those behind bars—their fight is our fight!

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CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Thousands Come Out to Stop Klan Terror

Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of NYC

Holiday Appeal Benefits! Save the Date!

Young Spartacus

Decatur, Illinois

Thousands Protest Racist Crackdown on H.S. Students

CHICAGO—On September 17, at Decatur's Eisenhower High School, seven black youth were engaged in the American institution of fighting at a football game. As football fights go, this one was rather benign. No weapons were pulled and no one was injured. The Decatur School Board's response was to expel all seven students for two years under a "zero tolerance" policy, which denies these kids an opportunity to complete their education and have any kind of future. At the first signs of protest by the Decatur black population, the racist school board proceeded to spit in the faces of the protesters by calling on the state to arrest all seven students almost two months after the incident, hitting four of them with felony "mob action" charges. Drop the charges against the students! Reinstate them now!

Young Spartacus

Decatur, November 14: Some 3,000 people, many from as far away as Chicago, protest racist expulsion of black high-school students. Jesse Jackson sought to channel anger into toothless electoral politics.

This racist provocation has been met with justified outrage by Decatur's black population, which has been on the receiving end of racist cop assaults, Klan terror and unemployment for many years. In segregated Decatur, blacks make up less than 17 percent of the population. But because many white children attend private or parochial schools, black children make up over 40 percent of the public schools. Today, when even the promise of some kind of public education is increasingly taken away by a racist ruling class that sees no use in educating youth for whom they can provide no future or jobs, many black people saw these expulsions as the final straw. As one Decatur resident put it, "The last thing you do to a black kid is kick them out of school. They've already got two strikes against them—they're young and they're black" (*Daily Southtown*, 15 November). And when black youth are on the streets, they are prey to the other "tracking system" of the bourgeoisie—railroaded into jail by the racist cops.

On Sunday, November 14, some 3,000 overwhelmingly black working people converged on Decatur to protest the racist expulsions. The fact that a thousand of them came down on 28 buses from Chicago, traveling for over three hours, is a measure of the increasing anger of the black population against the continuing racist assaults of the ruling class. Scores of *Workers Vanguard* were sold at the rally based on the successful October 23 anti-Klan mobilization and the headline "Class-Struggle Fight for Black Freedom." But missing at the November 14 rally was any organized presence of the trade unions or the kind of revolutionary leadership evident on October 23. This is the type of leadership needed to lead a genuine struggle against the vicious assaults of the racist bourgeoisie, which have ranged from cop shootings to the "war on drugs" to the overhauling of public schools into police pens complete with metal detectors and armed cops.

Recognizing the outrage the expulsions inspired, Democratic Party honcho Jesse Jackson moved in to diffuse it into toothless electoral politics, leading the November 14 rally with such slogans as "Save the Dream: Leave No Child Behind." Behind Jackson's maneuvers is the Democratic Party machine, which is as committed as the Republicans to the savage repression of black people in this country. Jackson cynically denied that the expulsions had anything to do with race, saying, "This is not so much about black and white as it is about wrong and right" (*Chicago Defender*, 9 November).

But these protests have laid bare the racial polarization in the city. The same KKK outfit that the October 23 labor/black mobilization ran out of NYC rallied in Decatur at the same time as the November 14 Jackson-led protest, ominously drawing a racist howling mob of 200. It is a telling indictment of the black Democrats that the Klan and their supporters were able to mobilize for racist genocide while thousands of black working people marched only five miles away.

The racist American ruling class has waged a continuous war against black America, slashing jobs and education and criminalizing an entire generation of black youth through the criminal "justice" system. And this has been done with the full and active participation of black "leaders" like Jackson and Al Sharpton who fully cheered on the "war on drugs," a racist war on the ghettos and barrios. But it does not have to be this way. There is a way to fight back. Only five years ago, Decatur was the center of the Illinois "war zone."

Major and hard-fought strikes and lockouts rocked the city, state and country, and drew in the integrated labor movement from the area's key unionized industries, from Caterpillar to Bridgestone-Firestone and Staley. Our 1994 labor/black mobilization in Springfield against the Klan's racist provocation against Martin Luther King Day struck a powerful chord among workers in the "war zone." But the strength and militancy shown by the workers was dissipated by a trade-union leadership committed to the poison of protectionism, the sanctity of capitalism and the racist Democratic Party.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for free, quality, integrated public education for all. But, to realize even such an elementary demand, the power of labor must be unshackled from the Democratic Party and labor misleaders. This was given expression at the October 23 anti-KKK mobilization in NYC, where the social power of the labor movement was wielded in the interests of all the oppressed. As we wrote in "Class-Struggle Fight for Black Freedom" (*WV* No. 723, 12 November), "Labor must fight to offer a future for the youth in ghettos and barrios other than that of poverty and prison. The unions need to win a living wage protected by a full cost of living adjustment. They need to establish union-run recruitment and training programs that will provide union jobs for all those who have been thrown on the economic scrap heap by this system. They need to fight for full employment and a reduction of the workweek with no loss in pay."

There are two clear and counterposed roads. The first is that of Jesse Jackson and the Democratic Party of slavery, racism and war. The other is ours: mobilizing the integrated labor movement—independent of the capitalists and their parties and marching at the head of all the oppressed—in a class-struggle fight for black freedom and against all forms of racist injustice. For this, what is necessary is the building of a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that acts as the tribune of the people, combatting all manifestations of chauvinism and racism. In such a party, doubly oppressed black workers, based on their strategic position in American society as the most heavily unionized sector of the proletariat, will necessarily play a leading role. By expelling the "Decatur 7," the racist school board wants to consign them to a future of courts and jails. Against such provocations by the bourgeoisie, the labor movement must fight against not only individual expressions of racist American injustice but the entire capitalist system that can offer no future for black youth. For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

Wagner/Chicago Tribune

Chicago high school. Capitalist rulers have turned inner-city public schools into police pens with metal detectors and cops.

Visit the ICL Web Site!

www.icl-fi.org

After October 23 Anti-Klan Victory

Building the Revolutionary Youth Organization

At a meeting of the New York Spartacist League following the tremendous victory of the October 23 anti-Klan mobilization, a Spartacus Youth Club member declared, "Now I know I have joined the revolutionary party." The October 23 mobilization shook this city to its core and provided a lesson for those who want to struggle against the racist assaults of the ruling class about the social power of the working class as well as the profound importance of revolutionary Marxist leadership in social struggle.

Those who saw the importance of the leadership role played by the Spartacist League in building this victory are now joining the Spartacus Youth Clubs. The SYC is the training ground for young revolutionaries, and as such it played an important role in building the victory on October 23. Youth comrades mobilized contingents of students from universities and went to the campus workers to get endorsements from their unions and to mobilize their co-workers. The SYCs worked alongside the Spartacist League, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League in the ten days of building for the demonstration on the streets of the city, and found a huge base of support for the call "All Out to Stop the KKK!"

Workers and youth made the demonstration their own by building for it in their communities, schools, and workplaces. And now youth from very diverse backgrounds are joining the SYC—from high-school students to college students to young workers. Youth who saw the revolutionaries in action are joining us because they want to sweep away this racist capitalist system and they learned that the SYC struggles to mobilize youth and young workers for this fight. One new SYCer said: "So many of my friends used to talk about how someday we'll change this country, but it was more of an abstract thing, we would do 'something'—but this *is* the something. We're not just talking ideas, we're doing it."

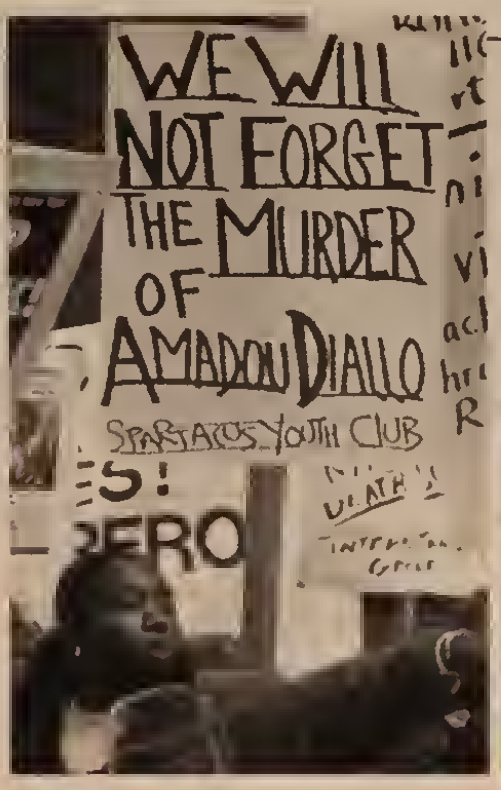
The October 23 mobilization was not "spontaneous" as fake leftists like Workers World would have it; it required the conscious leadership of the revolutionary party to fight for a forum that allowed outrage to be expressed in an effective show of social power. As a result, the workers and youth who were there came away with a sense of victory, and many of them also saw what it took to build the labor/black mobilization in the face of opposition by the courts, the bourgeois media, Democratic Party politicians and liberals, and even some ostensible left groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) that were eager to throw their forces behind the Democrats' diversionary "rally for tolerance."

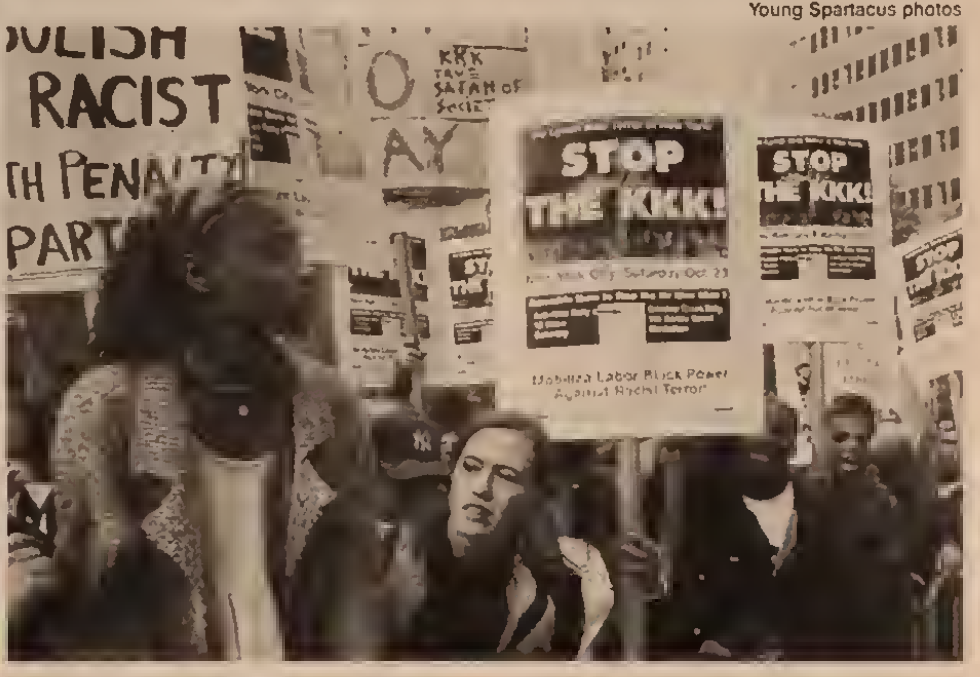
As another new youth member wrote in her application letter, the demonstration "made very clear to me how stark the line is between a group like the SL and the other 'left' groups in this country. I needed to see the march, and be part of it, to understand that 'leadership' is not a dirty word, and is absolutely *crucial* if you're really interested in making a revolution." She also remarked on the tremendous differences between the PDC-initiated anti-KKK mobilization and the rally led by the Workers World Party's International Action Center (IAC) in Washington, D.C. this summer in response to a Nazi march. "Witnessing the enormous differences between the organization, slogans, and speeches of this march and those of the IAC...showed me that even in a position of control the SL/PDC/SYC stand by their principles, which include fighting in the face of frantic opposition from the sellouts."

In periods of struggle, consciousness changes as the class forces in society are laid bare; simultaneously the need for revolutionary leadership also becomes evident. When the economy becomes more volatile and unstable, when the imperialist leaders begin maneuvering toward another world war, mass unrest will come to the fore and we will need revolutionary leadership to guide the struggles of the proletariat in order to make a socialist revolution and end this system of exploitation forever. Many youth have come to understand what a revolutionary workers party is—now it is our job to continue to build it! As we saw on October 23, the time for revolutionary politics is not sometime in the future, it is now, because it is only through engaging in the immediate issues with our program, based on the political independence of the working class against the capitalist ruling class, that we can move forward.

To the SYC, politics are not bloodless and academic debates. It is a life and death struggle for the working class to smash the capitalist state through socialist revolution and build its rule. One of the most powerful effects of being a communist is the polemical combat one enters into against ostensible leftists. The ISO is fully exposed for what they are: running dogs for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party who cover for the KKK; fake leftists who consciously reject the perspective of socialist revolution. Other groups like Progressive Labor thoroughly revealed their utter contempt for the working class by denying the social power of labor and instead opting for impotent adventures against the cops.

As another new SYC member put it, "Before I heard of the demo against the KKK, I'd heard of other political groups, leftist groups, but none of them really interested me. I'd heard of the Spartacist League, and I liked their views, but I never really thought about it because I never thought of myself as being a member of any group. But when I really think of how I've been mistreated by the bourgeoisie, I felt that it was time enough for myself to take action and fight for a cause I felt was worth fighting for. As far as joining the SYC, I felt that I wanted to be with a revolutionary team that is fighting for the rights of oppressed people in general. And I feel that all the youth, in general, that feel the same views should come to the Spartacus Youth Club. It's important. Instead of sitting at home saying, 'I can't believe they did that, I can't believe they kicked these kids out of school because they were fighting at a game.' Instead of sitting at home, be about it, as they say."■





New York City, October 23: Spartacus Youth Clubs organized students and young workers behind social power of labor to stop the KKK.

Young Spartacus photos

1939...

(continued from page 2)

to stirrup, they made a furious attack on the assembled demonstrators. Moving in both directions, one group of cops trampled down a throng of patriotic war veterans and cut their big American flag to ribbons, while another group smashed brutally into the mass of workers.

Masses Reform Ranks

Although the Cossacks made repeated sallies into the workers' crowd, the mass formed and reformed, stoutly determined to hold their own until they gathered sufficient strength to exercise their right to assemble and to picket whether the cops granted it or not.

Even a large gathering of workers cannot easily attain its objective unless these workers have been organized thoroughly in advance and trained to act in sharp coordination. It was evident, in other words, that for the complete success of such a demonstration a militant, organized Workers Defense Guard is indispensable.

Cops Attack

Just as the head of the march reached 47th Street, it ran smack into a newly-formed line of cops. Without a word of warning, they plunged into the parade, mounted cops in the lead, with rows of foot cops behind them. The horses were driven straight into the ranks of the marchers, first in the center of the street and then on the sidewalks. Shop windows were shattered to smithereens, and workers wounded by the jagged splinters. Others went down under the horses, as is so graphically revealed by the sensational photographs which were published in the press. Clubs were drawn and swung freely and viciously.

This was not in Czarist Moscow, in Hitler's Berlin or Mussolini's Rome. No! This took place in the domain of "democratic" New York, under the administration of "progressive" Mayor LaGuardia, successful candidate of the American Labor Party in the last election!

Notwithstanding the assault, the lines of the march were still reformed. The parade turned down 47th Street and proceeded once more to Broadway. There a fresh attempt was made to organize a meeting at the Duffy Monument. But another police concentration was on hand and a violent struggle ensued.

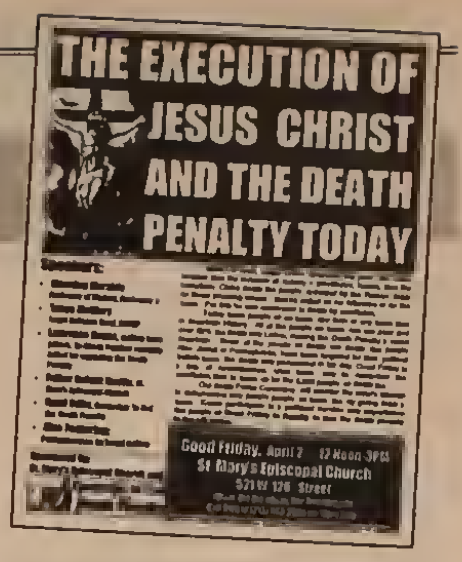
The workers refused to be shoved around. They had seen many of their comrades seriously injured and beaten. When the police sought to disperse the marchers, they encountered the stiffest resistance.

March Terminates

Finally, after breaking through the police line, the crowd drove through to 49th Street, where the march was terminated by an announcement from an SWP speaker whom the police, helplessly trying to break through the firm block of workers, sought in vain to reach so that he could be torn down from the taxicab he had mounted in order to address the marchers.■

On Their Knees for Anybody

ISO and Religion: The Opium of Opportunists



If religion is, in the words of Karl Marx, "the opium of the people"—aimed at stupefying the masses and keeping them chained to the capitalist order—the avowedly Marxist International Socialist Organization (ISO) is a big-time pusher. Last Easter in New York City, the ISO's "Campaign to End the Death Penalty" cosigned and distributed a leaflet urging people to "experience the power of Good Friday" at a meeting on "The Execution of Jesus Christ and the Death Penalty Today." In Poland, the ISO's cothinkers, Pracownicza Demokracja (Employee Democracy)—which is likewise affiliated to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain—took their liberal reformist perspective to the point of parody by calling for reform of that bastion of reaction, the Catholic church. Coming out for democratizing the College of Cardinals—the body which chooses the Pope—*Pracownicza Demokracja* (May 1999) wrote:

> "Elected by a narrow group of unelected cardinals, the Pope doesn't tolerate any opposition to his decisions. On some questions he even claims to be infallible. The pride of the church and its strict hierarchy are far from the situation of the early Christian communities, which elected ordinary people as their bishops."

The Cliffites have a long history of genuflecting to the virulently anti-Communist, anti-Semitic and anti-woman Catholic hierarchy, stemming from their shared support to counterrevolutionary Solidarność (see "Polish Cliffites Whitewash Anti-Semitic Solidarność Priest: The Pope's Leftists," *WV* No. 679, 28 November 1997). But these social democrats are nothing if not ecumenical in tailing religious reaction, as an earlier article in *Pracownicza Demokracja* (January 1999) makes clear in linking the rise of Solidarność in 1980-81 to the Iranian mullah-led movement against the Shah in 1978-79:

> "It's very interesting to realize similarities between the years 1978-79 in Iran and 1980-81 in Poland. In both cases there was a struggle against the regimes, in both cases many of those struggling viewed the 'clergy' as their ally. In Poland as well as in Iran the movement was democratic to the core, although it was joined by people with extremely reactionary views, who masqueraded as friends of the common people. The movements in both Poland and Iran are united also by the aspect of liberation from dependence on a great power. Here from 'Soviets,' there from 'Yankees'."

In a similar vein, the Australian Cliffites last year glorified Indonesian Islamic leader Amien Rais and grotesquely equated the student protests that toppled military dictator Suharto with the Islamic student mobs which "played a role in bringing down the previous Sukarno regime" in 1965-66, an anti-Communist bloodbath in which a million workers, leftists and peasants were slaughtered (*Socialist Worker* [Australia], 6 March 1998).

Why would self-styled socialists embrace reactionary religious movements? The Cliffites take their cue from the likes of Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles, who spoke in 1950 of the "common bond" between the "democratic" imperialists and the "religions of the East" which "cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism" (quoted in Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* [1973]). From their origin as a tendency in 1950 in the midst of the Korean War, the Cliffites have shared the imperialists' visceral hatred for the Soviet Union. Thus they have lined up behind any and all forces opposed to Communism—from sadistic Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan, Iran and Indonesia to the Vatican-backed Solidarność in Poland.

The "liberation" movement of Ayatollah Khomeini cheered by the Cliffites put in power an Islamic fundamentalist regime, no less tyrannical than the Shah's, which imposed a reign of terror against leftists and national and religious minorities and enslaved women in the head-to-toe *chador*. A year later, the Cliffites howled with the imperialist wolves when Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan to suppress a CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalist insurgency there. And when the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy pulled out the troops in 1989 as a gift to the imperialists, the ISO enthused over "the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988).

The victory of the Afghan *mujahedin*, who turned that country into a living hell for women, led in short order to the triumph of Solidarność counterrevolution, ushering in widespread immiseration, mass layoffs and an orgy of clerical reaction targeting women, including a ban on abortion. Yet the Cliffites, who even called themselves "Socialist Solidarność" in Poland until recently, continue to hail this counterrevolutionary movement as "one of the greatest symbols of workers struggle on earth" (*Solidarność Socjalistyczna*, March 1997)!

In Iran in 1978-79, we said: "Down With the Shah! Don't bow to Khomeini! For Workers Revolution!" Against the imperialists and their counterrevolutionary lackeys, we Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, as we do today in regard to China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. We declared: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Stop Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland! We called for proletarian political revolution—premised on defense of the collectivized, planned economy—to oust the sellout Stalinist bureaucracies.

We defended the gains of the October Revolution of 1917 because we fight for new October Revolutions around the world. It is from this programmatic standpoint, based on the interests of the working class independent from and counterposed to the capitalist class, that we organized the mass labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23.

The Cliffites, having made their accommodation with "democratic" capitalism, oppose the perspective of workers revolution and restrict their program to the fight for "democracy." In the U.S., this makes them a tail of the Democratic Party liberals, for whom the main danger on October 23 was not the KKK but the mobilization of the working class—led by open reds—against the racist terrorists. Doing the capitalist Democrats' dirty work, the ISO social democrats went so far as to share a platform with the cops and to help provide a platform for the KKK lynchers. Against the fake-left apologists for religious reaction and racist capitalism, we in the Spartacus Youth Club fight to win youth to the struggle to build the revolutionary workers party that will lead the working class and all the oppressed to liberation through socialist revolution.■

UPI

Socialist Worker
May 1988

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs.
But this does not mean giving

Anti-woman, anti-Communist Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats, fêted by Reagan at White House in 1983, hailed by ISO social democrats.

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

Socialist Worker
—January 1979

THE FORM-RELIGIOUS THE SPIRIT-REVOLUTION!

ISO cheered Khomeini's "Islamic revolution," which enslaved women in veils, carried out mass executions of workers, leftists, national minorities.

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BOSTON

The Fight for Communism and the Class Struggle Today
Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
December 4: ***Trotskyism vs. Stalinism***
Tufts University, Mayer Campus Center, Friedman Room (219)
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Saturdays, 3 p.m.
December 11: ***Black & Red—The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom in a Workers America***
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
(near Clinton stop on Blue Line)
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

LOS ANGELES

Organizer's Eyewitness Report:
Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of New York City!
Black and Red: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom
Thursday, December 2, 12:30 p.m.
Pasadena City College, Bldg. C-253
1570 E. Colorado Blvd. at Hill Ave.
For information: (213) 380-8239 or lasyc@ucla.edu

BAY AREA

Next class: ***Leninism and the Fight for a Revolutionary Party***
Thursday, December 2, 7 p.m.
UC Berkeley, Room 222 Wheeler
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

NEW YORK CITY

Revolutionary Marxism: The Fight for a Socialist Future
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m. at NYU
November 30: ***For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***
Student Events Center, Rm. 305
5 Washington Pl. (at Mercer St.)

Video showings on campus: ***"From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal"***
NYU: Monday, December 6, 7:30 p.m.
Student Events Center, Rm. 608
Columbia: Tuesday, December 7, 8 p.m.
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Smash the Capitalist System of Racism and War!
Wednesday, December 1, 7 p.m.: ***The Revolutionary Party and Its Program***
U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (north of College St.)
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

Polish Solidarność: A Man's World

The following article is translated from Platforma Spartakusowców *No. 10 (Fall-Winter 1999), published by the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP), Polish section of the International Communist League.*

In 1982, when Western bourgeois feminists, social democrats and pseudo-leftists were howling with the likes of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher for "Solidarity with Solidarność," our comrades of the International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) alone warned of the danger this Vatican/CIA-sponsored outfit posed to women:

> "Walesa likes to boast a madonna lapel pin, symbolic of Solidarność' close ties to the Catholic church. The historic role of that institution in keeping women tied to the family hearth, Polish pope Wojtyla's aggressive campaign against abortion, the strong pro-family attitudes of Solidarność—can these forces be the liberators of Polish women? Never!
>
> —"Solidarność: A Man's World," *Women and Revolution* No. 24, Spring 1982 (a translation of this article appears in *Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 6 [1997])

The SGP was founded on the programmatic heritage of the ICL in counterposing the communist program to the forces of capitalist reaction, exemplified by our slogan "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

The restoration of capitalist rule brought women everything we warned about *before* Solidarność took power from the discredited Stalinist bureaucracy—and not just in Poland. It was the bankers' favorite "union," after all, that spearheaded the restoration of capitalism throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union, culminating in 1989-92 in the destruction of the USSR and the deformed workers states of the former Soviet bloc. This world-historic defeat for the working class has led to a vast increase in attacks on working women, from the sweatshops of Southeast Asia to anti-abortion terror in North America and beyond, and the unprecedented rise of woman-hating religious bigotry and enemies of basic human progress around the world.

The collective property forms of the October Revolution, extended to Poland after World War II, laid a basis for the right to free education, full employment and social gains which benefited women. But the parasitic bureaucracy in the Polish deformed workers state, which like its counterpart in the USSR wielded political power under the reactionary myth of "socialism in one country," coddled the Catholic church for decades and glorified the reactionary institution of the family. In the 1930s, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky illuminated the basis of such contradictions in *The Revolution Betrayed*, his powerful analysis of the USSR. Trotsky underlines the promise which Soviet power held out for the liberation of women and the material obstacles to its realization:

> "The October revolution honestly fulfilled its obligations in relation to woman. The young government not only gave her all political and legal rights in equality with man, but, what is more important, did all that it could, and in any case incomparably more than any other government ever did, actually to secure her access to all forms of economic and cultural work.... The revolution made a heroic effort to destroy the so-called 'family hearth'—that archaic, stuffy and stagnant institution in which the woman of the toiling classes performs galley labor from childhood to death....
>
> "It proved impossible to take the old family by storm—not because the will was lacking, and not because the family was so firmly rooted in men's hearts.... Unfortunately society proved too poor and little-cultured.... You cannot 'abolish' the family; you have to replace it. The actual liberation of women is unrealizable on a basis of 'generalized want.' Experience soon proved this austere truth which Marx had formulated eighty years before."

In contrast to the Stalinists' accomodation of reactionary social norms, Trotsky fought for spreading the revolution internationally, especially to the economically advanced countries of West Europe, as the only means of providing the material basis for completing the liberation of women that the October Revolution began.

Gamma-Liaison

Kalbarczyk/Agentur Focus

Solidarność leader Lech Walesa with Vatican sponsors. Right: anti-abortion mobilization in Warsaw, 1997. Capitalist counterrevolution ushered in full-scale onslaught against women's rights.

AP

January protest by nurses against low wages outside parliament building in Warsaw.

Capitalist Restoration Targets Women

It's no accident that the new capitalist state consolidated in 1989-91 by Solidarność aimed its first blows at women, most notably with the ban on abortion. But this was soon followed by attacks against miners, whose resistance to capitalist immiseration transformed itself into a gigantic strike wave in defense of their workplaces. In reality, the bourgeoisie and its capitalist state always herald offensives against the working class as a whole with attacks on its most vulnerable sectors: minorities, women and youth.

Today, a decade after the victory of Solidarność counterrevolution, the desperate situation of women in Poland has begun to create ferment in the small and isolated milieu of Polish feminism, particularly among younger women. This became public in June when a young feminist academic, Agnieszka Graff, published an article questioning the "mythology" of Solidarność in relation to women. Entitled "Patriarchy After Sexmisja" (*Sexmisja* is the title of a popular film from the late 1980s), this piece subsequently sparked a raging controversy in the pages of the bourgeois daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Graff makes some telling points on the profoundly anti-woman political culture of the new capitalist state in Poland, which she terms a "youthful, aggressive patriarchy." Commenting on the rout last March of a proposed constitutional equal rights amendment in parliament, Graff points to:

> "A conviction of the AWS [Electoral Action Solidamość] right shared, in my opinion, by a large part of UW [Freedom Union] and, despite appearances, the SLD [ex-Stalinist social-democratic Democratic Left Alliance], ...which runs more or less as follows: Discrimination—which really should be called 'the natural differences between the sexes'—has always been with us, and will always be. This is as it should be. It's a good thing. It's what our young Polish democracy is all about. Under communism there were women tractor drivers and abortion, but now it's back to normal. Poland is Poland, men are men and women are women."
>
> —*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 19-20 June

The article then goes a step further, pointing to the misogynistic foundations of Solidarność *from the very beginning*. As she points out, during the shipyard strikes of August 1980 which gave rise to Solidarność, reactionary attitudes played a significant role: "In order to make these moods perfectly clear, a slogan was painted on the wall of the striking Gdansk shipyard: WOMEN, DON'T BOTHER US, WE ARE FIGHTING FOR POLAND." "My thesis, which may be shocking, even iconoclastic," writes Graff, "is that the great burst of freedom that was Solidarność represented, on the symbolic plane, the rebirth of the patriarchal order, which had been disrupted by the totalitarian system."

Graff's admission that Solidarność was anti-woman from day one, coming nearly a decade *after* that reactionary movement led the restoration of capitalist misery, is no consolation for millions of Polish women. Despite the view from the writer's ivory tower, there was nothing "symbolic" for millions of Polish working women about the effects of capitalist misery, unbridled clericalism and anti-abortion bans introduced by Solidarność-led capitalist counterrevolution.

But even this academically-couched feminist "thesis"—in the context of massive attacks on women by the current Solidarność-derived AWS/UW government—was like putting a stick in an anthill. After her article appeared, "post-Solidarność" feminists rushed to disavow her criticisms of Solidarność, even while ostensibly "defending" her against "Mother Poland" reactionaries like M. Wielowiejska. While Graff has made no public comment on Solidarność since her article appeared, when an SGP speaker intervened at an October 19 public meeting on feminism in Warsaw, pointing out that women's oppression in Poland today "is the direct result of the restoration of capitalism led by reactionary Solidarność," it was Graff herself who rushed to bureaucratically silence our comrade, later commenting that she "loves capitalism."

While the reactionary nature of "Solidarność" is today no secret, Graff's exposure of the mythology of "good old Solidarność," whatever her own intentions, likewise exposes the bourgeois feminists and fake leftists who throughout the 1980s tailed Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, later complaining of its supposed "degeneration."

The Logic of Feminism

Indeed, the bourgeois feminists' only quarrel with the capitalist society restored by Solidarność in Poland is that it has denied them full access to the boys' club of ruling-class power. As Maria Janion, probably Poland's most prominent academic feminist, complains: "When it was no longer a question of 'solving the crisis of the nation' but of power, privilege and money, Solidarność turned its back on women, letting them know quite clearly that their presence was not welcome" (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 3-4 July).

The logic of feminism is to draw a sex line where Marxists draw a class line. Expressing the aspirations of a thin layer of relatively privileged women, in practice feminism identifies its interests not in the overthrow but in the preservation and

continued on page 13

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Defend Chechen Independence!

Defeat Russian Invasion of Chechnya!

More than 200,000 Chechen men, women and children have already been driven from their homes, many stranded without adequate food or shelter in a freezing no man's land on the border, as Russia's new capitalist rulers once again wage a war of mass terror against Chechnya. The besieged capital of Grozny has been subjected to constant bombing for weeks, including an October 21 missile strike on the downtown central market which killed some 140 people, while Russian forces have now overrun and occupied Chechnya's second largest city, Gudermes. Russian president Boris Yeltsin and the military high command are out to avenge their humiliating defeat in the 1994-96 Chechen war, which resulted in de facto independence for this traditionally Muslim region in the northern Caucasus. Echoing the language of the Nazi Holocaust, Russian general Leonid Ivashov declared: "There should be a final solution to the problem of Chechnya" (*Moscow Times*, 25 September).

At the same time, in Moscow and other Russian cities a murderous pogromist hysteria has been whipped up against not only Chechens but all dark-skinned people from the Caucasus and Central Asia. The slogan "kill the blacks" is scrawled on walls around Moscow. "These people will certainly be destroyed," declared Yeltsin's latest chief henchman, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, as he announced "Operation Whirlwind" against the Chechens.

Behind the chauvinist hysteria lie the mercenary appetites of Russia's new capitalists. The main pipeline from the rich oil fields in and around the Caspian Sea runs through the breakaway Caucasian republic. More broadly, Yeltsin's Russia is intent on asserting its imperialist appetites in the "near abroad," the former Soviet republics of the Caucasus and Central Asia which had been part of the multinational USSR before its counterrevolutionary breakup in 1991-92.

With revolting hypocrisy, the U.S. and the other Western powers which only months ago joined in bombing Serbia back to a pre-industrial era—deliberately targeting bridges, railways, factories—criticize Russian brutality in the Caucasus and strike a posture of "humanitarian" concern for the Chechens. But there is more than hypocrisy at work here: U.S. imperialism has strategic interests in this oil-rich region. On November 18, even as Clinton and other Western leaders chastised Yeltsin at a meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe for his treatment of the Chechens, the U.S. concluded a deal involving Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkey for a new oil pipeline that would not go through Russian territory. The *New York Times* (19 November) reported: "The main significance was that it would draw the new nations near the Caspian, which were part of the Soviet Union only a decade ago, away from Russia and give the United States greater influence in the region."

Reuters

Russian tanks advance on Chechen capital of Grozny. Terror bombing has driven over 200,000 Chechens from their homas.

Particularly in the wake of the U.S./NATO war of domination against Serbia last spring, when Moscow watched Washington arrogantly assert its global "superpower" dominance, Russia's rulers are ever more desperate to hold on to every kilometer of "their" territory. When they started bombing Chechnya in late September, they pointed to NATO's air war against Serbia as a precedent and a model for their actions.

However, post-Soviet Russia's ambitions to be an imperialist power are frustrated by the deepgoing economic and social disintegration generated by capitalist counterrevolution. The central government wields little authority and regional political bosses act as powers unto themselves. After years of corruption, with troops scrambling just to keep from starving, the Russian Army has grown so demoralized that some officers in the northern Caucasus were found to be selling conscript soldiers as forced laborers and even into outright slavery (*Kommersant*, 2 September). Now the army is out to resurrect its authority through a war of conquest in the Caucasus.

As we fought to the end to defend the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution against capitalist restoration, the International Communist League warned that capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe would embolden the U.S. imperialist butchers and lead to economic devastation and bloody fratricidal slaughter within the former bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states. Today the masses of East Europe and the former USSR struggle for survival while the economic catastrophe provides fertile ground for the spread of every sort of reactionary, racist poison.

When the Russian Army invaded Chechnya in late 1994, we proclaimed: "Smash Yeltsin's Invasion of Chechnya!" (*WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995). We wrote:

> "The International Communist League stands for *defeating the invading Russian forces*, whose attempt to subjugate the Chechens can only bring mass terror to this Caucasian people. Furthermore, Chechen resistance is severely weakening would-be Tsar Boris' dictatorial regime, thereby creating a potentially favorable opportunity for the working people of Russia, of all nationalities, to defend themselves against the economic devastation wrought by the capitalist counterrevolution."

Today, we likewise call for military defense of Chechnya against Yeltsin's Russia, without giving an iota of political support to the bourgeois-nationalist and Islamist Chechen forces. *Defeat Russia's invasion—Defend Chechnya's independence! Down with pogramist terror against Caucasian and Central Asian peoples in Russia! For united working-class action against the Yeltsin regime of capitalist immiseration and Great Russian chauvinism! For proletarian socialist revolution throughout the lands of the former Soviet Union!*

Russian Rulers Incite Anti-Chechen Hysteria

Despite overwhelming superiority in manpower and armaments, the Russian military was defeated in 1994-96 by fierce Chechen resistance. Young Russian conscripts, starved and frozen in the trenches, quickly became demoralized fighting this dirty colonial war. They were led by officers who were often as corrupt as they were brutal. The Chechen forces steadily improved their firepower with weapons captured and in some cases purchased from the Russian Army.

When the war ended with a negotiated agreement in mid-1996, about 70,000 civilians and up to 3,000 Chechen fighters had been killed. Hundreds of thousands of refugees fled the region, many of them ethnic Russians whose homes were destroyed by the Russian Army. On the other side, 6,000 Russian soldiers were sent home in body bags and another 20,000 were wounded.

The imperialist media depict Chechnya and other historically Muslim regions of the former Soviet Union as always having chafed under the thumb of "Soviet imperialism." In fact, despite the mismanagement and Russian nationalism of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy, under Soviet rule the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia achieved literally centuries of social and economic progress. In an informative article on Chechnya in *New Left Review* (September/October 1999) written just before the recent Russian invasion, Georgi M. Derluguian states: "In the 1960s, Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus were commonly described as the showcase of modernization, and it was no mere propagandistic claim."

What drove secessionist movements in the region was the counterrevolutionary collapse of the Soviet Union. Derluguian notes:

> "The oil deposits of Chechnya have been nearing depletion since the late 1970s. Its rusting industrial parks, the decrepit infrastructure and the badly strained social services were almost paralyzed by the generalized bankruptcy of the Soviet economy even before the war devastation of 1994-96."

When the USSR existed, many Chechens found work in Soviet industrial centers, which suffered from chronic labor shortages. But "the collapse of the Soviet economy closed this valve." Petty entrepreneurs then turned Chechnya into what Moscow officials called a "criminal free trade zone" for trade with Near Eastern countries. Following its defeat in 1996, Russia moved to cut off this trade in order to bring Chechnya to its knees.

In withdrawing its forces, Moscow implicitly accepted Chechnya's claim to independence. However, it was agreed that the country's formal status would remain indeterminate for five years. While the end of the war was welcomed by the mass of the Russian people, the military high command, the security forces and other so-called "power ministries" in Moscow waited and prepared to avenge their humiliating defeat by the Chechens and to reassert Moscow's rule in the Caucasus. Reportedly, some Russian generals are now threatening a coup if Yeltsin/Putin, in response to Western diplomatic pressure, cut a deal with the Chechen leaders.

The Russian devastation of Chechnya destroyed what little authority was exercised by the central government in Grozny. The "destruction of modern institutions inherited from the Soviet past" and the "brutalizing effects" of the war, as Derluguian puts it, forced the population to "seek the favour and protection of various warlords." The region was beset by rival guerrilla groups, usually based on clan loyalties and espousing Chechen nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. The growth of Islam was a devastating blow for many Chechens, "whose hard-won social status, skills, lifestyle and expectations—all developed in the modern urban environment—became devalued or simply useless."

Last August, a group led by Shamil Basayev, a leader of the 1994-96 war who garnered a quarter of the vote in Chechnya's presidential elections in 1997, made a foray into neighboring Dagestan, a part of the Russian Federation, with the declared intent of setting up an Islamic state. There was little support for Basayev's fundamentalist adventurers in Dagestan, which is far more ethnically diverse than Chechnya

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EPA

Dark-skinnad paople in Moscow hava baen rounded up and daported in the tens of thousands in pogromist onslaught against Caucasians and Central Asians.

Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

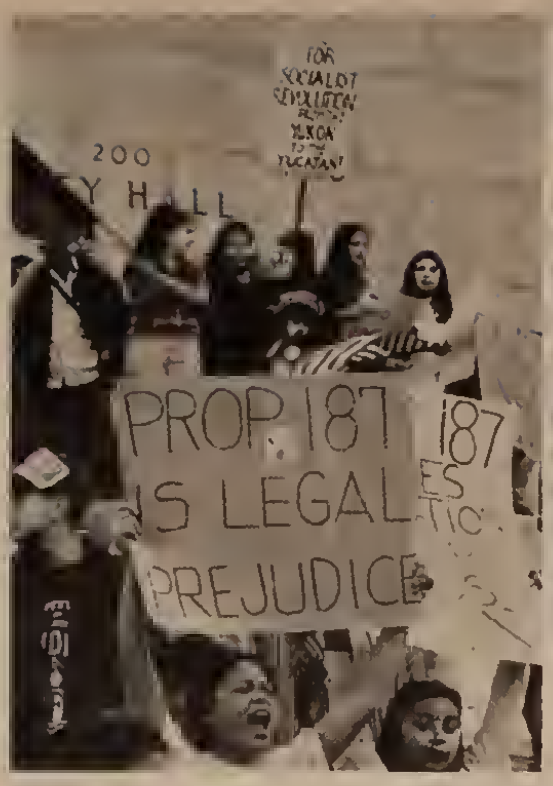
that they prosecuted the cops for assault. However, a judge decided that the cops could not get a fair trial before a jury of their peers in L.A.—there were too many blacks, Latinos and Asians. So the trial was held in an affluent, very white suburb called Simi Valley 40 miles north of central L.A.

Some black people from L.A. attended the trial hoping to see that justice was done. But justice was not done. When the "not guilty" verdict was announced, a middle-aged black woman who was there said: "I am not given to riot. But just you watch, something's going to break." And break it did. Blacks in the South Central L.A. ghetto took to the streets in what would be officially called the largest "civil disturbance" in recent U.S. history. At its end, 45 people were dead, mostly blacks killed by the cops, and billions of dollars in property was destroyed.

At the heart of South Central is the neighborhood of Watts. Almost three decades earlier, in 1965, the arrest of a black motorist in Watts triggered one of the first of the ghetto rebellions which shook America in that turbulent period. Watts became a symbol, a synonym as it were, for the angry black ghetto. Now, once again, South Central had become an angry black ghetto. But it had become something else, too: an angry Latino barrio.

Large-scale immigration had radically changed the ethnic make-up of South Central and adjacent neighborhoods. The residents of these newly formed barrios took to the streets along with black people. In fact, more Latinos were arrested than blacks, though most of those killed were blacks. Of the Latinos arrested, 80 percent were foreign-born; 25 percent had been in the U.S. less than two years. A white journalist of far from liberal views described them as "desperately poor young immigrants who had fled poverty or political repression in Central America and Mexico, lived in conditions of hideous overcrowding, and worked for subminimum wages under constant fear of deportation. Mothers did not hesitate to take food, clothing and diapers from half-looted and unguarded stores" (Lou Cannon, *Official Negligence: How Rodney King and the Riots Changed Los Angeles and the LAPD* [1997]).

For the moment, a shared hatred for the cops and more generally the "white power structure," as it was called in the 1960s, overcame the traditional antagonisms between rival black and Latino street gangs. Spray-painted on the wall of a building in South Central was the slogan: "Crips Bloods Mexicans together forever tonite 4/30/92." The Crips and Bloods are L.A.-based black gangs.



WV Photos

Protests against California anti-immigrant Prop. 187 in Los Angeles, November 1994. Sign at head of convoy of Latino truckers at Port of L.A. reads: "Long Live the Immigrant Workers' Struggle—United Against Racism and Discrimination."

Capitalist Exploiters Foster Racist Divisions

The recent immigration into Southern California had another impact, a very ugly one. Black and Latino looters especially targeted shops owned by Korean immigrants. They couldn't burn down the Parker Center—the LAPD headquarters. It was too well guarded. They couldn't burn down the Bank of America or Wells Fargo headquarters. So in their anger and frustration, they turned against local shopkeepers whom they saw as outsiders, of an alien nationality and economically better off than themselves.

Moreover, the sense of unity between blacks and Latino immigrants against the white racist powers that be did not long survive the suppression of the riots by the police, the National Guard and the U.S. armed forces. Self-declared spokesmen for the black and Hispanic communities engaged in hostile competition over government money earmarked for rebuilding South Central and the other damaged neighborhoods. And in doing so, they used the same kind of demagogy as white racists.

A black real estate operator, Danny Bakewell, headed up an outfit called Brotherhood Crusade Black United Front, which was crusading for more black-owned businesses. At one point Bakewell confronted some Latino construction workers cleaning up South Central. He physically pulled one of them off a tractor and baited them in pidgin Spanish: "*Vámanos a la casa. No trabajo. Andale.*" In English: "Let's go home. No work. Get going."

Bakewell's opposite number was a Mexican American businessman, Fernando Oaxaca, who boasted that Latinos "are people who still believe in themselves and still believe in the American dream. They deserve help in building a new L.A. because they will take the ball and run with it. They have not thrown up their hands and said, 'Feed me,' the way so many blacks have."

So just a few months after the black and Latino poor took to the streets expressing their solidarity as oppressed peoples against their oppressor, self-styled black and Latino leaders sought to pit blacks and Latinos against one another over a handful of government-funded jobs. And two years later, half of all black voters supported California Proposition 187, a reactionary measure to deprive "illegal" immigrants of public health and their children of public education.

This is a clear example of a basic contradiction in all capitalist societies and especially this American capitalist society. The structure and operation of the capitalist system at times impel workers to overcome racial, national and religious divisions and engage in common struggle against their exploiters. But, of course, the exploiters don't want that to happen. So the ruling class—through the educational system, the media, the churches, their political parties, Democratic and Republican, as well as the labor bureaucracy—foments divisions within the working class along racial, national and religious lines.

White and also black working people are told that there will be more and better jobs available for them if "illegal" immigration is halted and immigrants who are here illegally deported. White working people are told that their taxes can be cut 10, 20, 30 percent if the government ends welfare for the black poor.

In many labor strikes you will see black, white and Hispanic workers walking the picket lines together. In some cases, they'll stand shoulder to shoulder confronting the cops who are trying to bring scabs through the picket lines. They'll go out to a bar together and get drunk and curse the bosses, curse the cops, curse the local government officials.

Yet six months later some of these same white workers will vote for capitalist politicians—Republican or Democrat—who openly appeal to anti-black racism, who run on a platform of "welfare reform" and "getting tough on crime." "Welfare reform" is a code word for kicking poor black women and their children into the streets. "Getting tough on crime" means putting ever larger numbers of young black men behind bars. And many black workers will support black Democrats who call for "getting tough" on "illegal" immigration.

Which tendency—that toward working-class unity in the struggle against capitalist exploitation or toward antagonistic divisions along racial and ethnic lines—will prevail in the historic long run? For class unity to prevail it is necessary to build a revolutionary vanguard party modeled on the Bolshevik Party which Lenin built in the Russian tsarist empire at the beginning of this century.

Liberals tend to condemn the concept of a vanguard party as elitism. But we are not alien to the working class, seeking to impose our goals from the outside. Rather we represent in a conscious and consistent way the powerful *inner* tendency of the working class toward united struggle against capitalist exploitation, ultimately for socialist revolution. For this to succeed, we have to fight the powerful forces seeking to divide the working class along racial and national lines.

Here is how Marx defined the difference between communists and other tendencies in the workers movement in the *Communist Manifesto*:

> "The Communists are distinguished from other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole."

These Marxist principles are reflected in the slogan "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" on one of the Spartacist League signs in this room.

Debsian Socialism and Black Oppression

In the United States today, it is generally held that race, not class, is the most fundamental division in American society. This view is expressed on the left by the term "people of color," which has become fashionable among left-liberals and radicals over the past decade or so. This is not simply a neutral description of those ethnic groups which are or are deemed to be nonwhite.

Behind the term "people of color" is a political outlook and implicit program. First, it says something about the people of no color, namely, whites. It says that no significant section of the white population, including white workers, can be expected to fight the racist oppression of people of color. Secondly, it holds that all people in the U.S. considered to be nonwhite have or should have common interests and a strong sense of solidarity with one another—to put it crudely, that a black auto worker or a Mexican agricultural laborer has fundamentally more in common with a Chinese American real estate mogul or Indian immigrant doctor than with a construction worker of Irish or Italian lineage.

Interestingly, there was a time when exactly the opposite view was prevalent on the American left. In the early years of

Socialist Party

Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs (center) organizing his 1920 presidential election campaign from behind prison walls.

Steve Appleford

Racist cop roundup, Los Angeles, 1992, as black and Latino poor joined in explosion of outrage over acquittal of cops who beat black motorist Rodney King.

this century, before World War I and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, most American leftists held that the working class should have a colorblind proletarian socialist consciousness. The best-known exponent of this view was Eugene V. Debs, the most prominent and widely respected socialist leader of the day.

I'm going to discuss Debs' position on race and class in the U.S. not because I think any of you subscribe to a similar view. I'm sure you don't. But because the old Debsian position was the polar opposite of the current "people of color" notion, it illuminates the basic fallacy of the latter.

Unlike many of the right-wing Socialist leaders of his time, Debs was in no way a racist. In fact, he fought against the exclusion of black workers from the trade unions, which was then a common practice. Debs believed the racist oppression of black people could be eliminated only after the socialist transformation of American society. And if black workers were to contribute to that transformation, they had to think and act solely in their role as workers, disregarding that they were also members of an oppressed racial caste.

In 1903, Debs put forward a motion to a Socialist Party convention, which stated:

> "We declare to the Negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles with the interests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to race or color or sectional lines; that the causes which have made him the victim of social and political inequality are the effects of the long exploitation of his labor power; that all social and race prejudices spring from the ancient economic causes which still endure, to the misery of the whole human family, that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor."

In explaining and motivating this position, he used the following argument:

> "What social distinction is there between a white and a black deckhand on a Mississippi steamboat? Is it visible even with the aid of a microscope? They are both slaves, work side by side, sometimes a bunch of black slaves under a white 'boss' and at other times a herd of white slaves under a black 'boss'."
>
> —Jean Y. Tussey, ed., *Debs Speaks* (1970)

The kindest thing one can say about this was that Debs was abysmally ignorant of the social and racial realities of the American South. There were *no* black bosses in the South at that time, or in the North for that matter, ordering white workers about. But Debsian socialists and other leftists were blinded to social reality by their dogmatic belief that the workers could not unite to overthrow capitalism unless they had an identical political consciousness, unless they thought of themselves only as workers. So they viewed what would today be called ethnic or race consciousness as a purely negative factor, as something that had to be overcome and transcended on the road to a socialist transfomation.

There was no understanding that black workers or Mexican workers had fewer illusions in and ties to the existing bourgeois order. For example, many Irish workers had brothers, uncles or cousins who were cops. But this was not true of black or Mexican workers at the time. More generally, there was no understanding that workers of an oppressed people were more likely to support the overthrow of the existing social system not only to end their exploitation as workers but also to end their oppression as a distinct people.

Leninism on the Black Question

Underlying the Debsian concept of a colorblind socialist consciousness was an idealization of working-class consciousness in a more general sense. The basic aim of a socialist party was seen as imbuing the large majority of the working class with a high level of socialist consciousness, a level which in reality is only possible in a socialist society, in fact, several generations into a socialist society.

This is a central difference between Debsian socialism and Leninism. Leninists understand that the very structure of capitalism produces different levels of social and political consciousness within the working class, ranging from communist consciousness to the most reactionary forms of racist and chauvinist bigotry and religious obscurantism, with all gradations and variations in between. And one of the most important factors determining more advanced or more backward consciousness is whether a worker is a member of an oppressed nationality or people or of an oppressor nationality. (For more on the difference between Debsian socialism and Leninism in this regard, you can read American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon's "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement" in his *The First Ten Years of American Communism*.)

We often describe ourselves as the party of the Russian Revolution, the first and to date only successful proletarian revolution in history. While this revolution was made in Russia, it was not made solely for Russia nor solely by Russians. Non-Russians, members of the many oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire —Jews, Georgians, Poles, Latvians— played an exceptional role in the leadership of the largely ethnically Russian working class and other toilers. Leon Trotsky, who with Lenin was co-leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, addressed this question in his *History of the Russian Revolution*:

> "Since the intelligentsia of the oppressed nationalities—concentrated as they were for the most part in cities—had flowed copiously into the revolutionary ranks, it is not surprising that among the old generation of revolutionaries the number of non-Russians was especially large. Their experience, although not always of a high quality, made them irreplaceable when it came to inaugurating new social forms.... At a moment of deep historic change, the bulk of a nation always presses into its service those elements which were yesterday most oppressed, and therefore most ready to give expression to the new tasks. It is not that aliens lead the revolution, but that the revolution makes use of the aliens."

In working, from his enforced exile in Mexico in the 1930s, with his American supporters to build a revolutionary vanguard party in the U.S. as part of the struggle for a new Fourth International, Trotsky applied the same conceptual approach to blacks in the U.S. as the Bolsheviks had to non-Russian peoples in the tsarist empire. He recognized that blacks were slated to play an exceptional role in an American proletarian revolution. Thus in 1939 he stated in discussions with his American comrades:

> "If the workers' aristocracy is the basis of opportunism, one of the sources of adaptation to capitalist society, then the most oppressed and discriminated are the most dynamic milieu of the working class.
>
> "We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class."

The Notion of "People of Color"

The mass black struggles beginning with the Southern civil rights movement in the late 1950s and culminating in the ghetto rebellions in the Northern cities in the 1960s in *one sense* vindicated Trotsky's view that blacks were the most dynamic, the most radicalized section of American society, the most hostile to the existing bourgeois order. However, these struggles were led not by communists but by petty-bourgeois elements espousing either liberal or nationalist politics. And they took place outside of, and in some cases were counterposed to, the organized labor movement.

These struggles led to a significant change in the prevalent ideology of American liberalism and also of much of the American left, which tends to mirror in a more radical form liberal ideology and politics. Liberals could not, of course, recognize that the oppression and impoverishment of the black masses was fundamentally rooted in the structure of American capitalism. Instead they blamed it on the racism of the white population of all social classes and maintained that this racism reflected the economically privileged position of the white population.

This view received official sanction from the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by the liberal Republican governor of Illinois, Otto Kerner, which was set up in the late 1960s to study the underlying causes of the ghetto rebellions. Its basic conclusion was: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." This view of American society was restated in the early 1990s by white liberal intellectual Andrew Hacker in *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*.

In one sense, such a "two nations" view of American society logically leads to quite pessimistic conclusions as far as blacks are concerned. After all, black people make up only 10 or 12 percent of the population. If the dominant white "nation" supports racist oppression and, moreover, economically benefits from it, then what hope is there for blacks? They can either emigrate or they can accept and adapt to a society that is separate, hostile to them and unequal. The right-wing nationalism of Louis Farrakhan is a logical conclusion of a "two nations" view of American society. In practice, Farrakhan's program consists in driving Asian shopkeepers out of the ghettos and replacing them with blacks. This is called "black capitalism" or "black economic empowerment."

However, the large majority of blacks do not support Farrakhanite right-wing nationalism, nor do white liberals and leftists. They want a progressive solution to the oppression of blacks and other nonwhites, but within an ideological framework which sees *race not class* as the basic division in American society. And here, I think, is the origin of the concept of "people of color."

Even in the 1960s, before the big influx of immigration from Latin America and East Asia, the U.S. population did not consist solely of European-derived whites and African-derived blacks. There were also Asians. There were Latinos, most of whom were physically distinguishable from European-derived whites—in the case of Puerto Ricans by African ancestry, in the case of Mexicans by American Indian ancestry. And there were Native Americans. So if the concept of a "black nation" is expanded into a "nonwhite nation," then the balance of demographic and presumably political forces becomes more equal. Thus it's become commonplace to say that California has become or is about to become a "majority minority state," with the total number of Latinos, blacks, Asians and Native Americans exceeding non-Hispanic whites.

Basically, the concept of "people of color" is an ideological construct designed to get around the perceived ingrained racism of whites. Implicit and sometimes explicit in this concept is the view that the class differences within the white population are not such that white workers will oppose the racist oppression of nonwhite peoples. But this concept has no more correspondence to American social reality than the old Debsian notion that there were no significant differences between white and black workers in the American South.

I live in the Oakland-Berkeley region of the San Francisco Bay Area, an area in which all major components of "people of color" are well represented. I have a part-time job as a bookkeeper in a methadone clinic in the North Oakland-South Berkeley ghetto, where most of the clients are black people who work at marginal, minimum-wage jobs or are hustlers, prostitutes, people who are in and out of prison. My dentist is a second-generation Japanese American, and there

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UPI

Evicted Southern sharecroppers, as 1930s Depression made millions homeless and jobless. Workers organized by Communist Party prepare for demonstration outside White House, 1930.

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Immigrants...

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are a lot of Asian Americans and Asian immigrants in the medical profession in California.

The clinic where I work and my dentist's office are only three or four miles apart. But they constitute totally different and separate social worlds. There is no sense of common identity and solidarity between a Japanese American medical professional and a black ghetto youth. Likewise, there is no sense of identity between a Puerto Rican welfare mother in the South Bronx and an Indian immigrant computer programmer.

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Immigrants arrive at Ellis Island, 1913. As need for immigrant labor dried up, capitalists stopped flow of immigration from East and South Europe in mid-1920s.

Latinos: Race and Class Divisions

The fallacy of amalgamating blacks, Latinos and Asians as "people of color" can be seen clearly if we look at rates of intermarriage. Intermarriage is both the best index of the *hardness* of racial, national and religious divisions at the base of society and the principal social mechanism for integration across those divisions. And here the difference between blacks on the one hand and Latinos and Asians on the other is striking, even among the younger generation who might be expected to be more liberal about marriage.

In 1990, only 6 percent of black men between the ages of 25 and 34 had non-Hispanic white wives and 2 percent of black women had white husbands. By contrast, 31 percent of U.S.-born Latinos in this age group—both men and women—had non-Hispanic white spouses, 36 percent of Asian American men had white wives and 45 percent of Asian American women had white husbands. It is true that Asians and Latinos are considered not white in this society and suffer accordingly. But they are deemed a lot less "not white" than blacks.

Moreover, the difference in intermarriage between blacks and Hispanics is not only quantitative but also *qualitative* in its economic effects on the children of such marriages. In 1990, the average annual income of Mexican American men in the Los Angeles area was $31,000 compared to $48,000 for non-Hispanic white males. Thus a Chicana married to a non-Hispanic white will have a husband who earns *50 percent more* on average than a Mexican American. Her white in-laws are likely to have accumulated three or four times more wealth than a Latino family. Her children, consequently, are far more likely to have the financial means for a college education. And in the present-day U.S., a college education is the main social mechanism for advancement from the working class into more affluent petty-bourgeois strata (professionals, corporate managers, government bureaucrats). Also, in the large majority of cases such children will *not* be raised in Spanish-speaking or bilingual households and thus will *not shore* the main common feature of the otherwise highly diverse Hispanic population in the U.S. Culturally, they will be like non-Hispanic whites.

The *opposite* is the case for the children of mixed black-white marriages. There is no distinction between mulattos and blacks in the U.S. as there is in the Caribbean and South America. As one left-wing Puerto Rican intellectual put it, on the mainland unlike the island, "one drop of black blood makes you black." The children of interracial couples, however light-skinned, will be viewed and treated in this society as black.

This points to the fallacy of the very notion of a cohesive pan-Hispanic minority, much less of a "people of color," in this country. Since many Puerto Ricans (and Dominicans) are manifestly of black African origin, they directly encounter the hard racial divide in American society. Economically, they tend to be far worse off than many other Hispanics in the U.S. Politically, because all Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens they tend to be less concerned with American immigration policies and more concerned with the future of the island colony's relations with the U.S. At the other extreme politically and economically are the Cubans, centered on rich and middle-class émigrés from the 1959 Cuban Revolution who have been welcomed here by the anti-Communist U.S. rulers.

SouthWest Organizing Project

Los Angeles, 1931: Mass deportation of Mexican workers amid intense anti-Mexican racism fueled by widespread unemployment.

Even among the Mexican-derived Latinos who now make up about 65 percent of the Hispanic population in the U.S., there is a clear and politically important division between third- and fourth-generation Mexican Americans (Chicanos) and Mexican immigrants (Mexicanos). Many of the descendants of the first wave of Mexican immigrants, who arrived between 1900 and 1930, do not even speak Spanish and have few personal ties to the millions of post-1965 immigrants. A Mexican immigrant in Southern California or Texas is far more likely to encounter a Chicano as a sweatshop boss than as a protective relative.

Immigration and Nativist Reaction In American History

Closely related to the concept of "people of color" is the idea that large-scale immigration, especially from Latin America, is going to radically alter this country's ethnic make-up and consequent political balance of forces. A liberal Latino intellectual, Roberto Suro, recently came out with a book, *Strangers Among Us: How Latino Immigration Is Transforming America*, in which he argues that Latino immigrants and their children will provide the demographic basis for the renewed dominance of liberalism in American political life. Along similar lines, the editor of the bilingual journal *Latina* says that while the slogan of the civil rights movement was "We shall overcome," the slogan of Latinos should be "We shall overwhelm."

This attitude is based on and bolstered by projections that over the next few generations, the Hispanic population will become an ever larger percentage of the total population. For example, a study by the semi-official National Research Council projects that by the middle of the next century, 26 percent of the U.S. population will be Hispanic, 14 percent black, 8 percent Asian and only slightly over half white.

How are these figures arrived at? The key assumption is that the present high level of immigration, running about 800,000 annually, will continue. In a pamphlet in the mid-1990s, Suro presented immigration from Latin America as a kind of unstoppable demographic tide:

> "Immigration to the United States now represents a huge and well-established demographic force with its own dynamic.... Having encouraged the development of this human flow over the past thirty years, the United States will be hard-pressed to change its direction with a one-shot overhaul of immigration laws."
>
> —*Watching America's Door: The Immigration Backlash and the New Policy Debate* (1996)

This is radically false. Immigration is not a demographic force with its own dynamic; it is a matter of government policy which is changeable and reversible and has often been changed and reversed over the course of American history. For example, in two periods in modern American history—in the early 1930s and again in the mid-1950s—the U.S. government effected the massive repatriation of Mexican immigrants along with their American-born children. Immigration policy is usually determined by the interplay of different factions and interest groups within the ruling class. But it can also be affected by mass working-class struggle against the capitalists and their state.

Immigration poses a basic contradiction for the American ruling class. On the one hand, large-scale immigration, by expanding the pool of exploitable labor, especially at the low end of the wage spectrum, enables capitalists to maximize their profits. At the same time, large-scale immigration is seen by America's rulers as a potential threat—if not in the present then in future—to their political and ethnic-cultural dominance.

In 1990, the average annual income of Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrant males in the Los Angeles area was $11,000 compared to $48,000 for non-Hispanic whites, a difference in the rate of exploitation of roughly 5 to 1. Throughout the rest of the U.S. as well, Latino immigrants do the hardest, dirtiest, most menial jobs for minimum or subminimum wages. A town supervisor in Huntington, Long Island, a suburb of New York City, stated: "If we didn't have this population, the dishes and silverware in our diners probably wouldn't be clean" (*New York Times*, 21 May).

But Latino immigrants are not automatic dishwashing machines in human form. They can and do fight back against their capitalist exploiters. They organize unions and battle the cops on picket lines. In Southern California, immigrants from Mexico and Central America have been in the forefront of labor militancy, and they also joined with blacks in the 1992 L.A. upheaval. So the American ruling class is worried, and rightly so, that Latino immigrants and especially their American-born children can make a lot of trouble for them.

There's a recurring pattern in American history that periods of large-scale immigration are followed by periods of nativist reaction. The beginnings of industrial capitalism in this country in the 1840s saw mass immigration by Irish Catholics and Germans. And this provoked a strong nativist reaction the following decade. A major party called the American Party, generally known as the Know-Nothing Party, emerged demanding not only a radical reduction in immigration but an extension of the residency period required for immigrants to become citizens from five to fourteen years.

This nativist reaction was politically defeated by liberal elements in the ruling class represented by Abraham Lincoln. Significantly, the man who assassinated Lincoln, John Wilkes Booth, had been a supporter of the Know-Nothing Party before he became a supporter of the slaveholding Southern Confederacy. Because the anti-immigrant nativism of the 1850s was politically defeated, there are a lot of descendants of Irish and German immigrants in the U.S. today.

But the next time around, the outcome was very different. After gold was discovered in California in the late 1840s, there was a sudden massive increase in the demand for labor. And California's newly wealthy capitalists met that demand by importing labor from China. Chinese immigrants accounted for 80 percent of the workers who built the Western branch of the transcontinental railroad after the Civil War. This was very hard, dangerous work in which over 1,200 Chinese laborers were killed.

However, after the railroad was built whites from the rest of the country poured into California and other Western states, and a massive and violent anti-Chinese

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Brown Brothers, Public Affairs Press

Chauvinist labor lieutenants of capital: AFL leader Samuel Gompers (right) excluded black workers from unions, while California Workingmen's Party formed in 1870s demanded: "The Chinese Must Go!"

reaction set in. Mobs attacked Chinese communities, wantonly killing men, women and children. And in 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, cutting off further immigration of laborers from China. The same pattern was then repeated with regard to immigration from Japan.

Between the 1880s and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the United States became the strongest industrial power in the world, surpassing Britain and Germany. This required a huge increase in the supply of labor, which was met by Southern and East European immigrants who were traditionally Catholic. After World War I, a strong nativist reaction spearheaded by the Ku Klux Klan developed against this new immigrant population. Most people think of the Klan as a Southern-based organization which targets black people. But in the 1920s, the Klan grew most rapidly in the Midwest, in states like Ohio and Indiana, agitating against South and East Europeans as well as blacks.

In 1924, a new immigration law established so-called "national origin" quotas. In the following year, the number of immigrants fell from slightly over 700,000 to slightly under 300,000, a *60 percent drop*, and further immigration from East and South Europe was effectively reduced to a trickle.

The onset of the Great Depression in the early 1930s saw an intense wave of anti-Mexican agitation in the Western states. Racist demagogues attacked Mexicans for "stealing" jobs. In this period, almost half a million Mexicans were repatriated by local and state authorities and the federal government. For example, the county of Los Angeles organized special trains to take so-called *repatriados* back to Mexico. And their American-born children, who were legally U.S. citizens, of course, had to go with them.

After World War II, the U.S. continued to pursue a highly restrictive immigration policy. The 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act perpetuated the racist "national origin" quotas. The only exception was refugees from Communist countries, which is how the anti-Castro Cuban counterrevolutionaries got in.

At the same time, the U.S. government was very tough on illegal immigration in this period. In the mid-1950s, there was a military-style campaign called Operation Wetback, headed by a retired army general. In two years, 1.3 million Mexicans were rounded up and deported.

The New Immigration: Causes and Effects

In the 1960s, the political conditions affecting immigration policy changed and, more importantly, in the '70s the economic conditions changed. The openly racist character of American immigration law, along with legalized racial segregation in the South, was an embarrassment for U.S. imperialism in its Cold War against the Soviet Union, especially in the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. The American ambassador to India, for example, found it hard to explain why Indians could not become citizens in the bastion of the "free world" while anyone from Britain, India's former colonial ruler, could become a naturalized American citizen easily. So in the mid-1960s, around the same time that federal civil rights legislation was enacted, immigration law was changed to eliminate the "national origin" quotas. However, the overall quota remained fairly low.

The liberalization of immigration law occurred as American manufacturers began to face stiff competition from Japan and Germany and U.S. economic growth slowed. In the mid-1970s, there was a short but quite sharp world economic downturn. Profits fell, the stock market fell.

In response, American capitalists launched a concerted effort to intensify the rate of exploitation of labor. They demanded and got from the union bureaucrats "giveback" contracts with lower wages and benefits. They established two-tier wage systems with young workers earning less for doing the same job as older workers. They shifted production from the unionized North and Midwest to the non-union South and to low-wage countries in East Asia and Latin America.

From the standpoint of the American ruling class, these policies were very successful. A few weeks ago, the *New York Times* (5 September) ran an article, "Gap Between Rich and Poor Found Substantially Wider." In 1977, the average after-tax income of the poorest 20 percent of American households was about $10,000. Today, adjusting for inflation, it's only $8,880, a 12 percent decline. The real income of the next poorest 20 percent of American households has fallen by almost 10 percent. By contrast, the income of the top 20 percent has increased by almost 40 percent and that of the top 1 percent by almost 120 percent!

One of the factors behind these figures has been the massive exploitation of immigrant labor, legal and "illegal." In the early 1980s, there was a difference on immigration policy within the right-wing Republican administration of Ronald Reagan. One group favored large-scale immigration as a means of driving down labor costs. Another group opposed it on racist grounds, for diluting the "white" majority of the American nation. At the time, the first group had the upper hand. Reagan personally shot down a proposal for tamper-proof identity cards for all citizens and legal residents—kind of like the old South African pass system. He also opposed stiff penalties for employers who knowingly hire undocumented immigrants. That's not surprising since the biggest employer of undocumented Mexican immigrants is California agribusiness, which was a major Reagan financial backer.

There's a hackneyed saying that politics makes strange bedfellows. Well, in the 1980s immigration politics really did make strange bedfellows. Latino rights groups led by leftist radicals, who enthused over Castro's Cuba and Sandinista Nicaragua, worked hand in hand with Reaganite business lobbyists to oppose anti-immigrant legislation promoted by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy and black liberal Democrats like the late Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan.

However, since the early '90s the pendulum of bourgeois politics has been swinging ever more strongly toward anti-immigrant nativism. Thus in 1996 Congress passed and Clinton signed into law the Illegal Immigrant and Immigrant Responsibility Act, which beefed up the repressive forces of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and signaled a new get-tough policy. In the next two years, almost 300,000 immigrants were deported, more than twice as many as in the prior two years, including many who had been living and working in the U.S. for years. Also subject to deportation under the new laws are legal residents convicted of crimes, even misdemeanors like driving under the influence of alcohol.

Mustell/Yakima Herald-Republic

Protest last March against INS-ordered mass firing of undocumented Mexican workers in Yakima, Washington. Attacks on immigrant workers are aimed at weakening entire labor movement.

Earlier this year, INS agents in Yakima, Washington—a city in the central agricultural region of the state—forced the owners of food-processing plants and warehouses to fire nearly 600 Mexican workers who did not have the proper legal documents. These men and women, many with small children, suddenly lost their livelihoods and face desperate economic straits. The INS agent in charge of the Yakima operation declared: "We want to send a message south to Mexico that things are not like they used to be" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 15 March).

This is happening under economic conditions of supposedly unprecedented "prosperity." Imagine what will happen when the economy turns down, especially in a deep and prolonged depression. There will be enormous pressures to completely militarize the border with Mexico, to deport or otherwise force the repatriation of the 5.5 million "illegal" immigrants now in the U.S. We're likely to see an increase in violent right-wing and fascist attacks on Latinos and Asians as well as blacks. All of this underlines that there is no scientific basis for long-term or even medium-term projections of the Hispanic population, because this is critically dependent on the level of immigration (or repatriation), which will be determined through *future political struggle*.

For Class Struggle Against Anti-Immigrant Racism

To paraphrase Marx, our task is not just to understand the world and predict the course of future development, but to *change* the world and the course of developments. The Illegal Immigrant and Immigrant Responsibility Act—just like anti-union laws such as the Taft-Hartley Act—does *not* represent the democratic will of the American people. These laws represent the will of the capitalist class and are used against the working people, even if most workers in the U.S. do not now understand that.

We seek to mobilize the working class, centrally through the trade unions, to defend immigrants against both government and fascist attacks. No less important is to fight against the superexploitation of immigrant labor—both legal and "illegal"—through the unionization of these increasingly important sections of the American proletariat. This program obviously means confronting the capitalists and their political agents in the Democratic and Republican parties, the company goons, the cops, the National Guard, the whole repressive apparatus of the American state.

But there is also a powerful force opposing working-class struggle *within* the labor movement—i.e., the pro-capitalist bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO—especially through its ties to the Democratic Party. By way of example, a recent issue of *Workers Vanguard* (No. 719, 17 September) contains an article, "Chinese Immigrant Workers in Racist America," which details how the leadership of the UNITE textile and clothing workers union has connived with the employers to perpetuate sweatshop labor in New York City and Los Angeles. An effective struggle against the capitalist class and its state also requires a political struggle to oust the incumbent trade-union bureaucracy and replace it with a leadership committed to fighting for the interests of the working class and all sections of the oppressed.

But our program is not limited to defending the working class and the black and Latino poor against the efforts to make their conditions even worse than they already are. As long as the capitalists have their state, their army, their police, their FBI and CIA, these will be used against the exploited and oppressed at home and abroad—the incineration of the Waco Branch Davidians by the FBI, the New York cops pumping 41 bullets into the young African immigrant Amadou Diallo, the terror bombing of Serbia by the U.S. Air Force.

So we want to take the state and its armed forces away from them. We're fighting for a socialist revolution which will smash the capitalist state and erect in its place a workers state and an American Red Army. That's our long-term goal. And if that sounds good to you, you should join us. It will be a long, hard fight, but I assure you it will be challenging.■

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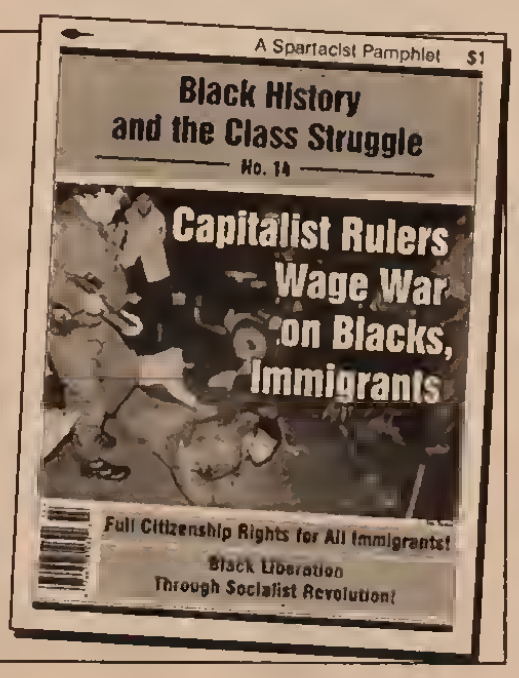


Chechnya...

(continued from page 7)

—including a sizable Slavic population—and relies on Moscow for economic subsidies. A prominent Dagestani intellectual, Nabi Abdullaev, asserted: "The last thing the Dagestanis want is to be ruled by Chechnya" (*Financial Times* [London], 29 September). After a few weeks of hard fighting, Basayev's guerrillas pulled out of Dagestan.

Around the same time, Moscow and other Russian cities were rocked by a series of explosions in shopping malls and apartment buildings, in which over 300 people were killed. The Russian authorities naturally claimed—without any evidence—that Chechen "terrorists" were responsible for these atrocities. Basayev vehemently denied any involvement. Chechen president Aslan Maskhadov, as well as a number of prominent Russian political figures like former presidential contender Aleksandr Lebed, contended that the bombings were the work of the Russian security forces.

Whoever was behind these indiscriminate terrorist attacks, what is certain is that the bombings were used by Russia's rulers to organize racist pogroms against dark-skinned people from the Caucasus and Central Asia and to launch a new war against Chechnya. Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov, who aspires to replace Yeltsin as president, ordered all non-permanent residents to "re-register." While police engaged in a mass roundup, Russian civilians were urged to set up vigilante groups to look for "suspicious" people. Tens of thousands have been targeted for deportation from the Russian capital as well-armed police units on the streets and in subway stations routinely harass and terrorize anyone who looks Caucasian or Central Asian; many others have been beaten and stabbed. Luzhkov orchestrated a similar pogrom in late 1993, when over 13,000 people were driven out of Moscow in one week.

New York Times

Capitalist rivalries over huge Caspian oil reserves: Russian-controlled pipeline passes through Chechnya; Washington brokered deal for alternate route through Turkey.

Souza/Chicago Tribune

Kosovo city of Pec devastated last spring in U.S./NATO war of terror against Serbia.

Down With Great Russian Chauvinism!

Under the pretext of demanding that Maskhadov suppress the Chechen "terrorists," Moscow began air strikes across Chechnya in late September. A week or so later, the Yeltsin regime clearly signaled its intent to conquer and subjugate Chechnya by declaring a handful of kept Chechen politicians ensconced in Moscow to be the "sole legitimate authority" in the Caucasian republic. An invading force of 30,000 Russian soldiers occupied the northern plain of Chechnya, then crossed the Terek River, encircling and bombarding Grozny. Former Russian prime minister Sergei Stepashin, who played a key role in directing the previous invasion of Chechnya, now warns: "In order to win this war, you have to destroy the entire male population of Chechnya" (*Moscow Times*, 4 November). In their present desperate mood, the Russian military commanders could go a lot further than before in carrying out a truly genocidal massacre of the Chechen people.

There are now over 100,000 Russian troops in and around Chechnya, and the military buildup is continuing. Even according to the notoriously understated casualty figures of the Russian defense ministry, 600 Russian soldiers have already been killed or wounded by Chechen forces. Maskhadov, a former colonel in the Soviet Army and senior commander of the Chechen forces in 1994-96, vowed: "We will protect our land and Russia, if it comes in to occupy it, will be annihilated." At the same time, Maskhadov has appealed to Moscow for negotiations while scrambling for a deal brokered by the Western imperialist powers, including "peacekeeping forces under the aegis of the international community" (*Kommersant*, 5 October).

Since the earlier Chechen war, tensions between Washington and Moscow have risen sharply—reflected over the war against Serbia and the furor in the U.S. over corruption in the Russian banking system—as have the extent and intensity of anti-Western Russian nationalism. In 1994-96, the U.S. staunchly supported Yeltsin's invasion of Chechnya in the name of preserving Russia's "territorial integrity." Clinton even grotesquely compared Tsar Boris to Abraham Lincoln leading the North in the American Civil War against the secessionist Southern slaveholders. Today, however, the U.S. is looking to NATO partner Turkey, rather than Russia, as a regional gendarme in protecting its interests in the Caspian oil fields. American and also West European ruling circles are worried that the Kremlin's latest Chechen adventure will destabilize the entire Caucasian region.

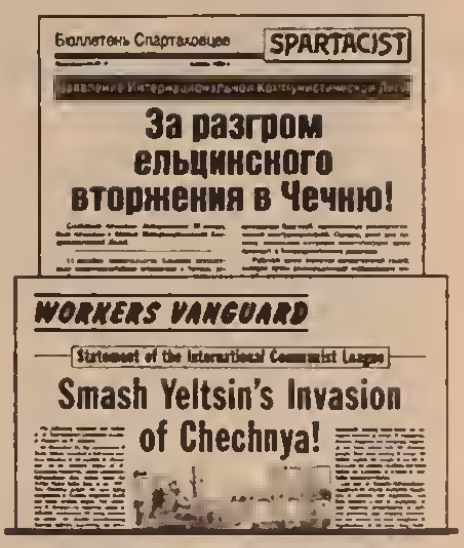
In one sense, diplomatic pressure from Washington and European NATO capitals adds fuel to Russian nationalist demagogy which can now combine traditional Russian chauvinist subjugation of the Caucasian peoples with a posture of defiance of American global dominance. In 1994-96, the war against Chechnya was sharply criticized by anti-Yeltsin factions among Russia's new capitalist exploiters, especially the pro-Western advocates of "free market" economics. But today the "democrats" of the Yabloko party generally march in lockstep with the Yeltsin gang and the strident anti-Western nationalists of the "'red'-brown coalition." Lashing out at Western critics of the Chechen adventure, Yabloko press spokesman Vladimir Broginsky exclaimed: "There was aggression against Russia and Russia is answering that aggression."

Predictably in the forefront of the racist anti-Chechen campaign in Russia is the so-called "'red'-brown coalition," a bloc of former Stalinist "patriots" and traditional Slavophile nationalists and fascists. The most prominent component of this bloc is Gennady Zyuganov's grotesquely misnamed Communist Party-Russian Federation (KPRF), a thoroughly bourgeois-nationalist party whose stock in trade is Great Russian chauvinism. In 1996, the KPRF spearheaded chauvinist opposition to the treaty ending the Chechen war. This year, in late September the KPRF and its allies organized a demonstration in St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) which included such slogans as "Chechens—Out of Leningrad!" and "Clean the Foreigners Out of Peter."

Joining in the chorus of "Russia, One and Indivisible" are the self-styled Trotskyists of David North's International Committee for the Fourth International (ICFI). A 3 September piece by Sergei Smolin on the Northites' Russian-language Web site, titled "Russian Troops Wage Successful Military Action Against Islamic Separatists in Dagestan," read like a Moscow defense ministry communiqué: "The formation of an Islamic state on the territory of Dagestan under the control of armed bandit formations would throw the entire region into a position of severe isolation." While the Northites are now sharply critical of the Russian invasion of Chechnya, the bottom line remains the same: they refuse to make any unambiguous statement in defense of Chechnya's right to self-determination against Great Russian chauvinism.

At the time of the last Russian invasion of Chechnya, the Northites polemicized *against* our military defense of the Chechen people (see *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* No. 11, "David North's 'ICFI': From Support to Capitalist Counterrevolution in the USSR to Great Russian Chauvinism" [October 1997]). In the name of opposing "bourgeois nationalism" among oppressed peoples, these charlatans uphold the territorial integrity of *capitalist Russia*. Today the Northites declaim, in a 21 August piece on their Web site, "The same powerful centrifugal forces that brought about the end of the Soviet Union now place the integrity of the Russian Federation in question." But when the Soviet Union still existed, the Northites supported every counterrevolutionary nationalist movement that helped bring about that end, from Polish Solidarność to the fascist-infested Baltic nationalists to the CIA-sponsored Afghan *mujahedin*.

The current popularity of the war against Chechnya among Russians is superficial and likely to be short-lived if a prolonged war and occupation leads to mounting Russian casualties. The Moscow office of the Soldiers' Mothers Committee reports hundreds of calls from women throughout Russia asking advice on how to keep their sons in the army from being sent into combat in the Caucasus. Urging parents to "protect their sons from the state," one member of the committee says, "We are choosing between life and death" (*Moscow Times*, 6 October). Meanwhile, the working people continue to chafe under the whip of mass unemployment and immiseration ushered in by capitalist counterrevolution.



In late 1994, International Communist League called for military defense of Chechnya against earlier invasion by Russian Army.

What is needed to galvanize proletarian opposition to capitalist Russia's robber barons and chauvinist butchers is a revolutionary workers party steeled in Bolshevik internationalism. As we wrote in our article at the beginning of the first Chechen war almost five years ago:

> "Today the peoples of the Caucasus—a patchwork of ethnic and linguistic groups—again face a Russia pursuing imperialist aspirations to control the region's wealth and borders, while the local national bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces attempt to get rich through deals with competing imperialist backers. An internationalist, revolutionary workers movement fighting for a democratically planned, egalitarian economy and true equality between the peoples of this region could rally the working masses of all the Caucasian peoples to overcome the raging fratricidal national conflicts. An authentically communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be forged in sharp struggle against all variants of nationalism, and in particular against the chauvinism of the Great Russian oppressor." ■

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Solidarność...

(continued from page 6)

defense of the capitalist order—directly against the objective interests of the vast majority of working-class women, to whom all the rhetoric about "sisterhood" does not apply. Hence, during the 1980s, self-avowed feminists, especially in the West, had no problem expressing "solidarity" with the likes of Karol Wojtyla and the Vatican, hailing—in the name of "democracy"—the most reactionary woman-hating forces on the planet, in order to re-enslave Polish women to the "democracy" of Wall Street, Frankfurt and the City of London.

The same principle was likewise graphically evident during the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, the only example of a contemporary war in which the enslavement of women was a central question. When Moscow intervened militarily in 1979 to prevent its left-nationalist client regime from falling to the Islamic reactionaries armed and organized by U.S. imperialism, we raised the slogans: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! Feminists at that time excoriated our straightforward defense of Afghan women, rallying around the imperialists' campaign against "Soviet expansionism." Today, it is the horribly oppressed women of Taliban-ruled Afghanistan who pay the price for the bourgeoisie's "victory over communism" hailed by bourgeois feminists and phony "leftists" alike (see "Afghanistan: Hell for Women," *Pint-*

AFP

Polish workers fighting for wage increase blocked trains with burning tires, May 1995. Capitalist counterrevolution has led to mass immiseration.

forma Spartakusowców No. 9 [Spring-Summer 1999], translated from *WV* No. 654 [25 October 1996]).

Speaking primarily to a younger generation of women who have no stake in prettifying the reactionary nature of Solidarność, even a bourgeois feminist like Graff couldn't avoid the simple fact that the older generation of feminist and pseudo-leftist champions of "democracy" refuse to acknowledge to this day: Solidarność was bad news for Polish women. Nonetheless, their pro-capitalist program makes feminists inherently blind to the obvious link between the deteriorating situation of women and the destruction of free health care, education and other social services which, despite the deformities of Stalinist bureaucratic rule, benefited women under the Polish People's Republic.

For a Leninist Party, Tribune of All the Oppressed!

Disgusted with the prevailing atmosphere of nationalism and anti-woman "family values" and clerical reaction of capitalist Poland, many radically-minded young women feel some identification with feminism—all the more so as "feminists" are singled out for particular scorn not only by reactionaries of every stripe but also by most of the country's "liberal" media.

As Marxists, we believe that the liberation of women can only come about through the overthrow of the capitalist property relations which form the material basis for women's oppression. Our position is set out clearly in our "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" [*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 54, Spring 1998]:

> "The ICL fights for women's liberation through socialist revolution.... Revolutionists are the most consistent champions of women's elementary democratic rights such as free legal abortion and 'equal pay for equal work.' The reactionary social climate aggravated by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the concerted campaign to roll back 'welfare state' protections of the masses has brought a sharp rise in anti-sex, anti-woman and anti-homosexual bigotry. We oppose all laws against crimes without victims, including those which criminalize homosexual or other consensual sexual activity, prostitution and drug use.
>
> "The oppression of women, the oldest social inequality in human history, goes back to the beginning of private property and will not be abolished short of the abolition of class-divided society....
>
> "While fighting against every manifestation of bourgeois injustice, we oppose sectoralism, which denies the possibility of consciousness transcending an individual's own experience of oppression, and fight to unite the vanguard of all oppressed social layers behind the proletariat in the fight for socialism."

We Spartacists seek to build a Leninist vanguard party which acts as a tribune of all the oppressed in leading the proletariat to the conquest of power. For the separation of church and state! Priests and cops out of the bedrooms and schools! For free abortion on demand! Women's liberation through socialist revolution!■

Homeless...

(continued from page 16)

starving masses for bread with the infamous, "Let them eat cake!" Today, Giuliani sneers, "Streets do not exist in civilized cities for the purpose of people sleeping there. Bedrooms are for sleeping." But a society which does not provide housing, food and jobs for all is *not* civilized—it's a capitalist hell that needs to be swept into the dustbin of history through a workers revolution.

These latest attacks are not just the expression of the unbridled contempt for the masses of this city in which Giuliani openly glories. They express the class interests of the masters of this capitalist society. The ranks of the homeless ballooned with the job-slashing, union-busting attacks carried out under the Democratic administrations of racist pig Ed Koch and black liberal David Dinkins. Hundreds of thousands were thrown out of their homes as greedy landlords jacked up the rents, their apartments taken by yuppie Wall Street lawyers and stockbrokers. Despite today's hoopla about the economic "boom," masses of working people in the center of world finance slave away at minimum-wage McJobs, one paycheck away from being cast out into the streets.

The bipartisan destruction of welfare further swelled the ranks of the homeless, among them some *one million children* across the country. Meanwhile, from Clinton to Giuliani the capitalist rulers implemented police-state measures aimed particularly at blacks and immigrants. Thousands more cops now maraud the streets of America, which has the largest prison population of any industrialized country—the result of the racist "war on drugs" championed by Democrats and Republicans alike.

Jonathan Lipkin/Impact Visuals

NYC cops brutalize black youth as capitalist rulers wage war on the poor.

In racist America, class exploitation has always been wrapped in the envelope of raw racism: the percentage of blacks living below the official poverty line is more than triple what it is for whites. The message of Wall Street and the city's rulers is clear: under the system of racist capitalism, the lives of minorities and the poor are cheap. The assault on welfare and the reign of cop terror are aimed first and foremost at the ghetto masses, whom the capitalist rulers increasingly see as a "surplus population." The capitalists' drive for ever greater profits requires maintaining a layer of unemployed as a drag on wages for the entire working class, while at the same time cutting social services for those thrown on the scrap heap, forcing them into "workfare" to replace formerly unionized workers.

Giuliani has shown a great talent and lust for sticking it to those unable to defend themselves—from welfare recipients to hot dog vendors. But the capacity of the city's labor movement to wield its social power was demonstrated last year when 40,000 construction workers stood down Giuliani's cops and shut down midtown Manhattan for hours. With their contract expiring next month, New York's transit workers could bring the city to a screeching halt, mobilizing behind them not only the rest of the unionized workforce but the unemployed in the ghettos and barrios, CUNY students and the rest of the population fed up with incessant, grinding attacks.

That social power must be mobilized in struggle at the head of all the oppressed. Against the joblessness, poverty and homelessness endemic to capitalism labor must fight to: *Expropriate the greedy landlords! Seize luxury housing and give it to the homeless! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and poor! Unionize "workfare" workers with full union wages, benefits and protections! For union-run recruitment and training programs that will provide union jobs for all those who have been thrown on the economic scrap heap of this system! Jobs for all—For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!*

The Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK on October 23 demonstrated how the power of labor can be brought to bear on behalf of the oppressed. This independent mobilization of labor and minorities was built in opposition to the Democratic Party and its black front men such as Al Sharpton. Opposing the anti-fascist mobilization and supporting the Klan's "right" to rally for genocide, Sharpton & Co. demonstrated their class allegiance to the racist capitalist rulers and opposition to any mobilization of the city's working people and minorities in their own defense.

As revolutionary Marxists, we fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs benefiting the working class and the poor. But our goal is not to reintroduce programs that were designed to simply sustain the unemployed in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for a proletarian socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, planned economy, where everyone will have a place in social and economic life.

The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things the ruling class expropriates for itself—health care, education, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership necessary to fight—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow down to the bosses' laws, parties and state agencies, a workers party that doesn't respect the property "rights" of the bourgeoisie. We need a workers party that fights for a workers government to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and institute a planned socialist economy that operates not for the profit of a few greedy exploiters but for the working people who produce the wealth of society. That is the kind of workers party that the Spartacist League is fighting to build. ■

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NYC Transit...

(continued from page 16)

administration, the array of Democratic Party politicians who worked to provide a platform for the Klan lynchers—then it can roll right over the Taylor Law and the other weapons in the bosses' strikebreaking arsenal! On October 23, the social power of labor was mobilized by Marxists to drive the KKK out of NYC. Transit workers need that kind of class-struggle leadership—one which understands that the capitalist state, its cops and courts are not neutral but instruments of repression against the working class, that the Democratic Party is no "friend of labor" but is as much a representative of the class enemy as Giuliani's Republicans.

That mobilization also showed how the power of the multiracial working class can be wielded in defense of the rights of all the oppressed. A transit strike could galvanize the besieged masses of the ghettos and barrios behind the power of labor. A key demand must be opposition to racist, union-busting "workfare." The TWU must actively take up the defense of these impoverished welfare recipients who—with the connivance of the labor bureaucrats—are being drafted into working at formerly unionized city jobs for pennies. *Organize these workers into the union with full union wages, benefits and protections!*

"Workfare," initiated under Democratic president Clinton with his pledge to "end welfare as we know it," is a centerpiece in the American rulers' all-sided assault on the living standards of the working class and poor. What kind of future do working people and their sons and daughters—particularly black and other minority workers—have in this country? Millions of decent-paying industrial jobs have been slashed, while young workers are tracked into low-paid jobs under two-tier wage schemes and the poor are forced into "workfare."

Where are good jobs to come from? In New York City alone, tens of thousands of jobs are needed to deal with the palpable decay in the city's infrastructure, to build new hospitals, housing and schools, to repair streets and bridges. Simply in order to have a safe, efficient mass transit system, many thousands more jobs need to be created for necessary and long-neglected maintenance work, to provide full crews on the subways, to put more trains and buses into operation. And quality mass transit—like health care, 24-hour childcare and all public services—should be free. *Rip out the turnstiles!*

This city—and the society as a whole—should be run in the interests of the working people who built it and keep it running! But for that to happen, the working people need their own party, whose aim is to break the power of the capitalist rulers and reclaim the wealth that has been ground out of the exploitation of the workers by establishing a workers government committed to building an egalitarian socialist society. Those who labor must rule!

Democrats Are Enemies of Labor Struggle

Older TWU members bitterly recall the last strike, in 1980, when the union shut down transit for eleven days only to see the John Lawe leadership—with the complicity of the "dissident" opposition—call off the strike and ram through a giveback contract just as the strike was starting to cost the city rulers. At the time, the union-hating *New York Post* called it "the most devastating strike in the city's history." It could and should have won. But the union tops handed it over to Wall Street on a silver platter, leaving the union and every striker to pay massive fines under the Taylor Law.

After years of demoralizing sellouts by the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, the membership has no confidence in the current leadership to wage a winning strike. Three years ago, James rammed through a contract deal, cooked up behind the backs of the membership, freezing wages for two years and allowing management to replace unionized cleaners jobs with welfare recipients. Meanwhile, the New Directions (ND) "opposition" is at this very moment suing the union in the same courts which will impose the Taylor Law in the event of a strike.

For years, the leadership of the TWU and the municipal unions have hidden behind the Taylor Law as an excuse for opposing strike action. But as the 1966 transit strike showed, such laws can be turned into scraps of paper. Mike Quill engineered plenty of dirty deals with management and Democratic Party politicians in his time. But at least he understood a union leader occasionally had to *lead a strike*. When a judge had him arrested for refusing to capitulate to the strikebreaking Condon-Wadlin Act, Quill retorted: "The judge can drop dead in his black robes and we would not call off the strike." The strike won and the Condon-Wadlin Act became a dead letter. This victory reverberated throughout the NYC labor movement, and New York transit jobs were probably among the best municipal jobs anywhere in the country for years after.

AP

Victorious 1966 transit strike shut down NYC, ripped up strikebreaking Condon-Wadlin Act. Thousands of strikers protested outside City Hall to demand release of union officers arrested for defying court injunction.

Failing to break the strike with Condon-Wadlin, the bourgeoisie retaliated two years later by bringing in the Taylor Law. In place of jail sentences for union leaders, the rulers decided that going after the union's treasury and the members' pockets was more effective in outlawing strike action. Reflecting pressure from the membership, James has been making noises about defying the Taylor Law, saying in a recent radio interview, "I am not afraid of any man named Taylor."

At a press conference at the beginning of negotiations, James was flanked by top national, state and city labor bureaucrats, including AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney. These labor tops "proposed asking all union members in the city to help pay any fines the transit workers might face if they strike" (*New York Times*, 28 September). These labor traitors with their loser mentality serve to sow demoralization and defeatism by pledging in advance to roll over in the event of Taylor Law fines. A precondition for any strike settlement must be: *No reprisals or fines!* A successful strike could *smash the Taylor Law*. Solidarity action by other unions is critical to winning a transit strike and defeating strikebreaking efforts, but that doesn't mean getting unionists to shell out money to the bosses' government. In the first instance, a transit strike must be immediately extended to the Long Island Rail Road, Metro North, PATH and the private bus lines. But this is the furthest thing from the minds of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats, who have made their careers out of playing by the bosses' laws and serving as the labor lieutenants of their capitalist masters.

The political expression of the union bureaucracy's ties to the capitalist order is their allegiance to the Democratic Party. This was clear on May 12, when tens of thousands of city workers poured into the streets to express their anger over years of wage freezes and job-slashing. But the union tops organized this rally not as a display of labor's social power against the city's rulers but as a political mobilization for the capitalist Democratic Party. At a time when working people throughout the city were outraged over the cop execution of Amadou Diallo, these labor traitors sought to refurbish the image of the racist, strikebreaking cops, openly inviting the police "unions" onto their platform. Now the municipal union tops are promoting the cops as pacesetters for labor in contract negotiations with the city. Embracing the police as "fellow workers" is as clear an expression of the labor bureaucracy's class-collaborationist program as their support of the Democratic Party. The cops are the hired guns of the racist, capitalist exploiters—they have no place in the labor movement.

For years, James and most of the NYC labor tops have been in Giuliani's hip pocket. But sensing the anger building at the base, they now revert to the more traditional gambit of promoting the Democrats as "friends of labor." Yet these "friends of labor" have presided over every city administration but two for the last 50 years, serving as Wall Street's political tools in attacking the working people and bringing down a reign of racist cop terror to keep the ghettos and barrios "in line."

That the Democratic Party is an enemy of labor and minorities was driven home with a vengeance on October 23. As soon as it became clear that the call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to stop the KKK was striking a deep chord among the city's working people, the Democrats swung into action as *the main force against the anti-Klan mobilization*.

In collusion with the Giuliani administration (their class brothers from the other capitalist party), the Democrats defended the "democratic rights" of the KKK to mobilize for racist terror. This was an expression of the class consciousness of these capitalist politicians against the working people. With a previously unknown assemblyman from the Upper West Side, Scott Stringer, running point, the whole of the state Democratic Party establishment—from racist "law and order" Senator Charles Schumer and black state comptroller Carl McCall on down—organized to try and stop any independent mobilization of the working class. Instead, they worked to channel outrage against the Klan into bourgeois electoral politics, in this case through a disgusting "demonstration for tolerance"—for the KKK.

The Democrats dispatched Al Sharpton to be their black front man for the line of "tolerance" for the Klan among the city's black population. Sharpton, joined by the publishers of the *Amsterdam News*, went so far as to file a "friend of the court" brief on the Klan's behalf! Here, too, there was class consciousness operating: the black petty-bourgeois establishment, exemplified by the *Amsterdam News*, against the black working class. Serving as a labor front man for the Democrats' efforts was Dennis Rivera, president of Local 1199 and a former top official of the state Democratic Party, joined by the Central Labor Council tops. But these misleaders did not prevail in their attempts to block the working people, who showed up in their thousands on October 23 to *stop* the Klan. What these workers demonstrated was the kind of power that labor has when mobilized in its own interests and against those of the capitalists and their government.

Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration

Describing the class-struggle leadership provided by Trotskyist militants in the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, which helped forge that union into a powerhouse of labor, James P. Cannon wrote:

> "The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board: they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal 'friend of labor' president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour....
>
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity."
>
> —*History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

So removed are the current labor misleaders from the workers they purport to represent that they have renounced the very means which built the industrial unions—militant mass pickets, sit-down strikes, solidarity strike action, defiance of anti-union laws and injunctions. This is typified by the James leadership of TWU Local 100. Having done nothing to prepare the union for a strike, James hired Ray Rogers, author of the "corporate campaign" diversion which ludicrously aims at shaming the bosses and company stockholders into sympathy for the workers they exploit. Beginning with his role in the disastrous defeat in 1986 of the seven-month Hormel meatpackers strike, Rogers has contributed to one lost strike after another.

Now TWU members are being directed to hand out Rogers' fliers complaining to capitalist politicians that "corporate welfare cheats" are getting tax breaks. New York City is the financial capital of the world and the city politicians are nothing but flunkies for Wall Street and the banks. During the Big MAC financial crisis of the mid-1970s, the labor tops handed over hundreds of millions in union pension funds to bail out the banks, as Wall Street worked through Democrats in City Hall in axing 70,000 jobs and bleeding the city's working people and minorities. Now James and Rogers want to persuade Wall Street to side with the TWU against...Wall Street! Lots of luck!

The TWU bureaucracy's sellouts have only emboldened management to push for ever more concessions and givebacks. Transit workers are already fed up after three years in which the overall wage

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Shadow of Justice

News Item: Reputed mob figures Al Daidone and "Long" John Martorano were released from prison after 19 years imprisonment, after the Pa. Supreme Court affirmed the earlier decision of the Superior Court reversing their murder convictions in connection with the killing of labor leader John McCollough. A divided court ruled that prosecutorial misconduct in the case precluded a retrial.

The November 1999 decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, freeing Messrs. Daidone and Martorano made barely a flicker in the nation's newslines. It is a local story, not worthy of the attention of a nation wrapped in hypnotic fascination with the upcoming elections.

But I think this story is of utmost importance. Here's why.

Every fact that led to the reversal of their murder convictions was evident from the day that their trial transcript was typed up; when the arguments of the state prosecutor were made and recorded; long before the first appeal brief was written.

It took 19 years for the state's highest court to rule that what happened in a Philadelphia courtroom so many years ago was unconstitutional, and that what prosecutors did was so fundamentally unfair that no retrial could correct it.

For 19 years Daidone and Martorano were separated from friends and family, consigned to small concrete and steel enclosures for most of their days, with a sentence of life over their heads. For several years after their retrial was granted, the D.A.'s office fought to have them sent to Death Row, if reconvicted! In the two decades since their conviction, the trial judge, after at least one unsuccessful try at a higher judicial office, retired from the bench. Their former D.A. left the office, reportedly to represent state police. The head D.A. became mayor, left office and presently contemplates the governorship.

By utilizing the now common term, "prosecutorial misconduct," local media reports underplay and obscure what went on in the courtroom almost 20 years ago. Prosecutorial misconduct is shorthand for evidence tampering, improper arguments to the jury, and using other unfair tactics to convict the two men.

Let me make it plain: In *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. Daidone & Martorana*, prosecutors used false evidence, and even argued on the basis of such false evidence that a judge or jury should convict these two men of first degree murder, and send them to prison for the rest of their lives. As it is, two men spent two decades in hell, and those who prosecuted them, using tactics that even the Pa. Supreme Court couldn't swallow, moved on up through the system, got raises, raised families, or retired on cushy pensions.

In several American states, the 19 years that Messrs. Daidone and Martorano have already spent in state and county jails and prisons would constitute life sentences. They served the equivalent of life sentences, based on prosecutorial misconduct at their trials. After the passage of so much time, their freedom *looks* less like justice, and more like its pale shadow.

12 November 1999

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Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

'increase' worked out to barely over 1 percent a year. Now the MTA has announced that funds for a contract settlement are limited because of its five-year, $17.5 billion capital spending plan, predictably threatening to raise fares yet again. The transit bosses are demanding a four-year contract, as opposed to the current three-year pact. They also seek to expand "broadbanding," rewriting existing rules to force workers to work in different job categories and in various locations. The MTA also aims to erode seniority rights by reducing "job picks" from twice to once per year and to undermine safety conditions by imposing a four-day week with exhausting ten-hour shifts.

The TWU bureaucracy has colluded with management as it victimized union safety officers for protesting safety violations. In the period leading up to the contract expiration, the bosses have tried to soften up the workforce by cranking up disciplinary actions for work-rule infractions—often made up out of whole cloth—and victimizing "troublesome" workers for "abusing" sick leave and through "random" drug testing. Among the union reps recently victimized by TA management are ND supporters Marty Goodman and Roger Toussaint.

It is no coincidence that such victimizations have increased as the composition of the workforce has become predominantly black and Hispanic. At the same time, minority and women workers are discriminated against in job promotion. *Defend victimized workers! Down with the anti-union drug/alcohol testing! Down with racist discrimination! For union control over hiring and upgrading!* Seniority rights are under attack through the use of "provisional workers," who competently do their jobs for years and then are replaced by people who score higher on civil service tests. The union must demand: *Make provisionals permanent! For full pay and full system-wide seniority, dating from day one on the job!*

New Directions: Friends of the Capitalist Courts

James' opponents in New Directions, who control nearly half the local executive board and a number of key divisions, seize on his betrayals to peddle outright defeatism toward a strike. While ND's *Hell on Wheels* (November 1999) pleads for a "good contract—without a strike if possible," ND leader Tim Schermerhorn says openly, "I don't want to see a strike in this situation" (*Chief-Leader*, 15 October). Indeed, ND has made a specialty of colluding with the capitalist courts which would be a chief weapon of MTA management *against* a strike, repeatedly bringing lawsuits against the TWU, most recently to secure a seat for themselves at the bargaining table.

It is rank treachery to go to the class enemy under any circumstances, and particularly on the eve of a class battle. ND's latest court suit has provoked rip-roaring arguments among transit workers, who increasingly understand that what's at stake here is surrendering control of the union to the very capitalist state that they may well be striking against in a month's time. Government hands off the unions—Labor must clean its own house!

ND's suit demonstrates what makes this ragtag group of opportunists tick, that is, advancing their own bureaucratic positions within the union. ND follows in the footsteps of the "dissidents" who greased through the 1980 sellout. Having spent five years filing court suits against the union, those "oppositionists" allowed the sellout to be rammed through despite their majority on the Local 100 executive board. Some of them, like Arnold Cherry and George McDonald, were rewarded with leading positions in the Local 100 bureaucracy.

While running to the capitalist courts, ND sees the racist, strikebreaking cops as allies of the workers, hailing as a "strike" a riot by Rikers Island prison guards a few years ago. Today, one of its chief demands in the current negotiations is for the Car Maintenance Division to "upgrade training" for Transit Property Protection Agents, i.e., the company cops! For his part, James brought foremen—management agents—into the TWU. We say: Cops and foremen out of the union!

Not surprisingly, among ND's fans on the left is the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO). Perhaps sensing the fighting spirit of the TWU membership, the ISO's *Socinlist Worker* (19 November) complains that "some leaders" of New Directions "have been slow to throw their weight behind a strike." But just two weeks before in *Socialist Worker* (5 November), the ISO, which has supported ND for years, lauded the TWU bureaucracy's hiring of Ray Rogers while uncritically promoting ND and its anti-strike leader Tim Schermerhorn. The ISO itself has long championed Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which literally drew up the plan for the Justice Department's takeover of that union. Currently, the ISO is sponsoring a public meeting in New York City with a veritable rogues' gallery of "sue the union" types, including New Directions. For these social democrats, the maximum program is "democracy," which means looking to the capitalist government and government-backed "reformers" to "clean up" the unions.

One self-styled militant within the TWU who claims to present an alternative to both the James leadership and New Directions is Eric Josephson, who is supported by the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP). But for all the talk of "mass mobilizations" and "a winning strike strategy" in its "Transit Workers Bulletin" (16 November), the LRP's entire perspective boils down to "militantly" pressuring one or the other wing of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy to fight. Thus, the LRP's chief slogan is "Willie Said 10 Percent—Let's Win 10 Percent!" What tepid criticisms the LRP has of New Directions center on complaints that it "rarely attempts to mobilize members," barely mentioning ND's history of attempting to "mobilize" the capitalist courts against the union.

The felt sense among transit workers that neither the James leadership nor New Directions offers any way forward points to the need for the strike and all negotiations with the MTA to be run by *elected strike committees*, made up of the most militant and trusted workers. Such militants must understand the bottom line for a winning strategy in this strike and any other: that the interests of the workers are *counterposed* to any reliance on the agencies and parties of the capitalist class enemy.

For a Workers Party—For a Workers Government!

With its heavily black and Hispanic membership, the TWU is ideally situated to link the power of labor to the anger of the ghettos and barrios. Yet, whether through embracing the racist cops or supporting "workfare," the Local 100 bureaucracy acts to set unionized workers against the black and Hispanic poor. In pushing through the 1996 contract, the James leadership took on the role of overseers for the capitalist rulers' union-busting, slave-labor "workfare" program. Meanwhile, ND calls to "stop workfare in transit" without raising any concrete demands to defend these superexploited workers or bring them into the union. This amounts to a call to throw "workfare" workers out onto the streets.

All of this underscores what we wrote in 1996 in "NYC Transit 'Workfare' Deal: Enslaving the Poor, Busting the Unions" (*WV* No. 652, 27 September 1996):

> "Any serious effort to beat back the all-sided attacks on workers, minorities and the poor necessarily entails a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy which 'demands' only what is acceptable to the racist ruling class. What is required is a fight for *jobs for all*—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—and full cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. New York needs a *massive program of public works at union wages*—for quality, integrated housing and schools, for free quality health care for all, for massive reconstruction of roads, bridges and tunnels, for everything we need for a decent life. It is necessary to demand *equal pay for equal work*. The city wants to bring in hundreds of poor people to clean the filthy subway stations? Fine. They should be hired at *union wages with full union protection!* The TWU should lead a fight to *organize the unorganized!*"

The union bureaucrats work to bind the unions ever more closely to the bosses' state and the political parties of capital. These labor traitors have increasingly transformed the unions into auxiliary instruments of the capitalist class for the subordination and disciplining of the workers. For the unions to be fighting organizations that actually defend the interests of the working class, it is necessary to forge a *class-struggle leadership*. Labor needs a leadership that knows workers' interests are counterposed to those of their exploiters; that the Democrats represent the bosses just as much as the more openly anti-union Republicans; that the government—with its arsenal of anti-labor weapons like the Taylor Law—is nothing but the executive committee of the capitalist class.

The fight to mobilize unions and the oppressed in struggle needs a political expression: a revolutionary workers party. What was seen on the streets of New York on October 23 was a microcosm of such a workers party in action. A successful fight to defend and improve the present conditions of the working class can only be waged as part of the struggle to get rid of the entire capitalist system.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Class-Struggle Leadership!

NYC Transit Workers: You Have the Power, Shut Down the City!

For a Solid Strike! Rip Up the Taylor Law!
No to National Guard Strikebreaking! Cops, Courts Out of the Union!
Down With Union-Busting "Workfare"! Organize "Workfare" Workers with Full Union Wages and Protections! Rip Out the Turnstiles—Free Mass Transit!

NEW YORK CITY, November 2.5— Thousands of transit workers packed Madison Avenue for blocks around Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) headquarters on November 17 to demonstrate their determination to reverse years of union-busting attacks and plummeting real wages. With the NYC Transit Authority (TA) alone running a $400 million budget surplus, the 33,000 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 are well-positioned and ready for a fight as their contract expires on December 15. When Local 100 president Willie James chanted, "No contract, no peace!" at the rally, workers roared back, "*No contract, no work!*" Many raised clenched fists as they chanted, "Strike! Strike! Strike!"

TWU members know they have the power to shut down the financial capital of the world. They know that is what's needed to win a hefty wage increase and stop management's plans to intensify speedup and further attack working conditions by ripping up work rules and job classifications. A strike by this strategic, integrated union could mobilize support from all city labor—municipal workers, teachers, hospital workers—whose own contracts expire in the coming months. It would tap into the accumulated anger among NYC working people and minorities, who are fed up with being pushed around for years in the one-sided class war against workers and the poor. That anger was seen in the mass protests over the cop execution of Amadou Diallo earlier this year, in the turnout of 50,000 for the May 12 labor rally, in the thousands who came out on October 23 to rout the KKK killers.

Scores of transit workers actively built the October 23 labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—which is associated with the Marxist Spartacist League—to stop the KKK, and many hundreds more in this heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant workforce embraced that victory as their own. As one transit worker said, "We kicked the Klan out. Now we have to strike for a new contract."

WV Photos

Transit workers showed determination to fight in thousands-strong rally outside MTA headquarters in Midtown Manhattan on November 17. October 23 anti-Klan mobilization initiated by Partisan Defense Committee demonstrated the kind of class-struggle leadership needed to win.

That's right! To win, transit workers will have to take on the capitalist government and the state Taylor Law banning public workers strikes. Today's New York *Daily News* reports that "the city is quietly preparing a doomsday plan" in anticipation of a strike, including providing extra cops to protect scab buses and even calling out the National Guard on the phony pretext of needing to provide care for stranded commuters. Let Wall Street and the city rulers try to run the trains and buses with bayonets! Any deployment of the National Guard to break a TWU strike should be met with a walkout of *all city workers*.

If labor was able to defeat the forces aimed at keeping it from riding the KKK out—the cops and courts, the Giuliani

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Giuliani Bashes the Homeless

Seizing on a recent attack on a young woman hy an unknown assailant in Midtown Manhattan, New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani came up with the latest installment of his vicious war on the homeless. Two weeks ago, Giuliani revealed plans to throw thousands of men, women and children *out of the shelters and into the streets*. Now he's declared the homeless in the streets will be arrested and thrown in the city's newest shelter—Rikers Island prison.

Extending the work requirements of Clinton's 1996 anti-welfare law, Giuliani demands that jobless people seeking refuge in shelters work at slave labor and that those who have jobs fork over much of their meager wages as "rent." Those who fail to comply will have their children ripped away from them and placed in foster care! Adding to the wanton cruelty of what Giuliani calls "the highest form of compassion and love," the mayor ordered his scheme to be implemented in the dead of winter on January 1. The city rulers celebrate the millennium by decreeing a virtual death sentence against thousands of largely minority poor and disabled!

Over 200 years ago, just before the corrupt and bloated aristocracy was swept away in the French Revolution of 1789, Marie Antoinette dismissed the demand of the

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Reuters/NY Post

Homeless family in Bronx seeking shelter for the night. Now Giuliani has escalated war on homeless, ordering evictions from shelters and mass arrests on the streets.

Paraskevas/Newsday

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 725 | 10 December 1999

China: WTO Entry Means Mass Unemployment, Imperialist Plunder

Defend Chinese Deformed Workers State Against Imperialism, Internal Counterrevolution!

For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust Stalinist Bureaucracy!

In the lead-up to the Seattle summit of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the U.S. and China signed an agreement last month, capping 13 years of diplomatic jockeying, which paves the way for China's entry into the WTO. U.S. president Clinton proclaimed this one of his greatest foreign policy achievements. In China and internationally, the deal is seen as a major political victory for the "pro-reform" wing of the Beijing regime led by President and Communist Party (CCP) chief Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji.

China's entry into the WTO would mean eliminating what remains of the state monopoly of foreign trade, a key component of the collectivized economy created by the 1949 Chinese Revolution. The WTO deal follows on a 1997 decision by the CCP to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry, as Jiang, Zhu & Co. aim to utilize the pressure of intensified foreign competition to ram through widespread privatization. Foreign firms would be permitted to own up to 50 percent of such strategic sectors of the economy as telecommunications. Tariffs now protecting state-owned industrial enterprises would be drastically cut, leading to the loss of an estimated half million jobs in auto and fully one-third of all jobs in steel as "uncompetitive" enterprises are shut down. Lower agricultural

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Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

Co De Kruijf

Chinese premier Zhu Rongji with Clinton during April U.S. visit. Migrant laborers at Shanghai construction site. Chinese proletariat must wage fight for political power to defeat threat of capitalist enslavement.

Seattle: National Guard, Cops Attack WTO Protesters

AFL-CIO Tops Push Anti-Communism, Protectionist Poison

As the meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO) opened on November 30, the feel-good, P.C., laid-back veneer of the Northwest showcase city of Seattle was shattered. On the streets of Capitol Hill, tens of thousands of protesters were attacked by police in riot gear lobbing tear gas, assaulting them with pepper spray and firing rubber bullets and flash grenades. The city's mayor, Paul Schell, declared a state of emergency, ominously calling in the National Guard and setting a 7 p.m. curfew. Nearly 600 protesters were arrested. We demand: ***Free the jailed protesters and drop the charges!***

The pretext for the brutal crackdown was a rampage by a handful of anarchoid youth who smashed windows of Niketown, the Gap, Starbucks, McDonald's and other stores—ostensibly targeted for use of sweatshop labor overseas and hormone-fed beef. But like the WTO protests as a whole, this had nothing to do with fighting against capitalist exploitation but was rather the streetfighting, "radical" veneer for American chauvinist protectionism. Unlike anarchists and syndicalists of another era who allied with working-class struggles, these mainly middle-class white kids attacked Seattle bus drivers and excluded the homeless from a warehouse seized as an anarchist "squat."

The last time the National Guard was deployed to quell a "civil disturbance" of any magnitude in this country was in 1992, after Los Angeles erupted against

continued on page 2

AP

Police launch tear gas and fire rubber bullets, arresting hundreds of protesters against WTO meeting in Seattle.

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Seattle...

(continued from page 1)

the acquittal of the cops who beat black motorist Rodney King. The National Guard/police rampage against mainly white protesters in Seattle pales before the murderous 1992 siege of L.A.'s South Central ghetto and barrio, when 45 blacks and Latinos were killed. Unleashing the National Guard now sets a dangerous precedent for labor and black struggle in America's cities. New York City officials have already announced plans to call out the National Guard against transit workers if they strike when their contract expires later this month.

Orgy of Anti-Communism and Racist Protectionism

After three days, the WTO meeting of representatives of 135 countries collapsed amid the conflicting demands of the competing imperialist powers and the underdeveloped countries they exploit. Most of the protesters exulted in their "victory." But with or without the WTO, masses of working people around the world will continue to work in slave-labor conditions for the superprofits of a handful of greedy capitalists, while in the belly of this imperialist beast U.S. capitalists swimming in record profits continue to attack the living standards of the working class, while carrying out a full-scale war on blacks, immigrants and the poor.

At bottom, the protests were nothing more than a grotesque nationalist festival which held up "democratic" American imperialism, the most rapacious exploiter of labor on the planet, as the model for the world. Foreseeing the reactionary nature of the protests, the Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau passed a motion on November 4 not to "participate in, or sell at, the protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle on November 30 which are a circus—including ecology types, those battling 'genetically modified' food, the Reform Party and others—all dominated by national chauvinism, racist protectionism and counterrevolutionary attacks on the Chinese deformed workers state."

Glase/Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Seattle, November 30: AFL-CIO tops spearhead anti-Communist crusade against China with chauvinist signs reading, "People First Not China First."

What transpired validated our political opposition. From the AFL-CIO tops in the forefront of organizing the demonstrations to their reformist left tails and motley liberals, the Seattle protests were overwhelmingly a mobilization of the Democratic Party. One banner concisely captured it: "Clinton, Say No to the WTO," and Clinton himself "sided with the cause of many of the peaceful demonstrators" (*New York Times*, 2 December). A trade-union march which grew to some 40,000 people snaked through Seattle with chauvinist slogans like "People First Not China First," and the unions held a "Seattle Tea Party," dumping Chinese-made steel into the harbor. The highlight of the protests was the December 1 union rally featuring Teamsters president James Hoffa Jr., who has been leading a campaign to ban Mexican trucks from U.S. highways. Hoffa whipped up an anti-Communist fervor against "slave labor" in "undemocratic regimes" like China and Vietnam. The rally also featured Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng, Washington's poster boy for capitalist counterrevolution in China, and AFL-CIO head John Sweeney, who in the guise of fighting sweatshop labor in the Third World promotes racist American protectionism.

The U.S. imperialists, who at home spend billions of dollars a year to bust unions, are not in the business of defending the rights of workers anywhere. To appeal to them means sowing illusions in the "human rights" pretensions of the greatest enemy of workers and oppressed throughout the world. America is "beautiful" only for the savagely greedy handful of capitalists who own the means of production and who have bought out in a thousand ways the labor leaders who shamelessly collaborate with the bosses to drive down the standard of living of union members.

The U.S. has the largest prison population in the world, largely black and Hispanic; eleven-year-olds are treated by the racist criminal injustice system as "adults" to be warehoused in prison for life; the assault on women's rights has forced many women, especially teenagers, to back alleys for abortions; even the existing starvation-level welfare benefits are rapidly being eliminated altogether; the abundance of food that all the middle-class protesters take for granted is produced by backbreaking, near-slave labor in California's Central Valley and similar areas by desperately oppressed Mexican and other immigrants; the wages and living standards of the American working class, once the highest paid in the world, have been driven so low that German auto companies build assembly plants in the non-union South to take advantage of the cheap (and highly productive) labor.

Attempting to drum up labor support for the Democratic Party's presidential bid with Al Gore, Clinton cynically pandered to the AFL-CIO protesters and mouthed off about sanctions to enforce minimal child labor standards overseas. This produced howls of protest by other WTO members. Meanwhile, the U.S. had refused to sign an earlier and tougher International Labor Organization measure banning child labor "because it would overturn some clauses of American minimum-age laws" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 December). Indeed, while there are real conflicts of interest among the thieving heads of state and corporations represented in the WTO, upholding the rights of working people is not one of them!

"Free Trade" = Front for Imperialist Exploitation

The protesters target the WTO as the embodiment of "globalization," a supposedly new phenomenon by which a few multinational corporations dominate the world. Rather than a new phenomenon, this feature of the highest stage of moribund capitalism was already well established more than 80 years ago, when Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, following on Marx, explained that the productive

continued on page 9

Monopoly Capital and Imperialist States

TROTSKY

LENIN

Labor bureaucrats and reformist leftists contend that we now live in a new kind of global economy dominated by multinational corporations through agencies like the World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund. Such views are used to justify chauvinist protectionism and to bind the workers of each country to their "own" capitalist exploiters. In reality, world capitalism has been dominated since the late 19th century by industrial monopolies and big banks, represented by their respective imperialist states whose conflicting interests lead to trade wars and ultimately shooting wars. Amid the carnage of the first interimperialist world war in 1914-18, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed that only world socialist revolution could sweep away the imperialist system. In a December 1915 introduction to a work by Nikolai Bukharin, Lenin outlined the development of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism.

There had been an epoch of a comparatively "peaceful capitalism," when it had overcome feudalism in the advanced countries of Europe and was in a position to develop comparatively tranquilly and harmoniously, "peacefully" spreading over tremendous areas of still unoccupied lands, and of countries not yet finally drawn into the capitalist vortex. Of course, even in that epoch, marked approximately by the years 1871 and 1914, "peaceful" capitalism created conditions of life that were very far from being really peaceful both in the military and in a general class sense. For nine-tenths of the population of the advanced countries, for hundreds of millions of peoples in the colonies and in the backward countries this epoch was not one of "peace" but of oppression, tortures, horrors that seemed the more terrifying since they appeared to be without end. This epoch has gone forever. It has been followed by a new epoch, comparatively more impetuous, full of abrupt changes, catastrophes, conflicts, an epoch that no longer appears to the toiling masses as horror without end but is an end full of horrors.

It is highly important to have in mind that this change was caused by nothing but the direct development, growth, continuation of the deep-seated and fundamental tendencies of capitalism and production of commodities in general. The growth of commodity exchange, the growth of large-scale production are fundamental tendencies observable for centuries throughout the whole world. At a certain stage in the development of exchange, at a certain stage in the growth of large-scale production, namely, at the stage that was reached approximately at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, commodity exchange had created such an internationalisation of economic relations, and such an internationalisation of capital, accompanied by such a vast increase in large-scale production, that free competition began to be replaced by monopoly. The prevailing types were no longer enterprises freely competing inside the country and through intercourse between countries, but monopoly alliances of entrepreneurs, trusts. The typical ruler of the world became finance capital, a power that is peculiarly mobile and flexible, peculiarly intertwined at home and internationally, peculiarly devoid of individuality and divorced from the immediate processes of production, peculiarly easy to concentrate, a power that has already made peculiarly large strides on the road of concentration, so that literally several hundred billionaires and millionaires hold in their hands the fate of the whole world.

—V.I. Lenin, Introduction to Nikolai Bukharin's
Imperialism and World Economy (1916)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 7.

No. 725 **10 December 1999**

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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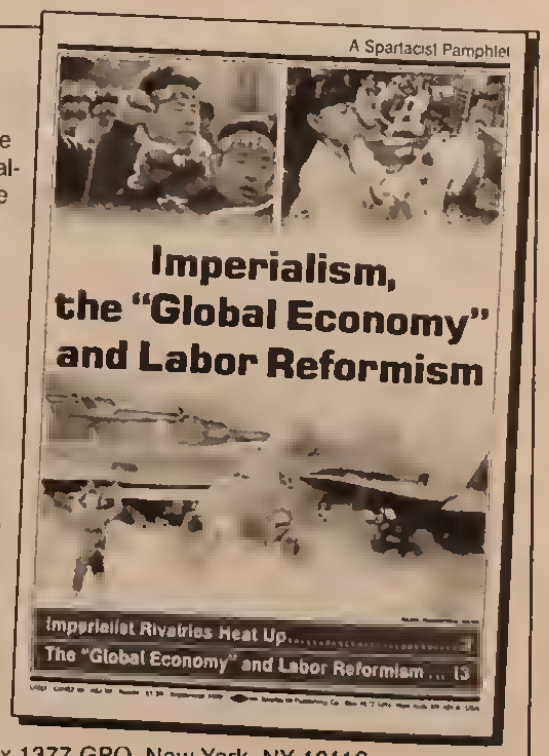
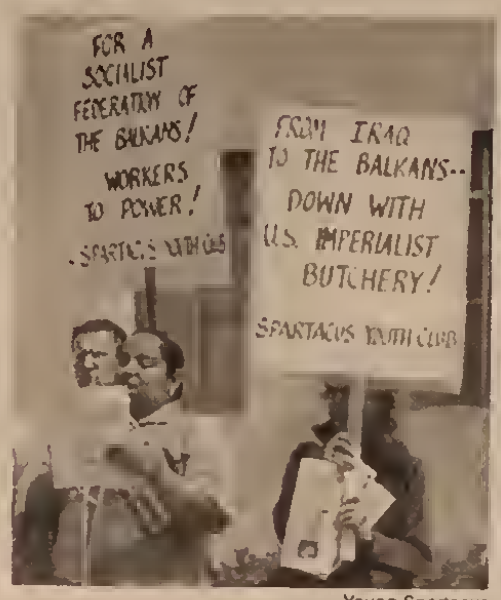


Young Spartacus

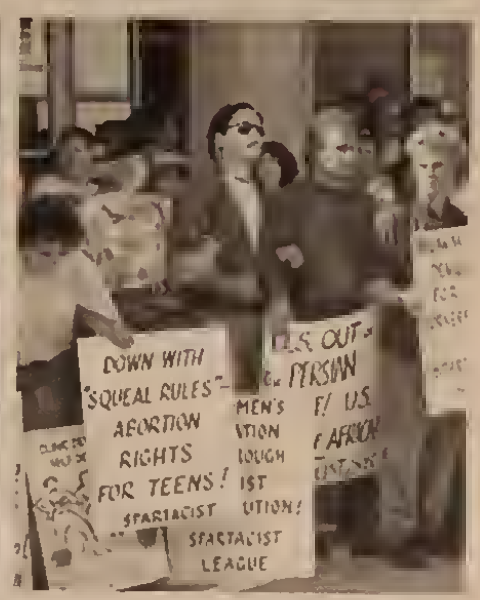
What We Fight For

The following program was adopted by the New York Spartacus Youth Club on December 4 in the wake of the successful anti-Klan mobilization of October 23.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles as the student/youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League, armed with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. A powerful example of our communist program was seen in the massive labor/black demonstration that drove the KKK fascists out of New York City on October 23, 1999. The SYCs worked alongside the Partisan Defense Committee, the Labor Black League and the Spartacist League to mobilize students and youth behind the social power of the proletariat. The SYCs have participated in and built mobilizations against Nazi and Klan terror such as Washington D.C. in 1982 and Philadelphia in 1988, campus speakouts and demonstrations against U.S. imperialist plunder, united-front actions in defense of abortion clinics, and labor/black mobilizations to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. This is part of our Marxist program of mobilizing labor in defense of all the oppressed. We fight to win youth to the perspective of building the revolutionary, multiracial workers party essential for the struggle for socialist revolution. If you agree with our program below and want to fight for a socialist future free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter, join the SYC!



Young Spartacus



WV Photo

Berkeley protest in March against U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia; defense of California abortion clinic against Operation Rescue bigots, 1993. Build the revolutionary youth organization!

Join the SYC!

1 Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized—unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!

2 Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

3 For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Defeat the racist assaults on affirmative action! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!

4 For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against crimes without victims—prostitution, consensual sex, drugs!

5 Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

6 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

7 Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!

8 Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! The UN is a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, East Timor, the Persian Gulf! Down with U.S. terror bombing of Iraq! Down with the UN starvation blockade! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

9 For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

10 Break with the racist, war-mongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League of the U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ■

Celebrate NYC Victory Over Klan

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Jamal's Freedom

The labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23 was an important victory for all workers and the oppressed, not least those imprisoned for fighting against racist capitalist oppression. Join the PDC in the 14th annual Holiday Appeal fund drive to celebrate the anti-Klan victory and help build a powerful movement for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners.

The Holiday Appeal helps sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners and provides extra funds for holiday gifts for them and their loved ones, a tradition dating back to the International Labor Defense of the 1920s. This is not charity but an act of solidarity with those behind bars—their fight is our fight!

New York City

Friday, December 10, 6 to 9 p.m.
AFSCME District Council 1707, 14th floor
75 Varick St. (north of Canal)
For more information: (212) 406-4252

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For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

WV Photos

NYC hospital workers rally against layoffs and cutbacks, 1996. SL/SYC contingent at 1992 Bay Area abortion rights demonstration. Leninist vanguard party is needed to mobilize proletariat in struggle against women's oppression.

We publish below edited excerpts from a Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club presentation at New York University earlier this year, in which comrade Carla Norris laid out the Marxist analysis of women's oppression under capitalism and the communist program for women's emancipation.

* * *

The question of women's liberation and women's rights—which is often referred to in the Marxist movement as the "woman question"—is both one of the oldest social issues and one of the most immediate. It goes back to way before the rise of capitalism and stems from the oldest social division in society, based on the biological division between men and women. In an observation which has often been repeated, French utopian socialist Charles Fourier stated that you could gauge where a society was at, and the level which it had attained, by the position and status of women within that society. So, looking around, where do women stand in 1999?

I wanted to give a few examples of the kind of oppression women are faced with today—except it becomes a very long list. Right now, under "workfare," many thousands of mothers are being forced to leave their children to go work for nothing in order to receive welfare benefits, while others seeking benefits and shelter are simply turned away and told to go live off their equally poor relatives or sleep in the streets. Our perspective is to fight against the threat to unionized labor posed by slave-labor "workfare" by calling for jobs for all at union wages and for free, quality health care for everyone. We also call for the unions to organize the unorganized. That way you can cut across the divisions between employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled, and between unionized and unorganized labor.

Another example of where we're at socially in this country is the murders of gay people like Matthew Shepard in Wyoming and Billy Jack Gaither in Alabama, killed because they were deemed to violate what religions preach is god's order. In another major battleground, women's right to abortion continues to be under attack, in the courts, in the legislatures and in assassinations and terror bombings against abortion clinics and doctors. And with the Clinton impeachment scandal, the term "adultery" is back in common usage.

Then you have the reactionary "age of consent" laws—the idea that young women (and men) are children who can't make their own decisions, and of course children are pure and don't have anything to do with sex. Or the "squeal rules" denying abortions to teens. Or the varied and scattered signs of growing social regimentation particularly of young people. For example, girls are being forced to wear skirts to school again. I remember it was a big fight in the '70s to get the right to wear jeans to school!

If you look beyond the United States, things have similarly gone from bad to worse. In Europe, you have "enlightened" secular capitalist states expelling Muslim schoolgirls for wearing headscarves to school; you have "virginity checks" of women seeking to immigrate; you have women in Germany, where the right to abortion is being increasingly slashed, subjected to humiliating gynecological searches upon returning from abroad to determine if they've had abortions.

In Mexico, women are slaving in *maquiladora* factories under the terms of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Throughout much of Africa, you have women being subjected to the horror of female genital mutilation, while millions die from AIDS because those countries are too poor to afford medications which can slow down the disease. In South Africa recently, the murder of a woman AIDS activist reflects the widespread bigotry against AIDS victims that's been engendered by reactionary superstitions.

In Afghanistan, where for years the U.S. poured in massive military backing to the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* cutthroats as part of its anti-Soviet campaign, the ruling Taliban terrorizes and stones women and executes homosexuals. And the coming to power of such anti-woman reactionaries was actually cheered by a number of so-called left groups in this country, such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO).

In the former Soviet Union, you had hogwash about how with capitalist counterrevolution Russia would join the advanced capitalist nations; well, it's become much more like Mexico or Indonesia. Despite the rule of a conservative, Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union had a planned, collectivized economy, which meant that all women were able to work and be integrated into the productive life of the society, and everyone had access to education, housing, health care and childcare. As throughout East Europe, no woman had to be dependent on a husband for her daily bread. Now, with the capitalist counterrevolutions there, abortion rights have been taken away, childcare facilities have been shut down and women have been the chief targets of mass layoffs.

And in China today, women are the first victims of the capitalist "market reforms" being pushed by the Stalinist bureaucracy; they're being thrown out of work, they're working 15-hour days in these Special Economic Zones, and female infanticide is making a comeback. We stand for unconditional military defense of China—as well as Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, as we did in regard to the Soviet degenerated workers state and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe. At the same time, we call for proletarian political revolution to throw out the Stalinist bureaucracies which open the door to capitalist restoration.

What all of this shows is the link between raw capitalist exploitation and women's special oppression.

Shames/Focus

Homeless family in Los Angeles. Deepening misery and racist oppression are endemic to capitalist profit system.

What Marxists Mean by "Special Oppression"

The special needs of women as an oppressed group in capitalist society have to be addressed by anyone who wants to change that society. A Leninist vanguard party that seeks to lead the working class to power must win women to its banner. That's something the socialist movement has sought to address from its origins, going back to the Second International and noted Communist leaders like Clara Zetkin, who organized transitional organizations and newspapers and journals addressed to women's specific problems and to help bring them into revolutionary politics.

Later, Lenin's Bolsheviks in Russia, after they made the October Revolution in 1917, immediately took all laws off the books referring to "illegitimate" children, got rid of all laws against homosexuality and shortly after the revolution gave women the right to free abortion on demand—at a time when U.S. women didn't even have the right to vote. To the extent they could, they set up communal kitchens and laundries and day-care centers—even under conditions of great

poverty and economic dislocation, after being invaded by 14 capitalist armies. The Bolsheviks set up special organizations to help women in the Muslim East fight to throw off the veil. Of course, many of these policies were later reversed under the rule of Stalin's nationalist bureaucratic caste, which usurped political power in 1923-1924, ultimately paving the way for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-1992.

It is in the Bolsheviks' tradition of communist work among women that the Spartacist League published for many years the journal *Women and Revolution*, a tradition that the International Communist League continues today with "Women and Revolution" pages in the ICL journal *Spartacist* and in our international sectional presses. The Spartacist League is committed to building transitional organizations for women, to bring them into political life despite the obstacles they face.

I thought there was a really good quote we ran this year in *Workers Vanguard* from Lenin, "International Working Women's Day" (March 1921), and I just wanted to briefly quote from it:

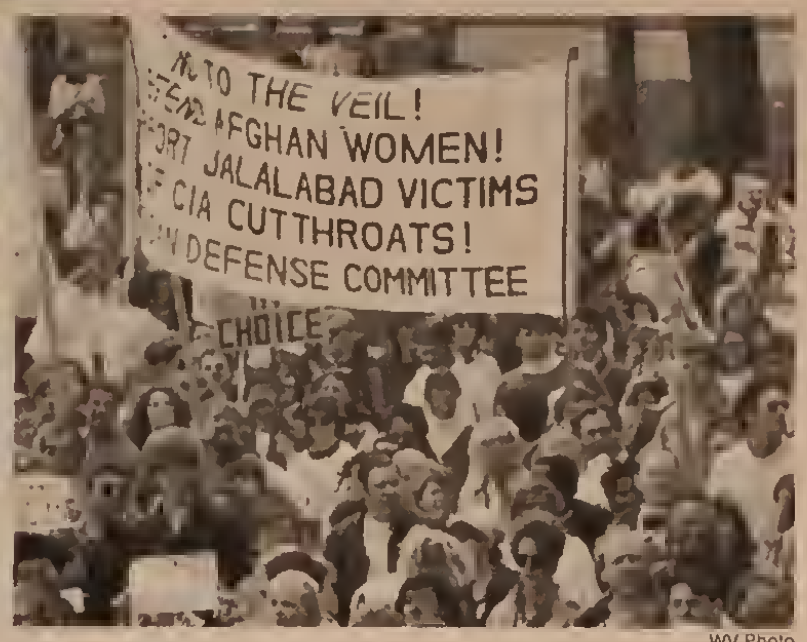
"But you cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing in the women as well. For under capitalism the female half of the human race is doubly oppressed. The working woman and the peasant woman are oppressed by capital, but over and above that, even in the most democratic of the bourgeois republics, they remain, firstly, deprived of some rights because the law does not give them equality with men; and secondly—and this is the main thing—they remain in 'household bondage,' they continue to be 'household slaves,' for they are overburdened with the drudgery of the most squalid, backbreaking and stultifying toil in the kitchen and the family household.

"No party or revolution in the world has ever dreamed of striking so deep at the roots of the oppression and inequality of women as the Soviet, Bolshevik revolution is doing. Over here, in Soviet Russia, no trace is left of any inequality between men and women under the law. The Soviet power has eliminated all there was of the especially disgusting, base and hypocritical inequality in the laws on marriage and the family and inequality in respect of children.

"This is only the first step in the liberation of woman. But none of the bourgeois republics, including the most democratic, has dared to take even this first step. The reason is awe of 'sacrosanct private property.'

"The second and most important step is the abolition of the private ownership of land and the factories. This and this alone opens up the way towards a complete and actual emancipation of woman, her liberation from 'household bondage' through transition from petty individual housekeeping to large-scale socialized domestic services."

Franklin/Magnum



WV Photo

1989: Afghan women join fight against CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats. PDC campaigned in defense of city of Jalalabad, besieged by Islamic fundamentalists after Kremlin bureaucracy withdrew Soviet Army.

Race, Sex and Class

Now, here in this country, the fundamental question is the race question. Black working women suffer triple oppression: as women, as members of an oppressed race/color caste and as working-class women. Working women are squeezed in the contradiction between being told day care is a "satanic plot" and being told that welfare mothers must leave their children in some nonexistent day-care center they can't afford.

The racist hue and cry over "welfare mothers" was fueled by the likes of Daniel Moynihan (currently a New York Democratic Party Senator), who in a 1964 work described black families as a "tangle of pathology." This blaming of the victims is intended to disguise a system of exploitation and oppression, and it is echoed today by black demagogues like Louis Farrakhan, who calls on ***black people*** to "atone." Naturally, Clinton—who axed welfare—saluted Farrakhan's 1995 reactionary Million Man March for its emphasis on "personal responsibility."

The so-called "crisis of the family" (especially the black family) is directly related to the destruction of well-paid union jobs. You can't have a stable family life without a stable income. Married black women have historically gone to work at five times the rate of white women—they've had to, in order to survive. Meanwhile, one-third of young black men are in prison or on parole or otherwise ensnared in the "criminal justice" system.

A very stark example of racist cop terror is the killing of black African Amadou Diallo by the New York Police Department in February. A man has 41 bullets fired at him because of his skin color. And nearly every black man and woman knows that it could have been them. They've been stopped and searched, or beaten, or arrested, or worse, because they "fit the description" or because their neighborhood is a "drug location." As we've said many times before in *Workers Vanguard*, this "war on drugs" is nothing but a war on black people, and both the Democrats and Republicans are behind it.

But the angry protests over the Diallo killing were dominated by Democratic Party politicians like Al Sharpton. In recent years, Sharpton—who during the 1980s worked as a fink for the FBI and then-federal prosecutor Rudy Giuliani—has masqueraded as an opponent of police brutality. Sharpton's purpose is to divert social protest into appeals to the very racist capitalist government which carries out such killings. Calling for more "oversight" from the federal government, which after all is the executive committee of the capitalist class; calling for the FBI, which aided the KKK during the civil rights movement, to investigate the NYPD; calling for the courts to indict the cops—all these demands breed illusions that the armed thugs of the capitalist state can be reformed. But they can't. They have to be swept away through socialist revolution.

The labor movement is really where the power is, and women are an important part of that. For labor to begin the fight toward power, though, the workers movement has to take a stand against racism, and also raise demands like equal pay for equal work, and free, quality child care. But the pro-capitalist "leaders" of the union movement are an obstacle to this. We need class-struggle leadership, a new leadership in the unions and a Leninist party—a multiracial workers party—capable of leading all the exploited and oppressed against the capitalist bosses and their state. Black oppression is part of the legacy of slavery in this country. That's why the Spartacist League calls to "Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution!"

VAAP

Banner at March 1917 demonstration in Petrograd reads: "As Long as the Woman Is a Slave There Can't Be Freedom. Long Live Women's Equality!" October Revolution ushered in collectivized economy which laid basis for women's emancipation.

Material Basis of Women's Oppression

Where does women's oppression come from? A central tenet of non-Marxist, academic studies about women is that women's oppression has always existed, that it stems from some innate characteristic distinguishing men and women, such as body size, brain size (this is out of favor currently), ability to bear children, etc. And what goes along with such views is the idea that anti-woman ideology, like racism, is just bad thinking, and what's needed is to propagate "correct ideas." One reflection of this is the anti-pornography censorship being pushed by both feminists and the religious right. We oppose censorship. Not only does it set a dangerous precedent of letting this racist, anti-woman capitalist state decide what people can and can't read or look at, but images of women's bodies are not the cause, or even *a* cause, of women's oppression.

Marxists are materialists—we observe our subject in motion, as it occurs, and we analyze it and probe its origins and how it got that way. And just because something is currently the case doesn't mean it's necessarily been that way for all time. Women's oppression has a material basis. The material conditions of your existence have a lot to do with your consciousness. A lot of the differences that people make much of between the way men and women think—like in that idiotic but popular book, *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus*—are determined by the very different external conditions that shape us.

Social institutions and conventions—like marriage and the family—are part of the way the ruling class maintains power and regiments society. Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's comrade-in-arms, wrote *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* in 1884, and even over 100 years later, there's still nothing better you can read on the roots of the subjugation of women in class society and private property. Now, what Marxists mean by "private property" is, basically, the ownership of large tracts of land and, under capitalism, the large manufacturing plants, the means of production through which workers produce the wealth which is appropriated by the capitalists.

Engels' book drew heavily from the work of Lewis Henry Morgan, who studied the Iroquois Indians of North America, and he examined how the forms of human social organization corresponded to certain material conditions of life. For instance, in primitive communal hunter-gatherer society, the division of labor between men and women was based not on female dependency but on the biological reality of childbirth and childcare. Nobody had anything much, and social equality existed. This is sometimes referred to as "primitive communism." This is not, however, our goal.

Later, the development of agriculture and better tools led to the production for the first time of a social surplus—that little bit extra which enables a society to go beyond simple survival and which eventually produced the wealth that could be passed down to heirs. The new social surplus happened to originate in the traditionally male sphere of human activity. And the advent of a social surplus led to the division of society into antagonistic classes. These antagonistic classes brought about the need for a state, or as Lenin defined it, "special bodies of armed men that defend the rule of a particular class."

With this division of society, the monogamous family and patrilineal descent came into existence. Engels called this "the world historical defeat of the female sex." Ever since, the biological

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For Women's Liberation...

(continued from page 5)

fact of childbearing and child rearing was tied to the social oppression of women. Society split into classes, and the ruling or property-owning class governed society through the state. The means for accumulating wealth was outside the home, and "women's work" accordingly came to be regarded as worthless. As a means of consolidating wealth in the hands of a tiny minority, the patriarchal family decreed monogamy for women to determine inheritance of property. You've all heard jokes about knights going off on crusades and leaving their wives in chastity belts. Well, how else do you make sure?

Explaining how the institution of the family oppresses women, Engels noted:

> "With the patriarchal family and still more with the single monogamous family, a change came. Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a *private service*; the wife became the head servant, excluded from all participation in social production. Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again—and then only to the proletarian wife. But it was opened in such a manner that, if she carries out her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently, she cannot carry out family duties. And the wife's position in the factory is the position of women in all branches of business, right up to medicine and the law. The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules."

So "family values" based on religion, chastity and the like constitute a conservatizing ideology to regiment the population and prop up bourgeois "law and order," aimed at justifying and reinforcing the family, the key institution for the oppression of women in class society. For the bourgeoisie, the family is of value in ensuring that property is transmitted from one generation to the next through "legitimate" heirs. The proletariat, which has nothing to leave to the next generation, is meant to produce future generations of workers to be used as fodder for capitalist exploitation, while the working-class family is meant to provide for the care of the young and the aged and all the other social services the capitalists don't want to pay for.

Spartakist

Spartakist Workers Party at 1992 East Berlin march against reactionary West German abortion law. ICL fought against capitalist reunification which overturned gains for women such as abortion rights, free childcare and full employment.

W.E. Debenham

Friedrich Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) laid foundation for Marxist understanding of women's oppression.

This entails glaring hypocrisy: mothers are supposed to stay home and care for their kids—unless they're on welfare, in which case they're supposed to leave their kids at home with no babysitter and go out to work. And when the capitalists need to draw women into the workplace, as in times of war, they adjust their ideology, only to reverse it later when they again seek to drive women back to "hearth and home."

Society Is Divided into Classes

I want to address the differences between feminism and Marxism. Feminism is a worldview counterposed to revolutionary Marxism: it sees the world via a gender-based as opposed to a class-based analysis of society. Now, things have changed a lot. In the late '60s, there was a huge upsurge of women wanting to fight discrimination and sexism, buoyed by the civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam War protests. Today there's really no mass feminist organizations. There's NOW (the National Organization for Women), of course, which in the recent period has been heard from mostly defending Clinton against his detractors. When the Spartacus Youth Club here at NYU held a speakout after the murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian by an anti-abortion bigot near Buffalo, New York in October 1998, we invited NOW to speak, and they sent a woman who maybe mentioned abortion a couple of times but spent basically the whole speech urging people to get out and vote for Democrat Charles Schumer for Senator. So an anti-welfare, "tough on crime" Democrat is their answer to the attacks on abortion.

What may confuse people is that there are many so-called socialist groups which have christened themselves "socialist-feminist" and have tried to bridge the chasm separating feminism and Marxism. That's because they are at bottom interested in reforming capitalism in alliance with bourgeois liberals. For example, at an International Women's Day (IWD) event in Toronto, Canada last year, a couple of propaganda booths were being staffed by representatives of the Canadian Army and the woman-hating Islamic fundamentalist regime in Iran. And the Trotskyist League, the Canadian section of the International Communist League, and various other leftists, including from the Worker-communist Party of Iran, got together to express their outrage and drive these class enemies out of the IWD fair. However, other so-called leftists, such as the Canadian affiliates of the International Socialist Organization and Jack Barnes's Socialist Workers Party, denounced us for doing our internationalist duty. So there's an example of the sort of "cross-class" sisterhood that's pushed by feminists. You can be "sisters" with Hillary Clinton...or Madeleine Albright —god!

What is especially pernicious about bourgeois feminism is that it perpetuates the fatuous belief that things are getting better for women—see how many Congresswomen and Senators there are; see how Janet Reno is going to prosecute anti-abortion protesters; see how the process of pushing for reforms via voting for the Democrats has helped women's rights...except that it hasn't. Poor women effectively lost the right to abortion only a few years after the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion nationally, when Southern Democratic president Jimmy Carter enacted the Hyde Amendment ending Medicaid funding for abortion. And working people are earning less than they were 20 years ago.

There's always been a current among bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women in advanced capitalist countries that has advanced reforms and fought to grant women formal legal "personhood"—opening the way for certain women of the ruling class to "emancipate" themselves. However, this doesn't really change the lot of working and especially black women in this society. I came across a nice quote from Nadezhda Krupskaya, a Bolshevik leader who was Lenin's wife, which goes:

> "Bourgeois women advocate their special 'women's' rights. They always oppose themselves to men and demand their rights from men. For them, contemporary society is divided into two main categories: men and women. Men possess everything, hold all the rights. The question is one of achieving equal rights.
>
> "For the working woman, the woman question becomes quite different. The conscious working woman sees that contemporary society is divided into classes. Each class has its special interests. The bourgeois one, the working class another. Their interests are opposed. The division between men and women does not have great importance in the eyes of the working woman."

Cops, Courts, Churches Out of the Bedroom!

It's the duty of Marxists to defend the democratic rights of the most vulnerable social groups, which are often the first targets of increasing state repression and campaigns to regiment society. One example is the "pedophilia" hysteria and attacks on one particular group, NAMBLA (the North American Man-Boy Love Association), simply for advocating the right of men and boys to have consensual sexual relations. These people have been totally victimized by the government and the media and have been attacked up and down, losing their jobs and being thrown in jail. This opens the door to attacks on many other varieties of sexual expression that are considered "deviant." We say: Government out of the bedroom!

Much as the family serves as not only a useful social institution but also as the only social "safety net" and comfort that many people have, religion also doubles as both a means and a justification for oppression and as a sort of consolation for material oppression and degradation. People are probably familiar with Marx's remark about religion being the "opium of the people." He didn't mean it in any narrow anti-drug sense but in the sense that it was an illusory relief for the real pain beyond man's control. But Marxism has a whole different worldview.

Of course, I'm talking here about *real* Marxists. There are some groups which call themselves socialist, like the aforementioned ISO, whose "Campaign to End the Death Penalty" put out this leaflet about "The Execution of Jesus Christ and the Death Penalty Today." It says, "Come participate in a political service and experience the power of Good Friday in helping to end the death penalty"! (We did call and make sure this wasn't an April Fool's joke, didn't we?) This is a crystal-clear example of what's called opportunism, but it's not out of character for a group which hailed the Islamic fundamentalist Khomeini in Iran and Solidarność Catholic reactionaries in Poland (see "ISO and Religion," *WV* No. 724, 26 November).

Capitalism is not evolving in a progressive direction but toward economic trade rivalries, trade wars and imperialist shooting wars—like the U.S./NATO war against Serbia in the Balkans. Consequently, the bourgeoisie has turned its back on the ideology of the Enlightenment, of the French Revolution of 1789, and is busily bringing back all the old crap in order to regiment and stupefy the population, finding a useful tool to this end in all sorts of religion and mysticism—creationism, UFO sightings, various "new age" fads like "crop circles."

And, of course, racism is of tremendous importance to the capitalist rulers in trying to prevent united action by black and white workers. It was just that kind of united class struggle that led to the founding of the United Auto Workers union in the late 1930s, for instance, and a taste of it could be seen in the strikes against GM Flint in 1998 and against UPS by the Teamsters the year before, where workers hung together and won limited victories. We also point to the labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee over the last 20 years to stop the Klan and the Nazis in cities from San Francisco to Chicago to Washington, D.C. and to the labor-centered mobilizations initiated by the PDC to fight for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The International Communist League is in the business of raising the consciousness of the working class. We fight for free abortion on demand, free 24-hour childcare, free quality health care, jobs for all, open admissions to education with no tuition and a living stipend. Such demands are absolutely necessary, but they won't be achieved under capitalism. Marxism is a guide to action, the only way to fundamentally *change* society. Unlike philosophers who sought only to interpret the world, Marx and Engels fought to change society, and Lenin put their teachings into practice in their most complete form by building the Bolshevik Party, the only party to lead a successful workers revolution, the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia. As the Russian Revolution showed, women workers will be among the best fighters for their class.

Real human dignity and equality can only come about through the collective ownership of the means of production—the steel mills, the railroads, etc.—where allocation of resources will be according to human need and not Wall Street profits. To liberate women means that the family as an institution has to be replaced with collective childcare and housework, in order to bring women fully into society.

The struggle for women's liberation requires a proletarian vanguard party—that's what the Spartacist League and the International Communist League are here for. And as we fight for new October Revolutions, the International Communist League reaffirms that the struggle against women's oppression is integral to the emancipation of labor itself. ***For women's liberation through socialist revolution!*** ■

China...

(continued from page 1)

tariffs could throw as many as ten million more peasants into the already huge army of migrant laborers.

But this outcome is not at all predetermined by the WTO agreement. Rather, ***what is urgently posed is struggle by the Chinese proletariat to defend the already greatly attenuated gains of the 1949 Revolution.***

Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* (1 December) wrote that in the space of one week shortly after the WTO agreement, "sit-ins, demonstrations, and disruptions to railway lines have been reported in cities including Xian, Chongqing, Hengyang, Beijing, and Changsha." Even retired army officers have been protesting, demanding the jobs they were supposed to get after leaving the army. In May-June 1989, working people rebelled against the effects of Deng Xiaoping's "market socialism," transforming the student protests at Tiananmen Square into an incipient proletarian political revolution against the Beijing bureaucracy.

Ten years later, the choices for China are increasingly stark: ***proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution***. The raw social material for a

Argus

Beijing regime's "open door" means ever more massive imperialist encroachments. Shanghai Volkswagen plant.

proletarian political revolution certainly exists. What does not now exist and must be built is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to direct spontaneous and localized labor strikes and protests toward the overthrow of the Stalinist regime and its replacement by a government of democratically elected workers, soldiers and peasant councils.

In their own way, the imperialist bourgeoisie and their spokesmen understand that restoring capitalism in China would first require ***breaking the resistance of the Chinese working class***. Shawn Xu, head of research at a joint venture between the China Construction Bank and the Wall Street giant Morgan Stanley, calls China's entry into the WTO "the most significant move since the start of economic reforms themselves 20 years ago." But the celebratory mood among international financiers and their Chinese agents is tempered by fears of social, especially labor, unrest. In a *New York Times* piece which ran a few days after the trade deal was announced, a worker in a Beijing textile factory stated bitterly that now "even more workers will be laid off." "Such fears and angers, shared by millions across the country," warns the *Times*, "add up to one of China's greatest challenges."

AP

Beijing, 1999: Rural migrants pour into cities and towns seeking work as pro-capitalist "market reforms" throw tens of millions into desperate poverty.

Meanwhile in the U.S., the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy joins with right-wing bourgeois politicians in railing that Clinton "betrayed" American interests with the China/WTO deal. A focal point of the anti-WTO protests in Seattle was the AFL-CIO tops' anti-Communist campaign against China, as the chauvinist United Steelworkers leadership staged a "dumping" of Chinese steel in the harbor while Teamsters chief Jimmy Hoffa Jr. shared a platform with CIA-sponsored Chinese "dissident" Wei Jingsheng.

Washington promotes anti-Communist dissidents like Wei and Hong Kong-based "labor organizer" Han Dongfang while brandishing American military might against China, most recently through the proposed Asian "theater missile defense" system which may include capitalist Taiwan. This is in no way counterposed to the policy of "engagement" with the CCP regime. All wings of the American capitalist class are united around their goal for China: to overturn the 1949 Revolution and recapture the "right" of untrammeled exploitation of the country's working masses.

The Chinese Revolution was a world-historic event, destroying the rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited since time immemorial. Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were wiped out. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. Landlord/capitalist rule was replaced by a centrally planned, collectivized economy. It is the duty of the proletariat internationally to stand for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

However, the People's Republic of China was from the outset a ***bureaucratically deformed*** workers state. Issuing out of the victory of Mao Zedong's peasant-based People's Liberation Army (PLA), the 1949 Revolution resulted in the rule of a materially privileged bureaucratic caste which modeled its regime on the Soviet Union under Stalin, governing the country with an iron hand and completely depriving the proletariat of political power. Pursuing the reactionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Maoist bureaucracy paid lip service to "Marxism-Leninism" while selling out revolutionary struggles internationally and promoting the nationalist project of transforming China into a great world power on a par with the U.S. Chasing the same nationalist chimera, Mao's bureaucratic heirs continue to deepen capitalist "market reforms" initiated more than 20 years ago, bringing the country to the brink of capitalist restoration.

Adding to the pressure exerted by foreign imperialist capital is the existence of a powerful offshore Chinese bourgeoisie, centered in Hong Kong and Taiwan but present throughout Southeast Asia. Where the Russian bourgeoisie was destroyed as a class by the October Revolution of 1917, the Chinese capitalists were able to flee the mainland in the late 1940s, maintaining their cohesion as a class and retaining kinship links inside China. The Chinese bourgeoisie has a powerful bastion in Hong Kong, which provides a conduit for CCP officials and their "princeling" offspring to enrich themselves, often linking up with Hong Kong tycoons. Meanwhile, capitalist Taiwan remains a dagger aimed at the Chinese deformed workers state, serving as a base for imperialist military pressure and a principal source for the massive incursion of Chinese capital into the mainland.

To defeat the powerful forces of capitalist counterrevolution now threatening the Chinese working class, it is necessary to adhere to the principles of ***proletarian internationalism*** which governed the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky and the early Chinese Communist Party, born out of the May Fourth Movement protests against the degradation of China before Japanese and Western imperialism. A political revolution in China must be linked to the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the U.S., Japan and other imperialist centers. Only through socialist revolution in these countries will the threat of capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

Chinese Stalinism in Power: From Mao to Jiang

In a piece on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 October) hailed Deng Xiaoping and his "market-based reforms" for having "rescued China from the political nightmare of the Mao years and eased the backwardness of Stalinist economics." On the other side, many left-leaning Chinese intellectuals, fearful and hostile toward Western and Japanese imperialism, now idealize the Mao era when China practiced economic "self-reliance." Dovetailing with this nostalgia for Mao is the deep sense of national feeling against the imperialist powers, who bullied and oppressed China for over a century before being expelled by the 1949 Revolution. Nationalist sentiment was evident in the outpouring of protest in Beijing and other cities over the U.S. bombing of the Chinese consulate in Belgrade in May during NATO's terror war against Serbia.

Superficially, the privatization and "free trade" program of Jiang and Zhu, and Deng before his death in 1997, may seem to be a total repudiation of Maoism. In reality, the course of developments from Mao to Jiang expresses an organic evolution of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy in power. The political and in many cases biological heirs of the commanders of the PLA which marched into Beijing in 1949 are today in the forefront of the drive to restore capitalism.

The Maoist regime's initial economic policies, modeled on the early Soviet five-year plans, produced substantial all-round growth and industrial development. But such gains were not nearly enough to lift the condition of the Chinese masses to that of the advanced industrialized world, much less to the level of socialism, which requires eliminating scarcity. Nor did those gains satisfy the grandiose national ambitions of Mao and his colleagues. In the late 1950s, Mao launched the Great Leap Forward, a campaign of insane economic adventurism marked by the proliferation of primitive backyard steel furnaces.

The resulting economic catastrophe and terrible famine set the stage for the violent factional turmoil of the 1960s, grotesquely called by Mao the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The Chinese economy was further weakened by the Sino-Soviet split beginning in the late 1950s, with the nationalist bureaucracies in Beijing and Moscow falling out as they each pursued "socialism" in their own single country, accompanied by the futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. By the time Mao died in 1976, Chinese Stalinism had reached an impasse.

The modernization of China remains a key revolutionary task. But such development of backward countries is possible only within the framework of an ***internationally planned socialist economy*** based on proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. As Leon Trotsky insisted in his political struggle against the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, there can be no nationally isolated socialist development:

> "Socialism is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production is not yet socialism, but only its legal premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, ***which at the present stage of human development are world-wide in their very essence***. The separate state, having become too narrow

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China...

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> for capitalism, is so much less capable of becoming the arena of a finished socialist society. The backwardness of a revolutionary country, moreover, increases for it the danger of being thrown back to capitalism." [our emphasis]
>
> —"Socialism in a Separate Country?" appendix to *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932-33)

We look to the early period of Chinese Communism, before the liquidationist line of the Stalinized Communist International—which ordered the CCP to bury itself in the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang—led to the beheading of the 1925-27 Revolution. In 1922, the CCP was in the leadership of a strike of 100,000 Hong Kong seamen. Three years later, the Communist-led Hong Kong Strike Committee carried out a 16-month strike following the murder of anti-imperialist protesters by British troops in Shanghai. Those communists fought to liberate China through mobilizing the working class at the head of the battle for national liberation, agrarian revolution and social modernization.

The Chinese Stalinists, like their Soviet counterparts, actively opposed the genuinely Marxist and Leninist program of international proletarian revolution. Instead, the Beijing bureaucracy placed its hopes on securing Western, Japanese and offshore Chinese capitalist investment. At the political level, this meant an alliance with American imperialism against the Soviet Union. Mao embraced Richard Nixon in Beijing in 1972 at the very moment that American bombs were raining down on Vietnam, as U.S. imperialism waged its counterrevolutionary war of terror against the Indochinese workers and peasants.

Hulton Getty

1839: British Navy destroys Chinese vessels at start of Opium War. Defeat of decrepit Qing Dynasty opened the door to colonialist plunder of China.

At the economic level, China's doors were opened wide to foreign investment. Under the rubric of the "four modernizations," Deng launched the drive for a "socialist market economy." Agriculture was decollectivized, allowing the rural economy to be governed by atomized competition among peasant households. Centralized planning was attenuated by the introduction of "market adjustment," with managers of state enterprises instructed to maximize returns in selling their products. State enterprises were allowed to hire new workers on a contract basis for a limited time period. The "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social benefits was rusted out.

By the late 1980s, sharply rising economic inequalities, rampant corruption and inflation had generated a climate of popular discontent. In May-June 1989, protests initiated by student youth gained widespread support among the working masses. Groups of young workers, some of them carrying posters with Mao's picture, joined the huge demonstrations in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, which spread throughout the country. We wrote at the time: "It was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" (*WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). Initially, both rank-and-file soldiers and some senior military commanders refused to carry out orders to suppress the protests. Deng was finally able to find military units willing to carry out a massacre, which was directed at working-class neighborhoods in Beijing and other cities, not at the student protesters.

"Market Reform" Misery

Fearful of popular unrest, for the next few years the Beijing regime put further market-based "reforms" on hold. But the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe spurred the Beijing bureaucracy to plunge even deeper into the "free market" sea while maintaining an iron grip on the working people and impoverished peasantry. Recommencing in 1992, moves toward capitalist restoration have now greatly accelerated with China's imminent entry into the WTO. After 1997, key state industries have been converted to shareholding companies, with a majority stake held by the government. Now, the regime is allowing government shareholders to sell part of their stakes to private interests. And the *South China Morning Post* (24 November) notes that "Beijing is about to introduce a stiff inheritance tax partly with a view to containing the economic—and political—influence of the rising class of private entrepreneurs." The imposition of an inheritance tax is an expression of just how far down the road the capitalist "reforms" have gone.

CCP head Jiang's son is one of China's most successful capitalist entrepreneurs, while Zhu's son is an executive of a Morgan Stanley joint-venture investment bank. The Chinese Stalinists hope to place themselves and their offspring among China's new exploiters. This development was analyzed by Leon Trotsky in his decisive 1936 analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, *The Revolution Betrayed*:

> "Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class. On the other hand, the victory of the proletariat over the bureaucracy would insure a revival of the socialist revolution."

Trotsky posed the stark choice for Soviet society—and this applies with immediacy to China today: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" The Soviet proletariat, whose consciousness had been poisoned by decades of Stalinist nationalism, betrayals and lies, failed to act to stop the counterrevolution unleashed by Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 seizure of power, which culminated over the following year in the final undoing of the October Revolution.

Despite the Chinese bureaucracy's stated intention to impose a full-fledged market economy, the state-owned sector still accounts for over 40 percent of China's economy. Writing shortly before the trade deal with the U.S., the Hong Kong-based *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 October) explained: "It's precisely because state-owned enterprises have traditionally performed such critical employment and social-welfare roles that Beijing is reluctant to dismantle the system too quickly.... It fears that throwing millions of people out of work could result in political and social instability." As Trotsky wrote of Stalin's regime, the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat."

Certainly, the Beijing Stalinists have gone much further toward capitalist restoration than had the Soviet bureaucracy in the late 1980s, condemning increasing sections of Chinese society to abject poverty. Tens of millions of peasants who have gone bankrupt and rural youth deprived of a livelihood in the countryside have flooded into the cities looking for work. But with urban jobs hard to find, many of these migrants—an estimated two million in Beijing alone—are homeless, forced to become beggars and prostitutes to survive. Even official Chinese sources project that by 2006, those without jobs or "not fully employed" will be nearly 20 percent of the working-age population, while some estimate that effective unemployment has already reached 20 percent. With the loss of a job goes the housing, medical, education and retirement benefits tied to employment in state-owned industries.

Among those hardest hit by the attacks on the "iron rice bowl" are women and the aged. Nearly two-thirds of those laid off from state firms are women, who as a result end up with smaller pensions. Today in the impoverished countryside, rural families who can't afford tuition commonly keep their daughters out of school; with the return to family farming and its attendant reactionary social attitudes, girls are deemed worthless to educate. Meanwhile, the pre-revolutionary scourge of the kidnapping of women to be sold as "wives" has revived. Older workers are in increasingly desperate straits as their formerly guaranteed retirement and health benefits are torn up.

Labor Defender

1922 Hong Kong seamen's strike against British colonial rulers. Early Chinese Communist Party played leading role in proletarian struggle against imperialist subjugation.

A Chinese Trotskyist party would undertake special measures to organize the superexploited migrant workers, who form a potentially powerful link between the urban working class and the vast peasant interior. It would advance the rights of women, from defending their jobs to fighting their re-enslavement by bride-procurers and household tyrants.

AFL-CIO Tops Spearhead Anti-China Campaign

Successor to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the WTO is a pillar of the post-Soviet "New World Order," prescribing "neoliberal" policies designed for the untrammeled exploitation of Third World countries by American, West European and Japanese industrialists and financiers. Right-wing proponents of economic nationalism in the U.S., and even more so various leftists, often view the WTO and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as all-powerful global agencies laying down the law to member states. In reality, the WTO, IMF, World Bank, et al. are based on agreements between the American, West European and Japanese imperialist states and represent a series of compromises between their divergent national interests. And such agreements are broken when those national interests so dictate, as the imperialist powers compete for spheres of exploitation, among which a capitalist China ranks as the golden fleece. Counterrevolution in China would not lead to a flowering of economic development courtesy of imperialist investment, but would rather turn the country into a battleground for cutthroat rivalries among the major capitalist powers.

While the imperialists aim at a "cold" capitalist restoration from above carried out by leading elements of the Beijing bureaucracy, sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie are pushing for a combination of economic warfare and military pressure, replicating the Cold War II offensive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. The main advocates of a Cold War offensive against China today include both the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy and the Republican right.

AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney told the National Press Club last month that the Clinton administration "prostrates itself for a deal with China that treats human rights as a disposable nuisance." The AFL-CIO bureaucracy combines anti-Communist hostility to China with flag-waving trade protectionism about "saving American jobs." Agitation against imports from China (or Japan) invariably has a strong undertone of "yellow peril" racism. The anti-Asian hysteria fanned by the United Auto Workers tops during their campaign against Japanese cars in the 1970s led directly to the heinous

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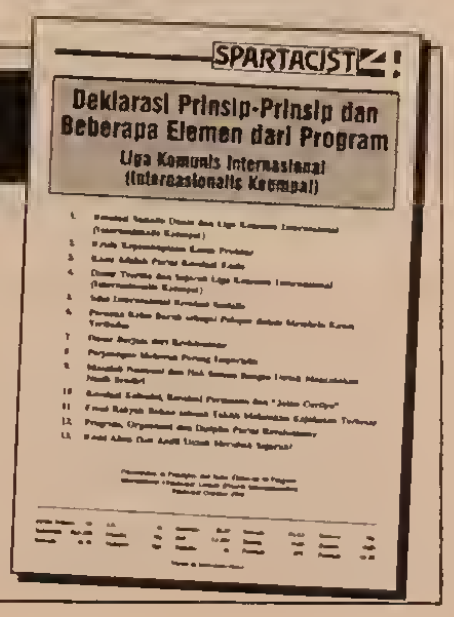

murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin outside a Detroit nightclub in 1982 by two racists, one of them a Chrysler foreman. Today, the labor tops' anti-Communist, protectionist tirades against China feed straight into the vicious anti-Chinese racism stirred up by the witch-hunt of Taiwanese-born Los Alamos scientist Wen Ho Lee, framed up earlier this year over absurd charges of spying for China (see "'Chinese Spy' Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism," *WV* No. 719, 17 September).

At the same time, these labor lieutenants of American imperialism pretend a touching concern for Chinese workers. China is a country, Sweeney declaimed to the Press Club, "where anyone attempting to organize a union is immediately arrested and imprisoned." The American labor bureaucrats don't give a damn about the rights and interests of workers in China or elsewhere. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy collaborated closely with the U.S. government to install and maintain anti-labor military juntas throughout Latin America and Asia and played a critical role in promoting capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the ex-USSR, especially through its support to Polish Solidarność. The AFL-CIO officialdom was among the fiercest "hawks" on behalf of U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary wars in Korea in the early 1950s and Vietnam in the 1960s-early '70s. Throughout much of the Third World, the U.S. labor federation is known as the "AFL-CIA."

Constantini/SF Examiner

San Francisco, 1996: CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" cause and AFL-CIO tops' anti-Communist protectionism serve imperialists' counterrevolutionary drive against China.

Through their anti-Communism and chauvinist protectionism, the AFL-CIO tops serve to chain American workers to their capitalist class enemy. Politically, this class-collaborationist program is served through the labor bureaucracy's support to the Democratic Party. We fight to forge a class-struggle opposition within the unions to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. We fight for a new leadership of labor based on the understanding that the interests of the working class are irreconcilably counterposed to those of the capitalist class enemy and that workers in all countries must be united in class-struggle solidarity. We fight to break the working class from the capitalist Democratic Party and to forge a workers party as the necessary instrument in the struggle for socialist revolution against the entire system of racist capitalism.

For International Proletarian Revolution!

What capitalist restoration has meant for working people in the former Soviet bloc was powerfully described by a Bulgarian writer, Blagovesta Doncheva. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (11 November) titled "In Bulgaria, 10 Years of Misery," she writes:

> "The International Monetary Fund and World Bank are successfully devouring Bulgarian industry. They have insisted on the privatization of Bulgaria's plants and factories. In many cases, the Bulgarian government, which diligently follows the I.M.F.'s advice, sold these factories to powerful foreign corporations....
>
> "What is the result? Hordes of unemployed workers, beggars in the streets, old people digging in rubbish containers for some rag or moldy piece of bread.
>
> "Our social fabric is falling apart. Before 1989, Bulgaria was a socialist state: free medical care and education for everyone. Mothers and the elderly received other aid and privileges."

After describing the terrible conditions of youth and the aged in Bulgaria today, Doncheva goes on:

> "From 1989 to 1993, I was a democratic activist. That was before I understood the true work of the I.M.F. or the World Bank or the transnational corporations and their policy of expansion. We fell for the seductive talk about democracy and openness. Now 10 years later, I wish we hadn't."

Throughout the world, a host of reformist "socialists," chief among them the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its British patron, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, joined in supporting the drive toward capitalist counterrevolution and cheering its victory. They continue to do so even in the face of the bitter experience of the working masses of East Europe and the former Soviet Union. From their inception as a tendency in 1950—when Cliff and his followers refused to defend China, North Korea and the USSR against U.S. and British imperialism during the Korean War—the Cliffites have been defined by the rejection of the perspective of workers revolution and embrace of imperialist "democracy." Writing off the Chinese deformed workers state from its origins as a "state capitalist regime," the Cliffites refuse to defend China against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution.

Ki Ho Park/Kistone

South Korean Hyundai workers during 1998 strike. Struggle for proletarian political revolution in China must be linked to fight for a socialist Asia.

This conclusion is shared by the journal *October Review*, based in Hong Kong and published by Chinese supporters of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. The *October Review* group supports all manner of pro-imperialist "dissidents" and limits its program for China to the call for (bourgeois) democracy.

Unlike the workers of East Europe and the USSR before counterrevolution, many Chinese workers have already seen the brutal effects of the capitalist market. This development necessarily affects the dynamics of social struggle within China and the political consciousness of its working class. Widespread labor strikes will in part target foreign-owned firms and joint ventures. This is not to say that Chinese workers are immune from illusions in Western-style "democracy." But they have far fewer illusions in "free market" capitalism and the supposed benefits of integrating into the imperialist-dominated global economy. In the 1980s, Lech Walesa's Solidarność demanded that Poland join the IMF, whereas virtually all reports indicate that Chinese workers are fearful toward entry into the WTO. Even those who sacrifice a lifetime's savings to be smuggled into "free world" America find themselves, if they manage to evade racist immigration prison hellholes, consigned to decades of servitude, toiling in sweatshops under 19th-century conditions.

The danger that China will be thrown back into capitalist slavery is ever more acute. It is urgently necessary to mobilize the Chinese proletariat to defend the collectivized economy and other social gains of the Chinese Revolution. But this struggle can only be brought to victory with the program and perspective of international proletarian revolution. In "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

> "A proletarian political revolution in China would immediately face virulently hostile imperialist reaction. It would also send shock waves around the world and decisively encourage the international proletariat which has been politically and economically ***thrown back*** by the bourgeois onslaught and triumphalism over the so-called 'death of communism' since the 1991 capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union....
>
> "To smash the threat of capitalist re-enslavement and open the road to a socialist future, Chinese workers must look to the international class struggle. It is by linking their fight for political revolution with the struggle to smash capitalist rule from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan and the U.S. that the Chinese proletariat will form the bridge to a socialist future. Above all, China's workers must be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International!" ■

Seattle...

(continued from page 2)

forces of capitalism had outgrown the nation-state. As Lenin described in his 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

> "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

The small number of imperialist powers are engaged in a ruthless struggle to improve their relative competitive position by increasing the rate of exploitation of their domestic working class, by plundering the colonial and semicolonial world and by seizing markets at the expense of their rivals. Thus the basis is laid for new wars to redivide the world in accord with the changing relative strengths of the imperialists. Particularly since the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, there is a sharp escalation of interimperialist rivalries, as evidenced in the Seattle talks and the growth of bourgeois militarism in the U.S., Europe and Japan.

In this context, the pro-capitalist labor tops line up with their own imperialist rulers in the escalating trade wars which ultimately lead to shooting wars and threaten a third world war with nuclear weapons. In his work on imperialism, Lenin explained the material basis for the opportunism of the labor bureaucracy:

> "The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism."

History has shown that there can be no "democratic" regulation of international economic warfare except by force of arms. The major powers, which will eventually combine into competing blocs, now jockey for advantage using mutual agreements or, if necessary, tariffs and sanctions. But the capital being exported is *national* capital, and the protesters in Seattle are, whether they realize it or not, demonstrating for *their* imperialism to be *über alles*. Similarly, the fake left in Europe lines up behind "their" ruling class and in so doing follows in the bootsteps of the social democrats who led the working class into the slaughterhouse of World War I. The fake Trotskyists of the United Secretariat's French section, for example, champion "la belle France" and cheer chauvinist peasant protests against McDonald's.

Even while noting the reactionary aspects of the protests, virtually the entire reformist American left supported the chauvinist protests in Seattle. In an article before the WTO protests, *Socialist Worker* (19 November), newspaper of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), criticized AFL-CIO top Sweeney for "endorsing the Clinton administration's WTO agenda" and singled out the Teamsters under James Hoffa Jr. for anti-Mexican chauvinism. Yet the ISO said not a word about the anti-Communist and protectionist vilification of the Chinese deformed workers state which was a prominent theme of the protests. This is not surprising for these social democrats who cheered capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Now, in a leaflet distributed in New York City, the ISO hails the Seattle "revolt" as showing "the potential to build a fight against years of increasing poverty and escalating attacks on our health and the environment."

Even more craven was the Communist Party (CP), whose *People's Weekly World* (27 November) asked, "Shouldn't the UN and the International Labor Organization, much more democratically constituted than the WTO, handle trade issues?" It was under the UN flag that U.S. imperialism led the massive bombing of Iraq and imposed imperialist sanctions that have murdered well over one million, mostly children. Gearing up to support the capitalist Democratic Party yet again, the CP asks rhetorically, "Shouldn't we come away from this historic demonstration determined to defeat the ultra-right-ists in Congress in 2000?"

In Seattle, the labor face of the Democratic Party was a *war* party. One union speaker noted bluntly, "We are at war." In NYC on October 23, the Democratic Party and its Central Labor Council affiliates organized *against* the multiracial working class mobilized by the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization allied with the Spartacist League—by defending the "democratic rights" of the KKK racist killers. In this they were abetted by Workers World Party, the ISO, the CP et al. But on October 23, the vanguard of the working class in New York *broke* from the Democrats and their fake-left auxiliaries and, with the revolutionary leadership of the Spartacist League and PDC, successfully *drove the KKK out of New York City*.

The labor-centered anti-KKK mobilization on October 23 was an example on a small scale of a workers party in action. The threat of a new imperialist war represented by the Democratic Party and the pro-Democratic AFL-CIO labor aristocracy in Seattle shows the urgent need for the working class to *break* from the pro-capitalist misleadership. ***For a class-struggle leadership of the unions! Break with the Democrats! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!*** ■

Trotsky on the Fight Against Fascism

The labor/black mobilization of at least 8,000 that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23 demonstrated labor's power when organized independently of and counterposed to the capitalist government and the Democratic and Republican parties. This united-front mobilization, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, allowed for the expression of many diverse political viewpoints by those who shared a commitment to the urgent need to stop the Klan.

The Klan's entire history is one of lynch mob terror against black people, as well as against union organizers, leftists, immigrants, Jews and Catholics. Born out of the bloody reaction in the South following the defeat of the slavocracy in the American Civil War, today the KKK is the lowlife terrorist bunch held in reserve by the American capitalist ruling class, to be deployed to crush the organizations of the working class when the masses can no longer be lulled by the lie that their interests are represented by capitalist "democracy."

The KKK fascists are America's homegrown Nazis. Below we reprint short extracts from three articles written by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in the 1930s on the fight against fascism. Trotsky's writings on the rise of Nazism in Germany provide a broad Marxist analysis of fascism, under what conditions it arises, its class base, and the program required to mobilize the working class to smash it. Where liberals portray fascism as basically an extreme and violent form of racist ideology, in reality fascism as a mass movement represents the reactionary mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie when capitalist society is thrown into a profound political and social crisis. Such was the situation in Italy in 1921 when Mussolini's Fascists came to power, and in Germany in the early 1930s.

The Great Depression, triggered by the 1929 Wall Street stock market crash, collapsed the fragile social and political structure of the parliamentary Weimar Republic in post-World War I Germany. Mass unemployment was aggravated by government austerity policies. The economic crisis devastated not only the working class but also the middle classes, who were simultaneously resentful of the big capitalists and fearful of being plunged into the proletariat. Tens of thousands of small farmers and shopkeepers were driven into bankruptcy; civil servants and other white-collar employees were laid off for the first time in their lives; university students were deprived of any economic prospects.

Under these conditions, the Nazis emerged as a mass fascist party channeling the desperation of the petty bourgeoisie against the workers movement. Adolf Hitler and his cohorts combined demagogic attacks on Jewish bankers, who they claimed were the principal authors of Germany's economic ruin, with murderous violence against the mass Social Democratic and Communist parties and the trade unions. In early 1933, decisive sections of German capital turned governmental power over to the Nazis as a means of stabilizing the unsettled bourgeois order.

The growth and eventual triumph of fascism was facilitated in different ways by the two major parties of the German working class. The Social Democratic Party—which had been the political mainstay of the Weimar Republic from its inception, when it suppressed a revolutionary rising of the proletariat in 1918-19—abandoned even lip service to social and economic reforms and instead supported government policies which further immiserated the masses. More radical sections of the German working class, inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, adhered to the Communist Party. However, the Communists, under the direction of Stalin, who had usurped political power in the Soviet Union at the head of a conservative bureaucratic caste in 1924, adopted an ultraleft posture of equating the Social Democrats and the Nazis, calling the former "social fascists." By doing so, they repelled those Social Democratic workers who wanted to struggle against the Nazis but were as yet unwilling to break with their party and its leaders.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition agitated for a united front of the Social Democrats and Communists for the military defense of the workers movement against the Nazi stormtroopers. Trotsky's tactical perspective was grounded in the understanding that what was directly posed in Germany was the struggle for socialist revolution, for the seizure of state power by the proletariat. As Trotsky emphasized, this program, leading to a Socialist United States of Europe, pointed the only way forward to eradicating the scourge of fascism for good. Trotsky's Left Opposition was then still oriented toward winning the Communist International back to the program of authentic Bolshevism. When no section of the Comintern opposed the Stalinist policies which allowed Hitler's Nazis to come to power, Trotsky declared it dead as a revolutionary organization and called for a Fourth International.

AP

Leon Trotsky and German Left Opposition agitated for workers united front to defeat Nazi threat as part of struggle for proletarian revolution.

* * *

"The Turn in the Communist International and the Situation in Germany" (September 1930)

The gigantic growth of National Socialism is an expression of two factors: a deep social crisis, throwing the petty bourgeois masses off balance, and the lack of a revolutionary party that would be regarded by the masses of the people as an acknowledged revolutionary leader. If the Communist Party is the *party of revolutionary hope*, then fascism, as a mass movement, is the *party of counter-revolutionary despair*. When revolutionary hope embraces the whole proletarian mass, it inevitably pulls behind it on the road of revolution considerable and growing sections of the petty bourgeoisie. Precisely in this sphere the election revealed the opposite picture: counterrevolutionary despair embraced the petty bourgeois mass with such a force that it drew behind it many sections of the proletariat....

Fascism in Germany has become a real danger, as an acute expression of the helpless position of the bourgeois regime, the conservative role of the social democracy in this regime, and the accumulated powerlessness of the Communist Party to abolish it. Whoever denies this is either blind or a braggart....

Can the strength of the conservative resistance of the social-democratic workers be calculated beforehand? It cannot. In the light of the events of the past year, this strength seems to be gigantic. But the truth is that what helped most of all to weld together social democracy was the wrong policy of the Communist Party, which found its highest generalization in the absurd theory of social fascism. To measure the real resistance of the social democratic ranks, a different measuring instrument is required, that is, a correct Communist tactic. With this condition—and it is not a small condition—the degree of internal unity of the social democracy can be revealed in a comparatively brief period....

If the Communist Party, in spite of the exceptionally favorable circumstances, has proved powerless seriously to shake the structure of the social democracy with the aid of the formula of "social fascism," then real fascism now threatens this structure, no longer with wordy formulas of so-called radicalism, but with the chemical formulas of explosives. No matter how true it is that the social democracy by its whole policy prepared the blossoming of fascism, it is no less true that fascism comes forward as a deadly threat primarily to that same social democracy, all of whose magnificence is inextricably bound with parliamentary-democratic-pacifist forms and methods of government....

The policy of a united front of the workers against fascism flows from this situation. It opens up tremendous possibilities to the Communist Party. A condition for success, however, is the rejection of the theory and practice of "social fascism," the harm of which becomes a positive menace under the present circumstances.

The social crisis will inevitably produce deep cleavages within the social democracy. The radicalization of the masses will affect the social democrats. We will inevitably have to make agreements with the various social-democratic organizations and factions against fascism, putting definite conditions in this connection to the leaders, before the eyes of the masses.... We must return from the empty official phrase about the united front to the policy of the united front as it was formulated by Lenin and always applied by the Bolsheviks in 1917.

* * *

Whither France? (1934)

After the war a series of brilliantly victorious revolutions occurred in Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and later in Spain. But it was only in Russia that the proletariat took full power into its hands, expropriated its exploiters, and knew how to create and maintain a workers' state. Everywhere else the proletariat, despite its victory, stopped halfway because of the mistakes of its leadership. As a result, power slipped from its hands, shifted from left to right, and fell prey to fascism. In a series of other countries power passed into the hands of a military dictatorship. Nowhere were the parliaments capable of reconciling class contradictions and assuring the peaceful development of events. Conflicts were solved arms in hand.

The French people for a long time thought that fascism had nothing whatever to do with them. They had a republic in which all questions were dealt with by the sovereign people through the exercise of universal suffrage. But on February 6, 1934, several thousand fascists and royalists, armed with revolvers, clubs, and razors, imposed upon the country the reactionary government of Doumergue, under whose protection the fascist bands continue to grow and arm themselves. What does tomorrow hold?

Of course in France, as in certain other European countries (England, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries), there still exist parliaments, elections, democratic liberties, or their remnants. But in all these countries the class struggle is sharpening, just as it did previously in Italy and Germany. Whoever consoles himself with the phrase, "France is not Germany," is hopeless. In all countries the same historic laws operate, the laws of capitalist decline. If the means of production remain in the hands of a small number of capitalists, there is no way out for society. It is condemned to go from crisis to crisis, from need to misery, from bad to worse. In the various countries the decrepitude and disintegration of capitalism are expressed in diverse forms and at unequal rhythms. But the basic features of the process are the same everywhere. The bourgeoisie is leading its society to complete bankruptcy. It is capable of assuring the people neither bread nor peace. This is precisely why it cannot any longer tolerate the democratic order. It is forced to smash the workers by the use of physical violence. The discontent of the workers

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Democrats...

(continued from page 12)

share their microphone with those racist killers of the KKK; and in collaboration with the bourgeois media, they spread the lie on the eve of the mobilization that the Klan had called off its rally.

Any number of black people have said to our *Workers Vanguard* salesmen since that time, "What's wrong with Sharpton?" By that they mean, "Doesn't Sharpton understand that the Klan is not on a speaking tour, they're killers, and he as a black man is in their cross hairs." Sharpton's commitment, however, is to the Democratic Party—a party of capitalism—and to the capitalist order which needs the fascists as reserve troops when the masses discard their illusions in the "democracy" of the ruling class, when the working class takes up the fight for its interests in opposition to the capitalist order. That is why Sharpton and the Democrats became the supporters of the "rights" of the KKK on October 23.

Second, the trade-union bureaucracy. The very top levels did nothing at all. Or like Dennis Rivera, head of the powerful Local 1199, endorsed the Democratic Party diversion called by Stringer/Sharpton. Because the Klan is despised by almost all New Yorkers, who are virtually all on its hit list, the trade-union leaders were split and could not mobilize an all-out countermobilization against what we organized on the 23rd. Indeed, we received substantial support from SSEU Local 371, which was a key part of the labor core of our demonstration.

Now, we have in all our mobilizations—for Mumia Abu-Jamal and against the death penalty, against the fascists—received substantial labor endorsements. But as we have pointed out in *Workers Vanguard*, these supporters have not normally mobilized their union members. Mumia's life is currently on the line. If labor does nothing, he is left to the mercies of Supreme Court reactionaries Scalia, Rehnquist and Clarence Thomas. Anybody want to appear before that court? Fascist killers stalk the land—Benjamin Smith, who went gunning after blacks, Jews and Asians in the Midwest this summer; the scum in Elkhart, Indiana who murdered Sasezley Richardson—and yet labor has not mobilized to smash the organizations that spawn this vermin. That should have been done in Decatur last month.

Even in the successful UPS and GM strikes which had widespread public support, the trade-union tops allowed scabbing, refused to mobilize mass picket lines that no one would cross. Their servility in the face of the bosses' cops and courts is testament to their commitment to the capitalist order. Some of these trade-union leaders have supported our mobilizations, so there is some contradiction; they're not all of one sort. Yet they still fear more a call from union headquarters accusing them of working with the reds, that is, accusing them of class-struggle methods. What do the trade-union tops mobilize for? Primarily for the Democrats at the polls.

In Seattle, we've seen large demonstrations at the meeting of the World Trade Organization, which exists to negotiate trade among the imperialist powers and to extract superprofits from what used to be called the Third World. But a chief aim of the demonstrations, particularly on the part of the labor tops, was to join with the imperialists in their campaign to destroy the Chinese deformed workers state, which is a product of the overthrow of capitalism by the Chinese Revolution. We are opposed to this imperialist overthrow of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, and we are opposed to the bureaucratic caste which rules China and is seeking entry into the WTO in the service of domestic capitalist counterrevolution. We are for the defense of the Chinese workers state against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. We are for the overthrow of the bureaucracy by proletarian political revolution.

But that is not why the trade-union tops have mobilized their members. They have mobilized to beg Bill Clinton and the American imperialist bosses to protect them from Japanese steel workers, from Mexican workers in the *maquiladoras*, from the workers in sweatshops in *other* countries. That is to say, they mobilize their forces to place faith in "their" American bosses who are bent on destroying union militancy. These misleaders place no faith in the international struggle of the working class. We are committed to building a class-struggle opposition in the trade unions based on the fundamental proposition that the world working class shares no interests with their bosses.

—Third, the reformist left, by which we mean those whose commitment is to reforming capitalism, not to overthrowing it. Specifically in New York City on October 23, that meant the International Socialist Organization and the Communist Party, which endorsed the Democrats' demonstration of "tolerance" for the KKK. These groups simply provided a left cover for the Klan's "right" to mobilize. Those who think that all socialists should get together and bury their differences need to appreciate that there is a fundamental divide between those who seek to reform capitalism and those who seek to overthrow it, as does the Spartacist League.

Fourth, the revolutionary working-class party. One anecdote: During the course of mobilizing for October 23, one of our leafletters was asked if she was a communist. When she responded, "Of course," the person who asked her said, "It figures, only communists would do something like this." Damned right! This person approved of what we were doing and simultaneously expressed a profound truth. Only the communists will rally the working class and the oppressed to the defense of their interests and for the struggle to forever change the conditions of exploitation and oppression.

There is a quickening of pace in this society that was reflected on October 23, an indication that things have changed somewhat in this country after decades of intense attacks on the working people and minorities. There is a stirring toward resistance. All of what I have said hopefully leads you to the conclusion that if the stirrings against decay and degradation are to be given direction, it's important to build a revolutionary working-class party. The Spartacist League and its affiliated organizations, the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Labor/Black Leagues, have the program and revolutionary will to end the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation. And those who have been thinking of such things should join us in the struggle for a world free of oppression and exploitation, for a world free of injustice, for a world in which the only concern is the full realization of the potential of each and every one of its inhabitants, for the ultimate freedom of mankind. For world socialist revolution!■

Self-Defense Against Racist Terror Is No Crime

Free Joshua Edwards!

We publish below a December 3 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to Lancaster, Pennsylvania Assistant District Attorney Kenneth Brown demanding the immediate release of Joshua Edwards. Edwards was sentenced to up to two years in prison last August for defending himself against two gun-toting racist thugs. Having repeatedly abused Edwards and Maria Bare, an interracial couple, Phillip Jones and Carl Walton came after them in their apartment building in the early morning hours of 26 September 1998. After Edwards sent his girlfriend to her aunt's house for safety, Jones and Walton pulled shotguns on him. Jones died from a stomach wound from Edwards' .38 calibre pistol. Walton, who carried with him a card for the Adolph Hitler Free Corps and literature about a local KKK group, was wounded. Edwards was charged with murder!

While the Pennsylvania NAACP came to Edwards' defense against this outrageous frame-up, the NAACP nationally has recently campaigned for tougher gun control legislation. Joshua Edwards is alive today only because he had the means to defend himself. Gun control kills blacks—For the right of armed self-defense!

* * *

The conviction and imprisonment last August of Joshua Edwards on bogus manslaughter charges is an outrage. We demand that all charges be dropped and Mr. Edwards be released immediately.

This was a racist attack on a 20-year-old black man known to be in an interracial relationship. Mr. Edwards was the victim of a vicious assault by two racist punks, Phillip Jones and Carl Walton, at least one of them a known Hitler-lover and KKK supporter. When the shotgun-wielding thugs threatened him, Mr. Edwards exercised the fundamental right of self-defense. Mr. Edwards survived; Jones didn't. For successfully defending himself from this murderous racist attack, Mr. Edwards was assaulted by the racist justice system—charged with murder and ultimately forced to plead guilty to manslaughter, and sentenced to one to two years' imprisonment with ten years' probation.

Over the past ten years, Pennsylvania has been one of the fastest growing centers of KKK, skinhead and Nazi terror. Had he not defended himself, Mr. Edwards would have suffered the same fate as James Byrd Jr., dragged to his death by his KKK assailants in Texas last year, and countless victims of lynch rope terror. Maybe these thugs will think twice next time. To blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, trade unionists and all those targeted by the KKK and Nazis, Joshua Edwards is a hero.

Free Joshua Edwards! Drop all the charges!

---

and peasants, however, cannot be brought to an end by the police alone. Moreover, it is often impossible to make the army march against the people. It begins by disintegrating and ends with the passage of a large section of the soldiers over to the people's side. That is why finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands, trained to fight the workers just as certain breeds of dog are trained to hunt game. The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery.

The fascists find their human material mainly in the petty bourgeoisie. The latter has been entirely ruined by big capital. There is no way out for it in the present social order, but it knows of no other. Its dissatisfaction, indignation and despair are diverted by the fascists away from big capital and against the workers. It may be said that fascism is the act of placing the petty bourgeoisie at the disposal of its most bitter enemies. In this way big capital ruins the middle classes and then, with the help of hired fascist demagogues, incites the despairing petty bourgeois against the worker. The bourgeois regime can be preserved only by such murderous means as these. For how long? Until it is overthrown by proletarian revolution.

* * *

"Some Questions on American Problems" (*Fourth International*, October 1940)

The backwardness of the United States working class is only a relative term. In many very important respects it is the most progressive working class of the world, technically and in its standard of living....

The American workers are very combative—as we have seen during the strikes. They have had the most rebellious strikes in the world. What the American worker misses is a spirit of generalization, or analysis, of his class position in society as a whole. This lack of social thinking has its origin in the country's whole history....

About fascism. In all the countries where fascism became victorious, we had, before the growth of fascism and its victory, a wave of radicalism of the masses—of the workers and the poorer peasants and farmers, and of the petty bourgeois class. In Italy, after the war and before 1922, we had a revolutionary wave of tremendous dimensions; the state was paralyzed, the police did not exist, the trade unions could do anything they wanted—but there was no party capable of taking the power. As a reaction came fascism.

In Germany the same. We had a revolutionary situation in 1918; the bourgeois class did not even ask to participate in the power. The social democrats paralyzed the revolution. Then the workers tried again in 1922-23-24. This was the time of the bankruptcy of the Communist Party—all of which we have gone into before. Then in 1929-30-31 the German workers began again a new revolutionary wave. There was a tremendous power in the Communists and in the trade unions, but then came the famous policy (on the part of the Stalinist movement) of social fascism, a policy invented to paralyze the working class. Only after these three tremendous waves did fascism become a big movement. There are no exceptions to this rule—fascism comes only when the working class shows complete incapacity to take into its own hands the fate of society.

In the United States you will have the same thing. Already there are fascist elements, and they have, of course, the examples of Italy and Germany. They will, therefore, work in a more rapid tempo. But you also have the examples of other countries. The next historic wave in the United States will be a wave of radicalism of the masses, not fascism. Of course the war can hinder the radicalization for some time, but then it will give to the radicalization a more tremendous tempo and swing.

We must not identify war dictatorship—the dictatorship of the military machine, of the staff, of finance capital—with a fascist dictatorship. For the latter, there is first necessary a feeling of desperation of large masses of the people. When the revolutionary parties betray them, when the vanguard of workers shows its incapacity to lead the people to victory—then the farmers, the small business men, the unemployed, the soldiers, etc., become capable of supporting a fascist movement, but only then.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Fascists' "Free Speech" = Racist Murder

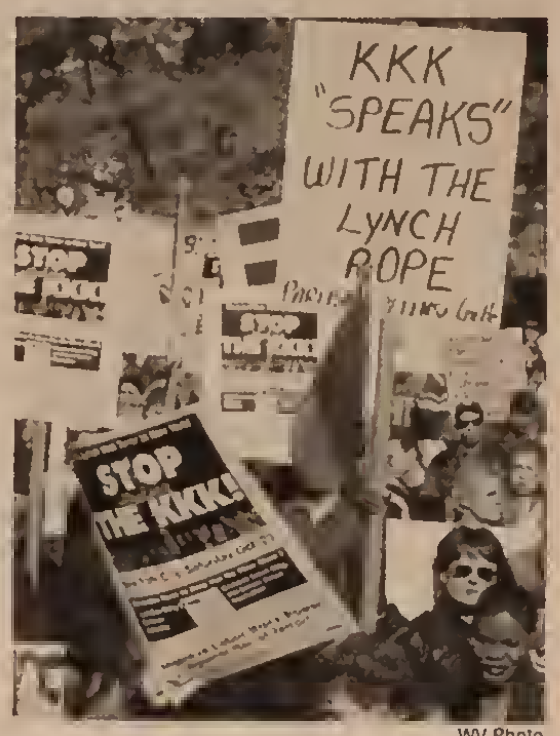
Nazis Kill Black Youth in Indiana

Sasezley Richardson was walking home from a store in Elkhart, Indiana on November 17 after buying diapers for his girlfriend's baby when he was gunned down in cold blood. The 19-year-old Richardson was murdered because he was black. One of the two killers openly bragged that he had carried out the murder in order to gain entry into the fascist Aryan Brotherhood. This fascist had already spent a year in prison for attempting to kill a black high-school student who had been dating a white woman.

The murder of Sasezley Richardson came only a few months after the killing of a black basketball coach and a Korean student in the Midwest by a member of the fascist World Church of the Creator. This is exactly how the fascists carry out their "free speech." This is what the New York Civil Liberties Union, black demagogue Al Sharpton and the whole New York State Democratic Party establishment were defending when they upheld the KKK's "right to free speech" in New York City and went all out to stop the October 23 labor/black mobilization that rode the Klan out of town.

As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in the call initiating this powerful mobilization against racist terror: "The KKK and Nazis 'speak' with the lynch rope. Their 'words' are fired out of the barrel of a gun" (reprinted in *WV* No. 722, 29 October). The murders of Sasezley Richardson and countless other victims of KKK and Nazi terror in America condemns the Democratic Party and their lackeys as enemies of working people, blacks, immigrants and all the oppressed.

Chicago Tribune



WV Photo

Sasezley Richardson, murdered by Aryan Brotherhood Nazis. October 23 NYC anti-Klan mobilization was opposed by Democratic Party in name of "free speech" for fascist killers.

Racist murder is how the KKK recruits and Indiana has long been a Klan stronghold. As Wyn Craig Wade wrote of the KKK in the 1920s in his book, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (1987). "In the Hoosier State, kluxdom spread 'like a prairie fire.' It was the only state where Klaverns were chartered in every one of its ninety-two counties. It was the only state where the Klan elected the governor and both U.S. senators." In 1923, the Indiana KKK organized an ominous show of strength by staging a July 4 rally in Kokomo of 200,000 white-robed racists.

More recently, four White Brotherhood racist killers gunned down black mother Cathy Long in South Bend in 1993. In April 1998, the KKK rallied outside Elkhart City Hall to protest a city ordinance against wearing hoods. And only three days before the murder of Sasezley Richardson, the American Knights of the KKK—the same outfit which had tried to rally in New York—staged a race-hate provocation in Decatur, Illinois. Five miles away, Jesse Jackson was leading a protest of some 3,000 people against the expulsions of seven black high-school students. As we wrote last issue (*WV* No. 724, 26 November): "It is a telling indictment of the black Democrats that the Klan and their supporters were able to mobilize for racist genocide while thousands of black working people marched only five miles away."

In New York City on October 23, the KKK terrorists were defeated through the mass mobilization of the power of the multiracial working class leading behind it the Klan's intended victims. This mobilization showed that labor has the power to fight racist terror, but to mobilize that power requires a break with the Democratic Party of war and racism. As the PDC call stated:

> "To defend its own interests and the interests of all the oppressed, labor must stand independent of all the agencies and parties of the capitalist class enemy.... There must be no illusions in the Democratic Party which has joined with the Republicans in destroying welfare, pushing the racist death penalty and flooding the streets of the ghettos and barrios with more cops. A mass labor/black rally to clear the KKK racist terrorists off the streets would be a big step toward building the kind of party that working people need—a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for their interests and those of all the oppressed against this entire system of capitalist exploitation and racist reaction." ■

Democratic Party: Friend of KKK, Enemy of Labor and Blacks

We publish below an edited speech by Spartacist League spokesman Ed Clarkson at the Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal benefit in Chicago on December 5. These annual benefits for class-war prisoners had an additional significance this year: a celebration of the victory in New York City on October 23, when at least 8,000 came out behind the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out.

For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

If we are to begin to fight the all-out attacks by the bosses of America's racist decaying imperialist order on working people, their living standards and their very ability to survive—attacks which are most savagely felt in this country by the black population, who as an oppressed race-color caste lie at the bottom of society—then we must forge a revolutionary working-class party which undertakes the fight for black freedom and for the overthrow of capitalism through socialist revolution. The main obstacle to forging such a party is the allegiance of working people in this country to the Democratic Party. This allegiance is maintained in the ghettos by the black Democrats and most importantly in the labor movement by the top strata of the trade-union bureaucracy, who are committed to this decaying imperialist order. I want to examine what this means in light of the October 23 labor/black mobilization against the Klan in New York City, which you've rightly heard a great deal about tonight.

First, the Democrats. Their program—put into effect by the liberals Scott Stringer and Al Sharpton, who at that moment were representing the whole of the Democratic Party establishment in New York—was to allow the Klan to march. The smokescreen of "free speech" was used to attempt to get the Klan's intended victims to stay home. The main danger from the perspective of the Democrats was the working-class mobilization itself, not the Klan. To that end, they conspired with the cops to hide the true site of the KKK rally; they arranged to

continued on page 11

Reuters

WV Photo

October 23: Klansmen with liberal lawyer Norman Siegel. New York Senator Charles Schumer at Dems' "tolerance" diversion. Defense of racist lynchers' "rights" by Rev. Al Sharpton and *Amsterdam News* was scandalized in Britain's black *Voice*. Democrats tried to give KKK free ride in NYC. Labor/black mobilization made sure they failed!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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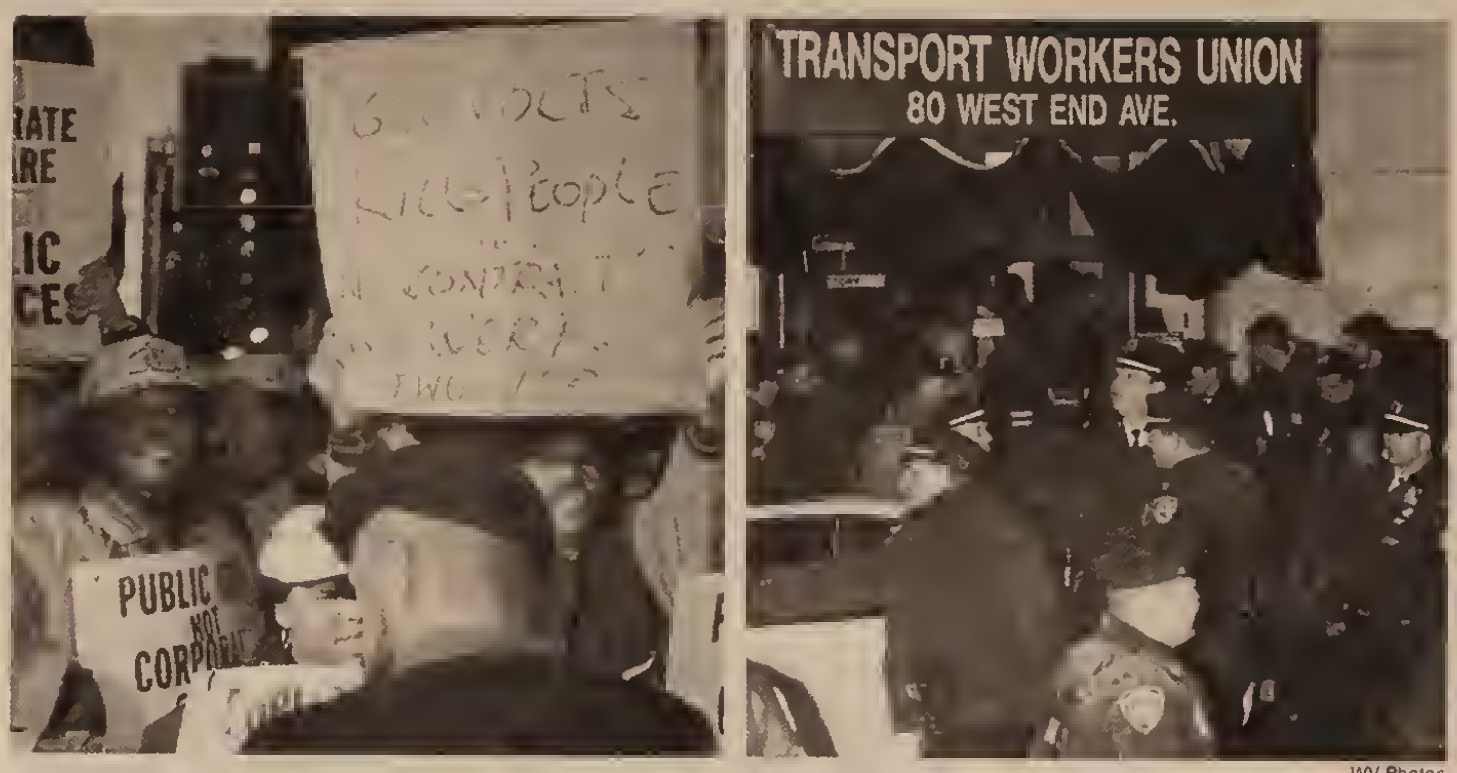
No. 726

31 December 1999

Giuliani, Democrats Strong-Arm NYC Transit Union

We Need a Workers Party!

Break with the Democrats! Defend Labor's Right to Strike!



WV Photos

December 8 TWU Local 100 rally outside MTA office in Manhattan brought out at least 12,000 angry, determined workers. Fearing union's power to shut down NYC, government pushed through anti-strike injunctions, unleashed cops to surround TWU headquarters on December 14 as contract deadline neared.

DECEMBER 21—The 33,000 members of New York City Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 came up against the iron fist of the capitalist state last week as they geared up to walk out on strike. Harking back to the sort of measures used to break strikes at the turn of the century, Democratic Party state attorney general Eliot Spitzer and Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani brought down injunctions criminalizing not only strike action but even advocacy of strike action by the union or its members—or by anybody else, for that matter. Giuliani promised to destroy the union and bankrupt union members with fines of $1 million against the union, and $25,000 against individuals the first day of a strike, with those fines doubling every day thereafter. In a frontal assault on all of labor, these injunctions signal the capitalist rulers' yearning to return to an era in which the unions themselves were branded "illegal criminal conspiracies."

But while Spitzer and Giuliani's union-busting moves succeeded in stopping a strike, the TWU ranks are not cowed or broken. Even in the face of these injunctions, thousands of transit workers at a mass meeting on the evening of December 14 voted twice to go out on strike. In the days that followed, many expressed the sentiment widely heard at one maintenance yard: "We should have struck. We had the city in the palm of our hands. We could have crushed Giuliani."

The power of the TWU to shut down the center of finance capitalism—demonstrated in citywide transit strikes in 1966 and 1980—is evident to all. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (16 December) acknowledged how "Wall Street tycoons and media bigwigs cringe in anticipation of a strike by New York City transit workers." But, as is no less evident, a strike by transit workers and other public sector unions immediately confronts the full might of the capitalist government, its strikebreaking court injunctions and laws, like New York State's Taylor Law, and the cops who enforce them.

The government's union-busting orders and the army of cops deployed to enforce them—flooding the streets and subway stations and surrounding bus barns and subway maintenance yards—are a naked expression of what the capitalist state is all about: a machinery of repression against the working class. These cop-enforced court orders also laid bare the class nature and commonality of class interests of the dual parties of capital, the Democrats and Republicans, in the face of any challenge by the working class to the bosses. And they revealed that the existing leadership of the labor movement serves as labor auxiliaries of and political police for the capitalist rulers.

Local 100 head Willie James and TWU International president Sonny Hall not only bowed to the government's strikebreaking but literally used the police to intimidate the union membership on behalf of their capitalist masters. Not only were union members instructed to obey the court diktats and warned not to even utter the word "strike," but the TWU tops came into the December 14 union meeting the evening the contract expired accompanied by dozens of NYPD cops whose very presence was aimed at menacing the membership.

To give James an out, Giuliani targeted the New Directions (ND) opposition, which makes up almost half of the Local 100 executive board, as an "out of control" faction bent on a strike. However, if anything, New Directions was more overtly opposed to a strike than was the James leadership in the weeks leading up to the contract expiration. New Directions did at least challenge the injunction in court while the lawyers for the James leadership blocked with the city administration in its move for a hearing to secure a permanent injunction. But at a December 15 solidarity rally, ND also loyally obeyed the injunction to the letter, instructing the several hundred workers who turned out not to talk about a strike and to abide by the court injunctions. This is hardly surprising since New Directions' entire strategy has been based on dragging the TWU into the same bosses' courts!

For a Class-Struggle Leadership of Labor!

There is widespread anger among the union membership and among all city workers at the government's strong-arming tactics and the James leadership's capitulation. When the presence of cops was made known at the December 14 union meeting, a good one-third of the 3,000 workers there started chanting, "Out! Out! Out!" or yelling, "Get 'em outta here!" Some transit workers at the December 15 rally carried a banner reading, "Smash the Taylor Law! No Confidence in the James Gang! No Confidence in New Directions! Elect Strike Committees!"

TWU members at that rally and at transit locations around the city eagerly read and carefully studied a Spartacist League leaflet (reprinted on page 8) headlined "Defend Labor's Right to Strike! Bust the Union-Busters! Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!" To prepare for the solid, unified strike drawing in all of NYC labor which is needed to smash the government's ominous assault on the right to strike—and, ultimately, on the very right of the unions to exist—it is necessary to draw some serious lessons from the recent events. Above all, the unions must be *politically* armed in such confrontations.

Ludicrously attempting to cast a transit strike as a communist plot, Giuliani claimed to know that an ND leader had addressed a "Marxist study group." ND's response was to drape itself in the Stars and Stripes at the December 15 rally. In fact, ND is as bound to Democratic Party electoral pressure politics as is the James leadership. It is not only ND that Giuliani is redbaiting these days. A *New York Times* (20 December) article headlined, "Giuliani's Hunt for Red Menaces: From Transit Union to Gardeners, Mayor Sees Marx's Shadow," reported that Giuliani even took aim at the Parks Council, "made up of prominent blue bloods," for decrying the lack of public funding for parks in poor neighborhoods! This man is an incipient clerical fascist, albeit constrained within the framework of a bourgeois democracy which, as the

continued on page 9

Victim of Anti-Asian, Anti-Communist "Chinese Spy" Hysteria

Free Wen Ho Lee!

On December 10, FBI agents hauled nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee from his home in New Mexico as federal prosecutors indicted him on 59 charges of "mishandling" classified materials. Last February, the Taiwanese-born U.S. citizen was hounded out of his 20-year government research job at the Los Alamos National Laboratory on charges of "spying" for the People's Republic of China which were based solely on his ancestry. While even a former federal spycatcher admitted that the espionage case against the 59-year-old Lee was "built on thin air," the Feds have now charged him with violations of the Atomic Energy Act and Foreign Espionage Act. Branding Lee a "clear and present danger to the United states," the court has ordered him held without bail even though he has lived under 24-hour surveillance for months and has volunteered to take polygraph tests and submit to searches to clear his name. We demand: *Free Wen Ho Lee! Drop the charges! Give him back his job!*

Lee's persecution—for handling documents the same way that hundreds of non-Asian scientists handle them—has sparked outrage from a broad spectrum of Chinese American scientific, legal and business organizations. A number of these groups have collected money for Lee's defense. "If you look at the indictment, this looks like 59 counts of downloading," commented banker Henry Tang. "He looks like a scapegoat." At Lee's bail hearing, federal agents admitted that he had never copied data he didn't have official access to and that there is no evidence that any data ever left his possession. Downloading classified data for home use is a common practice among government workers and officials. Recently retired CIA director John Deutch admitted he regularly copied "top secret" data onto his home computer. But while Deutch merely lost his security clearance, Lee now faces possible *life in prison.*

While the witchhunting of Lee has been led by the Republican right in league with a wing of the Democratic Party and the "liberal" *New York Times*, at the core of his victimization lies the determination of the entire American ruling class to foment capitalist counterrevolution in China and to overturn the remaining gains of the 1949 Revolution. As we wrote in "'Chinese Spy' Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism" (*WV* No. 719, 17 September): "The manufactured hysteria over Chinese espionage is patently aimed at increasing belligerence toward the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. Even if Lee had, with purpose or not, given military secrets to the People's Republic of China, this is no crime from the standpoint of the international working class."

David Strick

Nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee.

The peasant-based Chinese Revolution was a historic gain for humanity, throwing out the imperialists and the domestic bourgeoisie and ushering in a planned economy with jobs, food, housing and education for one-fourth of the world's population. As Trotskyists, we give unconditional military defense to China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam—against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. This defense includes their right to amass and test nuclear weapons technology by whatever means necessary. At the same time, we recognize that the peasant-based 1949 Revolution was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy which excluded the working class from political power. We call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, which is today setting the stage for capitalist counterrevolution through stepped-up "market reforms" and mass privatizations.

Lee's persecution takes place amid intensifying anti-Asian racism in the U.S. Along with the government's continuing crackdown on desperate Chinese and other immigrants, "Yellow Peril" chauvinism has been stoked through the years-long Congressional investigation into "illegal" Chinese campaign contributions to the Democrats. Chinese students and technical workers are having the doors slammed shut when they apply for jobs or promotions. Adding fuel to this anti-Chinese chauvinism is the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which on the heels of the recent protests in Seattle against the World Trade Organization (WTO) is teaming up with the Republican right and elements of the Democratic Party to torpedo China's entry into that body when it comes to a vote in Congress.

The brutal police crackdown on the WTO protests was an ominous warning to the entire labor movement, blacks and other minorities. Yet at bottom, those protests were a grotesque celebration of "democratic" American imperialism, marked by racist protectionist mobilizations against Mexican and Asian workers and chauvinist anti-China demonstrations. Unions dumped Chinese-made steel into the Seattle harbor, while some youth rallied for "Free Tibet," a cause created and financed by the CIA as a battering ram against the Chinese Revolution. The trade-union misleaders work to chain American workers to their capitalist masters by pushing "Made in the USA" protectionism, embracing the counterrevolutionary designs of U.S. imperialism and supporting the Democratic Party of racism and war.

The labor tops, environmentalists and reformist left all proclaim a "victory" in Seattle. Now Mike Dolan, the chief organizer of the protests, bellows, "China, we're coming atcha," while AFL-CIO spokesman Denise Mitchell trumpets that "the China vote is going to become a proxy for all of our concerns about globalization" (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 December). Meanwhile, Washington continues to brandish American military might against the Chinese deformed workers state, including through its proposed "theater missile defense" system in East Asia which might include capitalist Taiwan.

The push for protectionist trade sanctions and increased military pressure against China is in no way counterposed to the policy of "engagement" with the Communist Party regime favored by most of American big business and symbolized by the WTO agreement. The U.S. ruling class is united around the goal of overturning the 1949 Revolution and regaining the "right" of untrammeled exploitation of the country's working masses. China's WTO entry would entail the elimination of what remains of the state monopoly of foreign trade, further subjecting the economy to the pressures of the imperialist-dominated world market. In pushing for entry, the Beijing bureaucracy seeks to utilize the pressure of intensified foreign competition to ram through further privatizations.

At the same time, the imperialist bourgeoisie understands that restoring capitalist slavery in China would first require breaking the resistance of the Chinese working class, which has repeatedly launched strikes, occupations and other actions to defend their jobs and social benefits. What is urgently needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist party to direct such struggles toward the overthrow of the hated Stalinist regime and its replacement by a government of workers, peasants and soldiers councils.

The struggle of the Chinese proletariat against capitalist counterrevolution must be linked to a perspective of socialist revolution in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast. It is necessary to break the American proletariat from the Democratic Party of war and racism and to forge a revolutionary internationalist workers party, one which would seek to mobilize the labor movement in struggle against every manifestation of racist chauvinism and every act of imperialist aggression as part of the fight for workers rule. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

There Is No Partnership of Capital and Labor

The class collaboration of the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO misleaders has led to a string of broken strikes and busted unions over the past two decades. As seen in the 1997 UPS strike, last year's walkout against GM and the anger of New York City transit workers in the face of government assault and the union bureaucracy's capitulation, the working class is in a fighting mood. What is needed for victory is the kind of class-struggle perspective laid out by Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon at the time of a bitter maritime strike on the West Coast in 1936.

A good deal is said about strike "strategy"—and that has its uses within certain clearly defined limits—but when you get down to cases this strike, like every other strike, is simply a bullheaded struggle between two forces whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the opposing forces at the moment. The only strike strategy worth a tinker's dam is the strategy that begins with this conception.

The problem of the strikers consists in estimating what their strength is, and then mobilizing it in full force and pressing against the enemy until something cracks and a settlement is achieved in consonance with the relation of forces between the unions and the organizations of the bosses. That's all there is to strike strategy. You cannot maneuver over the head of the class struggle....

From our point of view the workers have a perfect right to the full control of industry and all the fruits thereof. The employers on the other hand—not merely the shipowners; all bosses are alike—would like a situation where the workers are deprived of all organization and all say about their work and are paid only enough to keep body and soul together and raise a new generation of slaves to take their places when they drop in their tracks.

Any settlement in between these two extremes is only a temporary truce and the nature of such a settlement is decided by power; "justice" has nothing to do with it. The workers will not have justice until they take over the world.

—James P. Cannon, "The Maritime Strike" (November 1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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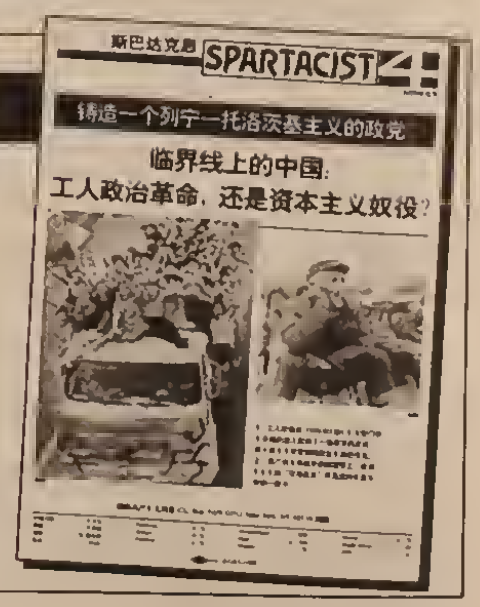


NYC Democrats Prey on Plight of Homeless

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's latest vicious attacks on the homeless have provoked widespread disgust among working people, with 77 percent of all New Yorkers polled opposing the cops' roundups of homeless people found sleeping on the streets. Two weeks before the police sweeps were launched, Giuliani announced plans to evict homeless families from city shelters, throw them onto the streets and rip their children away from them if they don't work at slave labor or pay extortionate "rents." That plan was put on hold on December 8 by a state court order.

The plight of the expanding, desperate homeless population in the financial center of the world throws into the starkest relief the divide between the handful of super-rich who rule this capitalist society and the working and dispossessed masses on the bottom. Late-19th-century author Anatole France remarked that under bourgeois "democracy" the rich and the poor have equal right to sleep under a bridge. The rulers of American capitalism in its death agony now deny the downtrodden even that "right." And then there is the bourgeoisie's other "solution" for homelessness: incarceration. With two million people rotting in prison hellholes, the U.S. now accounts for *one-fourth of the world's entire prison population*.

Homelessness, like desperate poverty, is a direct product of an economic system based on the exploitation of the many for the profit of the few. Analyzing the housing shortage, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's comrade in arms, wrote over 125 years ago in "On the Housing Question":

> "It cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great labouring masses are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, upon the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the machinery, etc., continually throw masses of workers out of employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial fluctuations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive the mass of the workers from time to time on to the streets unemployed."

As Engels concluded, the housing problem can only be solved with "the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself."

AP WV Photo

NYCLU lawyer Norman Siegel and Democrat Al Sharpton promoted KKK's "rights" on October 23, now posture as defenders of the homeless against Giuliani's attacks. December 5 homeless protest was rally for Democratic Party.

Bipartisan War on the Poor

Giuliani's attacks on the homeless express the class interests of the capitalist rulers, represented by both the Democrats and Republicans. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party has, with utter duplicity, seized on the plight of the homeless in NYC to boost its electoral fortunes, particularly Hillary Clinton's Senate bid next year against presumed Republican contender Giuliani. Joined by former mayor David Dinkins and Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel at a November 30 gathering, Clinton intoned that Giuliani's policies "punish poverty rather than helping to lift people out of poverty."

Indeed! But Giuliani's policies simply continue those of the Clinton White House. The bipartisan anti-welfare law signed by Bill Clinton in 1996 has driven millions of impoverished families off the welfare rolls and, in many cases, onto the streets, while forcing remaining welfare recipients into slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" programs in order to maintain their starvation-level benefits. And in San Francisco under black Democratic mayor Willie Brown, as the *New York Times* (7 December) reported, "police sweeps and crackdowns on homeless people have become so well known that in October, the National Coalition for the Homeless chose the city as the site to open a national campaign for civil rights for the homeless."

In New York City, liberal Democrat Dinkins ordered the bulldozing of shantytowns and even sought a federal court order to ban begging when he was mayor. And while current City Council head Peter Vallone denounces Giuliani's attacks on the homeless as "something out of Charles Dickens," when fellow Democrat Ed Koch was carrying out similar attacks on the homeless as mayor, Vallone could have written the script for Giuliani, ranting in 1987: "I don't care whether you're a Harvard physicist and perfectly sane or anything else, you do not have the right to occupy the sidewalk or the street. Otherwise, we have a total breakdown of law and order."

The cynicism of the capitalist Democrats now posturing as champions of the downtrodden and destitute was on full display at a December 5 Coalition for the Homeless protest, which was little more than an election platform for the Democrats. The credentials of the three featured speakers as fighters for the poor badly needed mending: black Democrat Al Sharpton, state assemblyman Scott Stringer and New York Civil Liberties Union head Norm Siegel. These are the very people who did their utmost to ensure a free ride for the KKK racist terrorists when they raised their hooded heads on the streets of New York on October 23.

Herbie Knott

Homeless and hungry on streets of NYC. Axing of welfare under Democrat Clinton made many more homeless nationwide.

Al Sharpton: FBI Informer, Defender of Klan's "Rights"

Sharpton's bogus credentials as an opponent of racist injustice were utterly discredited by his defense of the "right" of the KKK to rally for racist terror. He and his fellow Democrats were defeated as at least 8,000 trade unionists, black people and other minorities turned out for the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and rode the lynchers out of town.

In fact, Sharpton's defense of the Klan is fully in keeping with his whole sordid history. In 1986, he endorsed the re-election of Republican U.S. Senator Al D'Amato, a vile bigot who described black housing project residents as "animals." After serving as an FBI informer, wearing a wire to help entrap black politicians, Sharpton enlisted in the racist "war on drugs" which has led to hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth being thrown into prison. He staged vigilante raids against "crack houses," feeding into the mass eviction of black families from housing projects for supposed drug offenses. More recently, posing as an opponent of racist cop terror—and as a defender of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—Sharpton helped deliver the black vote for the election last year of racist "law and order" death penalty proponent Charles Schumer to the U.S. Senate.

Even as Sharpton masqueraded as an opponent of then-mayor Ed Koch, he worked in tandem with that racist pig. While Koch stoked the fires of racist reaction, Sharpton acted to channel black plebeian rage away from the capitalist exploiters and at Jews, Asians and Arabs. Having ridden black anger into a place for himself at the Democrats' table, Sharpton has now embraced Koch as "an influential figure," ostentatiously inviting the former mayor to his birthday party at Harlem's Canaan Baptist Church. In an article titled "Brothers in Arms," Peter Noel writes in the *Village Voice* (19 October), "Embracing Ed Koch at Canaan was intended to reinforce recent calls by Sharpton for black leaders and their supporters to forget past disputes.... [Koch] is gaining viability as an anti-Giuliani firebrand and winning back their hearts." This is the same Koch whose record as mayor was an unmitigated trail of racist horrors punctuated by the names of black people killed by his cops: artist Michael Stewart, black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, 17-year-old Edmund Perry.

From channeling the protests over the police killing of Amadou Diallo earlier this year into the confines of electoral pressure politics to opposing the labor/black mobilization against the Klan, Sharpton's purpose as a front man for the capitalist ruling class is to contain the anger of the ghetto masses and prevent any challenge to this system of racist oppression. And the reformist left assists Sharpton in this shell game.

The Workers World Party (WWP) openly supported Sharpton's 1997 bid for the Democratic mayoral nomination. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) acted as the open servants of Sharpton and Stringer in building their demonstration of "tolerance" for the Klan on October 23, which was aimed at demobilizing the many thousands who wanted to *stop* the racist nightriders. While formally opposing electoral support to the Democratic Party, the ISO joins the WWP in building the anti-Giuliani coalition for the Democrats. In an article on the December 5 homeless protest, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (10 December) wrote that "it's time to put an end to Giuliani's cruel attacks on the poor" without so much as a word of criticism of the Democrats.

In building the December 5 protest, the reformists teamed up with those who are a part of the bourgeoisie's own cutback machinery. Heavily funded by the government and by corporate interests, many homeless "advocacy" groups have their own stake in capitalist misery and are currently thriving as a result of Clinton's axing of welfare. The Coalition for the Homeless boasts of its expertise in "cost effective" solutions, stating in its 1997 annual report: "We see the public outcry about the failings of the welfare system not as a country turning its back on the poor, but rather as a call for greater efficiency." Nominally "non-partisan," the Coalition praises the policies of former Democratic NY governor Mario Cuomo and Mayor Dinkins, while its executive director, Mary Brosnahan, got her start in Michael Dukakis' 1988 Democratic presidential bid.

The fight against homelessness can only be waged as a fight against the entire capitalist profit system. As we wrote in "Giuliani Bashes the Homeless" (*WV* No. 724, 26 November), "Against the joblessness, poverty and homelessness endemic to capitalism labor must fight to: *Expropriate the greedy landlords! Seize luxury housing and give it to the homeless! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and poor! Unionize 'workfare' workers with full union wages, benefits and protections! For union-run recruitment and training programs that will provide union jobs for all those who have been thrown on the economic scrapheap of this system! Jobs for all—For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!*" To mobilize the multiracial proletariat around such a program requires forging a workers party in irreconcilable opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of capital and committed to the overthrow of this brutal system through socialist revolution. ■

October 23 Anti-Klan Mobilization: Labor/Black Power in Action

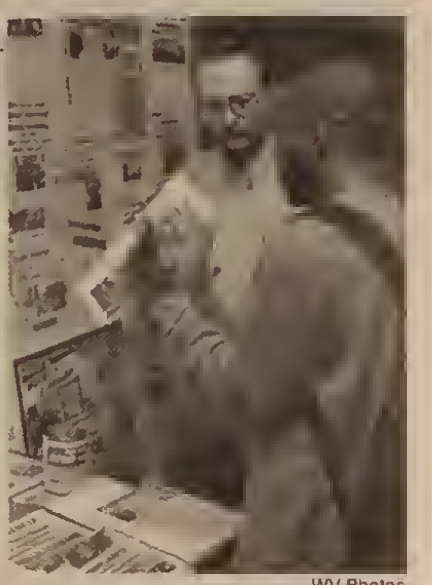
This year's Holiday Appeal benefits for class-war prisoners were energized by the October 23 labor/black mobilization that rode the Ku Klux Klan out of New York City. Held in San Francisco and Chicago on December 5 and in New York on December 10, the benefits marked the 14th year of the Holiday Appeal, organized by the Partisan Defense Committee to raise extra funds during the holiday season to support our program of regular stipends for those imprisoned for their struggles on behalf of the working class and the oppressed. Drawing on the example of October 23, where labor's power was mobilized independently of the capitalist government and political parties and on behalf of all the oppressed, the gatherings pointed to the kind of class-struggle fight urgently needed to win freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners. Mumia remains in grave danger from the police and other government forces seeking his execution.

In New York, supporters of the Spartacist League, Labor Black League for Social Defense and Spartacus Youth Club built the Holiday Appeal by bringing the lessons of the October 23 victory to workplaces and union meetings, to the campuses and the streets. Those lessons took on added urgency for transit workers whose union contract was expiring in mid-December, posing a potential strike which would pit them directly against the capitalist state.

At the San Francisco benefit, which raised over $3,600, a speaker for the Labor Black League counterposed our call to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty to the reformist left's demand for a "new trial" for Mumia. The speaker continued: "That the capitalist courts are an integral part of this racist frame-up system is amply demonstrated by Jamal's case."

The Chicago benefit, which raised some $3,500, drew people from several Midwestern states and featured lively discussion over the government's role in protecting the KKK terrorists on October 23 as well as over black Democrat Al Sharpton's despicable defense of the Klan's "free speech." One of those attending was Bill Hampton, the brother of Fred Hampton, a Black Panther Party leader gunned down 30 years ago by the Chicago cops and FBI as part of the government's COINTELPRO campaign of terror against black and leftist militants.

We print below, slightly abridged, a speech by Spartacist League spokesman Ed Kartsen at the New York benefit.



WV Photos

Holiday Appeal benefits in Chicago, December 5 (left) and New York, December 10.

* * *

Less than two months ago, 8,000 participated in an anti-Klan demonstration which insured that the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were driven off the streets of downtown Manhattan. At the core of the October 23 demonstration were militant, disciplined workers who played a major role in staying the hand of the NYPD killer cops.

This was a significant victory for the working class and all the intended victims of the Ku Klux Klan. This was a victory for the workers in their class war against the capitalist class. It stands as a victory for all of those who we call class-war prisoners.

This victory could not have been possible without a leadership that was class-conscious. It would not have been possible without a leadership that knew that the courts, Republican mayor Giuliani, the cops, the Democrats, the black Democratic political establishment, the fake left would all do their part to try to insure that the KKK would get away with their deadly provocation.

Class consciousness starts with the understanding that the interests of labor are fundamentally counterposed to the interests of the capitalist class. The capitalist class constantly strives to drive down the living standards of working people. Class consciousness means understanding that the capitalist political parties, the courts, the police all act to enforce the rule of capital. It means understanding that the capitalists cultivate the fascist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan in order to unleash them on workers and the oppressed under conditions of sharp social and economic crisis.

The Republican Party bares itself with Giuliani threatening to thrash the powerful Transport Workers Union (TWU). The Republican Party represents the blatant and open rule of capital. They show with very little deception their intentions to attack the unions, blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, women and the poor.

The Democrats present a cunning and more deceptive image to working people and the oppressed. The October 23 victory showed that working people and the oppressed can *win* if they are mobilized independent of the Democratic Party and the government by a class-conscious, revolutionary leadership.

Break with the Democrats!

On the eve of the expiration of the TWU Local 100 contract, it is clear that this workforce, which has the power to shut down Wall Street—the nerve center of international imperialism—*can win* if their fight is led by a class-struggle leadership, the type which led the October anti-Klan victory. That is, a leadership that would not only fight for a living wage protected by a full cost-of-living adjustment, but a leadership that would attack head-on the union-busting divide-and-rule tactics of the capitalists and their politicians with the demand for free public transportation.

A leadership that would rally all of New York City labor around the demand for jobs and decent living conditions for all! A leadership that would unleash the power of labor and blacks and fight for jobs at union wages for workers forced to slave under "workfare."

A leadership that would bring the social and economic power of labor to bear in the fight to free class-war prisoners and abolish the racist death penalty. A leadership that would mobilize the strength of labor to protest every act of cop terror.

A leadership that would demand an end to homelessness and poverty and fight to establish a meaningful program of public works to build quality, integrated public housing, schools, libraries and hospitals. A leadership that would rip industry out of the hands of the racist, corrupt, incompetent capitalist rulers and rebuild society on a socialist plan.

In order for the unions to be effective in the struggle to win gains, they must break free of the stranglehold of the capitalist Democratic Party. Labor must get the courts out of the unions and take responsibility for cleaning its own house. The cops who are the first-line enforcers of strikebreaking, who play the role of an occupying army in the ghettos and the barrios, who defend the KKK killers, are not part of the labor movement. Labor must demand: Cops out of the unions!

So the Democratic Party pretended to be concerned about the Ku Klux Klan coming to downtown Manhattan on October 23. They announced a rally that claimed to be "anti-KKK." But the first indication that this was a diversion was the fact that no one heard about this demonstration until the united front initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee around the demand to stop the Klan had gained widespread support. The second indication was the language they used to promote their diversion. They counterposed to the call to "Stop the KKK" a call for a demonstration of "tolerance." The third indication was the collusion between Giuliani, the police and the Democrats. First the city administration changed the location of the KKK rally from 100 Centre Street, where the PDC had called for an anti-Klan rally, to 60 Centre Street, where the city gave the Democrats, who publicly announced their rally after the PDC, a permit.

They then denied a sound permit to the PDC for 60 Centre. By taking away a sound permit, they had hoped to politically dissolve and destroy the discipline of the anti-Klan protesters in a situation ripe for provocation. But they failed. The leadership of the anti-Klan mobilization didn't give in to the tricks and the pressures of the NYPD and lead the political center of the mobilization from 100 Centre Street into a police trap. With sound blasting from 100 Centre street, over 8,000 protesters spread across several blocks were enough to force the cops to cut the KKK rally short.

Since October 23, the fascists have shown what they organize for. In addition to cross burnings and racist graffiti, on November 17 a 19-year-old black man, Sasezley Richardson, was shot dead by members of the fascist Aryan Brotherhood. This is the so-called "free speech" that Democrats like Al Sharpton fight to defend! Al Sharpton, along with the black establishment *Amsterdam News*, went all out to protect the Klan,

continued on page 12

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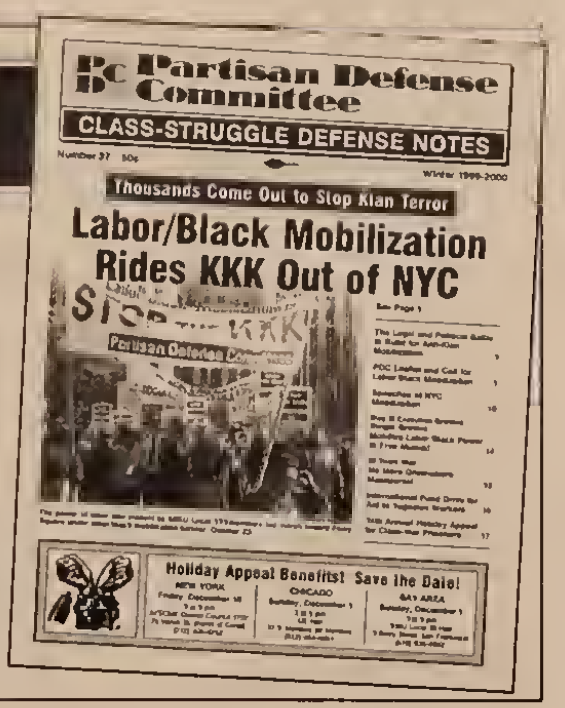
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CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES
Thousands Come Out to Stop Klan Terror
Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of NYC
Holiday Appeal Benefits! Save the Date!

Build a Workers Party, Tribune of the People!

The following is a slightly abridged speech by Xandra Baxter of the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense at the December 10 Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners.

We fight for the freedom of all class-war prisoners. Their fight is our fight! The laws that have imprisoned these brave men and women are the same laws that the racist ruling class uses against striking workers, blacks, immigrants, homosexuals, the homeless and all those who struggle and fight against this brutal system that is capitalist America.

The New York Labor Black League for Social Defense was built in 1986 around the defense of black transit worker James Grimes, who faced a gun rap for defending himself on the job against an assault by three muggers. The Labor Black League helped mobilize members of the powerful TWU to come out in his defense during the trial—the charges were dropped! Today we demand the freedom of Joshua Edwards, a black man who was charged with manslaughter in Pennsylvania for defending himself against two gun-toting racist thugs. We say: Gun control kills blacks! For the right of armed self-defense!

We stand for mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against racist terror. On October 23, the Labor Black League took part in running the KKK out of New York City. I see a lot of people here tonight that came out to that demonstration. We should give ourselves a round of applause! That was an important victory. We stopped the Klan!

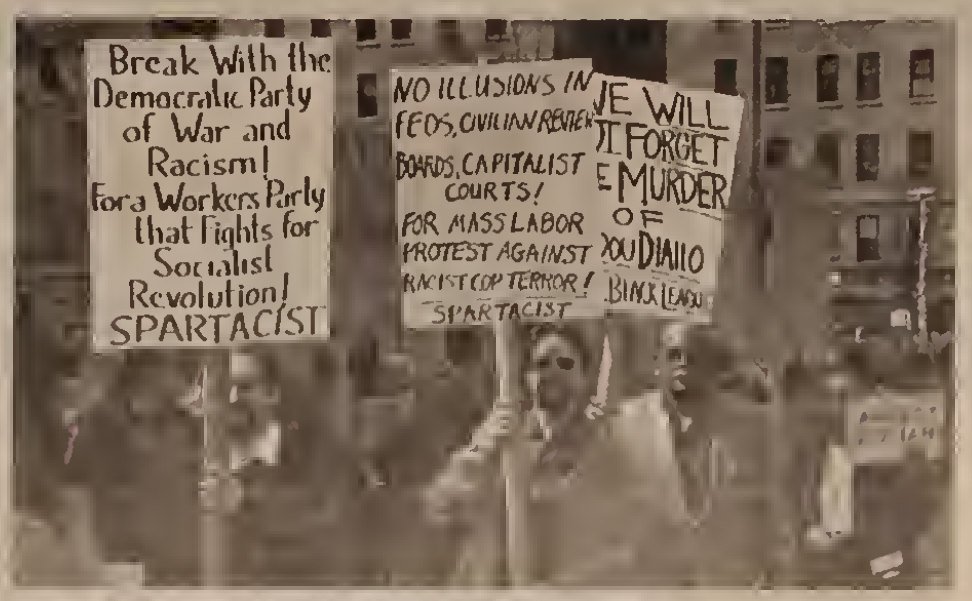
We also raised our banners and voices on October 23 to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty. The death penalty in this country is a legacy from black chattel slavery, it is the lynch rope made legal. In taking up Mumia's cause, the working class would strike a blow against an entire system based on the brutal exploitation of labor and rooted in the racist repression of black people. Mumia Abu-Jamal is a symbol of what the capitalist *injustice* system is all about, what the racist barbarity which is the death penalty is all about.

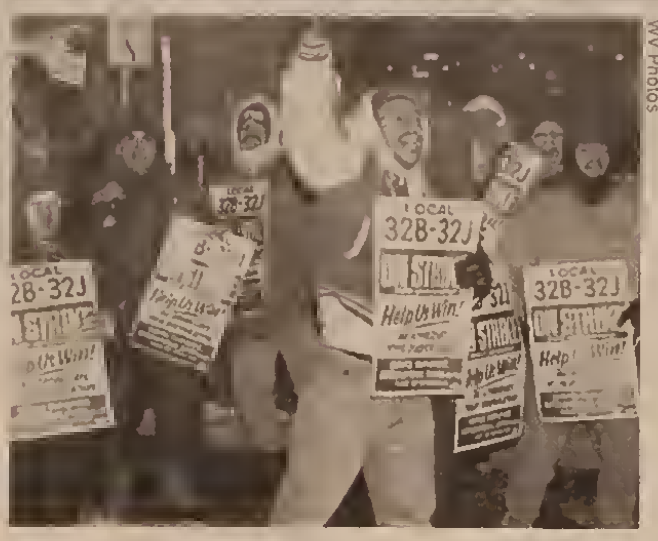
October 23 gave working people a real taste of power and showed that we need a party of our own—a workers party that will be the tribune of all the oppressed and fight for a workers revolution. A party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Russian Revolution, the first time in history workers took power in their own hands!

The LBL has participated in demonstrations against racist cop terror—the killing of Amadou Diallo and Gidone Busch, the sadistic torture of Abner Louima. We seek to mobilize the working class in defense of blacks and minorities. Our program stands for the fight for women's rights, for free abortion on demand! We are for full democratic rights for homosexuals. Government out of the bedrooms! We demonstrated in defense of the Chinese immigrants on the *Golden Venture* when that ship ran aground off Queens in 1993—they were locked up like criminals for trying to immigrate into this country. We say: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Several years ago, when SEIU service employees Local 32B-32J was on strike, the Labor Black League joined the thousands of immigrant, black and Hispanic workers on their picket lines. Tonight we are on the eve of a transit strike. We say to New York City transit workers: You have the power—Shut down the city! Bring Wall Street to its knees! Cops and courts out of the union!

In this country, the ruling class has used the race question to divide the working class. As Karl Marx said, and as we have printed on our LBL membership card: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." It's time to finish the Civil War! Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution!■





WV Photos

Above: LBL and SL supporters at March 31 Bronx protest against cop execution of Amadou Diallo. Left: SEIU Local 32B-32J building maintenance workers on the strike lines, 1996.

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

WV Photo

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! For class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge is $3/year unemployed; $10/year employed. For more information, write:

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Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

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Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND (510) 839-0851
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604

Young Spartacus

Down With Mexican State Repression Against UNAM Strikers!

We print below a translation of a leaflet put out by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, and its youth group, Juventud Espartaquista on December 12. On December 11, some two hundred UNAM student strikers rallied in front of the U.S. embassy in Mexico City in sympathy with the Seattle demonstrations against the World Trade Organization (WTO) and protesting the mass arrests there. The demonstrators were also rallying on behalf of death row political prisoner and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal. They were attacked by the Mexican police, and 98 protesters were arrested. As we go to press, all of the arrested students have been released on bail, but they still face criminal charges that would leave them with a criminal record for life if they are convicted.

On December 13, the Spartacist League/U.S. participated in a demonstration in front of the Mexican consulate in New York City initiated by the Internationalist Group (IG). The IG consists of a coterie of ex-members of the International Communist League who defected from Trotskyism in the face of the pressure from the collapse of the USSR and East European deformed workers states. Since their defections more than three years ago, the IG has moved further to the right, tailing bourgeois-nationalist forces in Mexico represented by the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. While correctly defending the student demonstrators against the brutal cop assault, the IG says not a word of criticism about the anti-WTO protests in Seattle, which in the main were filled with protectionist "Buy American" poison and anti-Communism directed against China (see *WV* No. 725, 10 December).

An anti-WTO protest in Mexico is necessarily of a different character than the protests in Seattle. Moreover, all over the world, including the U.S., there have been demonstrations denouncing the state repression against the Seattle protesters. But what is necessary is to bring to the student protesters in Mexico, including the courageous UNAM strikers who have been out for nine months in defense of the right to higher education, the understanding that only the working class led by a communist program has the power to smash imperialism through workers revolution. In order to do so, the proletariat must recognize that the state is its enemy. The cops who beat the Seattle protesters and the cops who beat protesters in Mexico are the armed thugs of their respective states. The capitalist state is an instrument of repression that cannot be wielded by workers and the oppressed in their own interests. It must be smashed through workers revolution.

But the Seattle protests, which included a mishmash of everything from tree-huggers to trade unionists, were based on the premise that American imperialism can be a progressive force in the world. Imperialism is not a "bad" policy that can be reformed, but the highest stage of capitalist development. Capitalist property can only be expropriated and replaced with a planned socialist economy by a workers revolution which brings to power a workers government. This is the understanding and the program that our comrades in the GEM and the JE fight to bring to the UNAM strikers, the working class and the oppressed people of Mexico.

PRD Government Attacks Student Protest Again

Free The Arrested Students Now! Drop All the Charges!

Using riot police against the UNAM student strikers again, the PRD government in Mexico City launched massive repression against a demonstration in front of the U.S. embassy yesterday. This demonstration was called in solidarity with the recent demonstrations in Seattle against the WTO meeting and in protest of the mass arrests of hundreds of demonstrators in recent days in this U.S. city under a state of siege. Yesterday, at the end of the demonstration in Mexico City, riot police intervened and arrested 98 demonstrators. The bloody riot police brutally went after the students and started a manhunt in the area, beating many students hiding in stores and restaurants. At least six students who were severely beaten had to be taken to the Red Cross Hospital before they were taken to the police station. This brutal repression is reminiscent of the Cardenista government's bloody attack against a student demonstration on the Periférico highway on October 14. *We Spartacists demand: Free all the arrested students now! Drop all the charges!*

Reuters

December 11: Mexico City riot police attack protest opposing mass arrests at Seattle WTO demonstrations and demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

At the same time that we demand the immediate release of all the demonstrators in Mexico and Seattle, as proletarian internationalists we explain that the recent protests in Seattle, led by the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO and liberal and reformist organizations subordinated to the Democratic Party, were a circus-like spectacle of nationalism and chauvinist protectionism in solidarity with their "own" bourgeoisie. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. refused to participate in any way in these protests given their anti-Communist character and their explicit support to chauvinist protectionism against economies of less developed countries, like Mexico. A particular target of this notorious nationalist and anti-Communist campaign was the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, which we Trotskyists militarily defend against capitalist counterrevolution. For years, this same AFL-CIO union bureaucracy has been leading a chauvinist campaign against immigrant workers. The U.S. working class needs to break with these pro-capitalist union misleaders. In contrast, an example of the working class intervening in its own name was the recent united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which brought together thousands of workers in New York City on October 23 against the racist Ku Klux Klan.

The repression which took place yesterday underlines the points that the Grupo Espartaquista de México has insisted on: that the PRD is a bourgeois-nationalist party dedicated to the defense of the interest of the capitalist class and that students must not have illusions that the capitalist state can be reformed in the interests of the workers. Cops are not "workers in uniform" but the armed fist of the bourgeoisie! We call for workers defense of the student strike and for workers strike actions to extend the strike beyond the campus walls. Students must orient themselves to the proletariat, which has the social power to stop the privatizations and the attacks against public education. The GEM fights to build the Leninist-Trotskyist party that the Mexican working class urgently needs in order to break with bourgeois nationalism and to rule this country with its own workers government, through socialist revolution. No illusions in the bourgeois PRD! Break with nationalism!■

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Gusanos, Feds Abduct Six-Year-Old Child

On November 25, the U.S. Coast Guard picked up Elián González in the Florida Straits, two days after the 17-foot aluminum boat he'd been in sank, killing his mother and ten others. Having watched his mother drown and survived two days clinging to an inner tube, this six-year-old child is now being forcibly separated from his father in Cuba so that he can be used as a political football by the American bourgeoisie to stoke the fires of its anti-Communist crusade against Cuba.

Behind all the hysteria around this kid is U.S. imperialism's 40-year drive to reverse the gains of the 1959 Cuban Revolution, which led to the expropriation of the imperialist exploiters and their local capitalist henchmen. The creation of a collectivized economy brought enormous gains to the Cuban people, such as free medical care, jobs, housing and education. As Trotskyists we call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state—just as we defend China, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution.

Elián's father, Juan González, demands his son's return. On December 10, over two million demonstrated in cities and villages across Cuba demanding that he be sent home. Meanwhile, the American rulers, who never miss an opportunity to promote the "sanctity" of the family and decry "deadbeat" dads, have effectively abducted the boy. They intend to keep him here at least until a December 23 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) hearing, supposedly to determine "his best interests." Now, the INS is demanding that his father "demonstrate his active participation in the boy's upbringing" (*Washington Post*, 10 December). Obscenely, Attorney General Janet Reno has been appointed Elián's "official guardian." Reno ordered the 1993 Waco massacre in which at least 25 children were murdered, and her specialty as Florida attorney general was breaking up families under the pretext of prosecuting "child abuse."

Let Elián Go Back to Cuba!

Reuters

Cuba: Over two million take to the streets on December 10 demanding return of Elián González, held in Miami as part of anti-Communist campaign against Castro's Cuba.

In the forefront of the forces who want to keep Elián in the U.S. are the counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* (worms), who have carried on an unrelenting campaign of sadistic terrorist activities ever since they fled the Cuban Revolution. Any Cuban anti-Communist who gets here is automatically welcomed with open arms and paraded around as a "freedom fighter." In contrast, those fleeing right-wing terror regimes are often denied asylum while other immigrants are being deported at a record rate. And while keeping Elián from his family, the U.S. rulers are more than happy to send back the *marielitos*, criminals from Cuban prisons who the U.S. took in by the thousands nearly 20 years ago. As the recent prison protest in Louisiana highlighted—before it ended with Castro agreeing to take back the prisoners—many of the *marielitos* remain behind bars in the "land of freedom" long after having finished their sentences.

There have been increasing signs that the Clinton administration may agree to send Elián back to his father. Clinton has maintained, and even reinforced, the economic embargo imposed against Cuba under Democrat John F. Kennedy in 1962. We say: Down with the imperialist starvation blockade! Recently, with Canadian and European firms investing heavily in Cuba, growing sections of the American bourgeoisie have argued for a less belligerent line toward the Castro regime. These imperialists seek to flood the Cuban economy with U.S. dollars and strengthen the forces of counterrevolution from within. In October, Illinois Republican governor George Ryan joined a large group of Chicago businessmen in a five-day visit to Cuba. As the London *Guardian* (27 October) reported: "It is the lure of a new marketplace which has led an increasing number of delegations to Cuba to call for an end to sanctions."

Wedded to the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country"—which means opposition to socialist revolution internationally—the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy under Fidel Castro conciliates the imperialist enemies of the revolution. With the end of Soviet economic assistance and the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the Castro regime responded to intensifying economic pressures by increasingly opening the country to imperialist economic penetration. This has meant a large increase in inequality, particularly targeting the black population. We call for workers political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy and put political power in the hands of the working class. Key to the defense of the Cuban Revolution is the struggle for proletarian power throughout Latin America and internationally, especially in the U.S. Above all, we fight to build the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the U.S.

The case of Elián González is not the first time the U.S. has abducted children to whip up anti-Communist hysteria. In 1980, 12-year-old Walter Polovchak was taken from his family, who wanted to return to the USSR after moving to Chicago and discovering that the "American dream" wasn't all it was cracked up to be. "Little Walter," as he was called, became the poster child for Democratic president Jimmy Carter's warmongering "human rights" crusade against the USSR. The bourgeoisie professed that "poor little Walter" wanted to stay in the U.S. because he had a new bicycle! We said: "Give Walter back to his parents! Let him have his bicycle, if he wants" (*Young Spartacus*, No. 84, September 1980).

Unlike the Polovchak case, about half the American population thinks Elián should be sent back to Cuba. For our part, we would like to see him go back to Cuba and grow up to be a partisan in defense of the Cuban Revolution. Let Elián González go home!■

Victory to King City Teamsters Strike!

For more than five months, 750 members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 890, mainly Latino women and immigrants, have been on strike against the Basic Vegetable Products garlic and onion processing plant in King City, in the heart of California's Salinas Valley. The strike began when Basic threatened to slash wages and benefits and contract out the best jobs to non-union labor. Basic has since hired scabs to permanently replace the strikers and continues to operate the plant at partial capacity, while adding demands such as a two-tier wage scale and the dumping of the union pension plan.

The Basic workers have stood solid against this union-busting, facing the full brunt of the bosses and their cops and courts. Picketers have been threatened with $500 fines; company goons and *coyotes* (scabherders) constantly videotape them on the picket lines. Strikers who leafletted a scab bus were beaten by goons, and a dozen workers face bogus criminal charges, outrageously including trumped-up felony charges of making "terrorist threats." One arrested striker whose bail conditions included not engaging in further strike activities was arrested again because he allowed his truck to be driven with union flags in the Mexican Independence Day parade. California labor must take up these strikers' cause: Smash Basic's union-busting! Drop all the charges! Victory to the Basic strike!

Teamsters at UPS stopped two decades of labor defeats through their 1997 national strike victory. With 12,000 members organized in Central and Southern California, Local 890 has the power to win the King City strike. That power must be brought to bear through building mass picket lines that scabs don't dare cross, mobilizing workers from throughout the Salinas Valley and beyond to shut down the King City plant and extending the strike to other Basic plants in California, Washington state and Idaho. Teamsters locals have continued working at these other plants, playing into the company's strategy of busting the union one plant at a time. Shut down *all* Basic operations!

Basic Vegetable is owned by the powerful Hume family, which epitomizes the California agribusiness tycoons who reap huge profits off immigrant labor while whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria the better to cow and exploit these workers. The Hume family has long been a pillar of Reaganite Republican reaction and a financial backer of the campaigns for the racist Proposition 209, which barred state affirmative action programs, and Proposition 227, banning bilingual education in California public schools. Now the company is drawing scabs from among non-union farm workers, while many Basic strikers are taking grueling farm jobs to support themselves during the strike.

The struggle to defend union food processing workers like the striking Teamsters must be linked to the fight to organize the deeply exploited migrant farm workers in California's Central Valley heartland. Central to that is mobilizing labor against the bosses' anti-immigrant attacks. Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

United Farm Workers (UFW) and Teamsters flags can be seen side by side on the Basic picket lines, a step forward from the 1970s, when the Teamsters bureaucracy organized goon squads to raid UFW locals in service to the bosses. But nationally the Teamsters bureaucracy undermines labor solidarity with immigrant workers by pushing its vile chauvinist campaign to keep Mexican truckers off the U.S. highways. And anyone nostalgic for the UFW leadership under "progressive" Cesar Chavez should remember that he organized union border patrols to stop Mexican immigrants.

Some years back, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy declared that bringing migrant farm workers into the labor movement was going to be its major union organizing drive. At a 1997 Watsonville, California rally supporting the UFW drive to organize strawberry pickers, AFL-CIO head John Sweeney turned over the platform to Democratic Party politicos like Jesse Jackson. Then the labor bureaucrats brought in Washington, D.C. investor David Gladstone to purchase Coastal Berry, ostensibly because he would be "friendly" to the organizing drive. But earlier this year, the UFW lost the election vote to a company union supported by the Western Growers Association.

The Coastal Berry fiasco is an object lesson that the labor bureaucrats' strategy of "partnership" with the bosses and allegiance to Democratic Party "friends of labor" is the kiss of death to labor's cause. The Teamsters Local 890 bureaucrats push the same strategy of class collaboration, turning a November 14 union rally into a platform for

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Defend Labor's Right to Strike!
Bust the Union-Busters!
Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

Spartacist League Leaflet

Immediately after the capitalist courts handed down their injunctions against New York's Transport Workers Union Local 100, the Spartacist League/U.S. issued and widely distributed the following leaflet to transit workers and others throughout the city.

DECEMBER 14—In going after Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, the ruling class of New York City, through the agency of Mayor Giuliani, the Democratic Party state attorney general and the courts, is outlawing the right to strike. If you don't have the right to strike, you don't have unions! The court's diktat says that any worker who walks off the job or even talks about, or votes for, strike action is a criminal—they'll steal whatever pittance you might have saved and throw you in jail! And they'll bankrupt the treasury of any public workers union that calls for a strike.

Even before any strike, the court has ordered the TWU to shell out more than a million dollars to send out a mailing to all its members telling them not to strike. If this anti-union decree goes down in New York City, it can and will be used against workers around the country. But it doesn't have to go down. The TWU and the rest of the NYC labor movement have the power to roll back this assault on the unions through massive strike action.

Giuliani wants to turn the clock back to when organizing for the rights of labor and the unions themselves were illegal. But it's not just the Republican Giuliani. Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer filed a separate lawsuit against the union on behalf of the MTA. And Ed Koch, the strikebreaking Democratic mayor during the 1980 transit strike, has urged Giuliani to be even tougher against the transit workers Koch denounced as "bastards."

Giuliani thinks he can treat the unions with the same police-state vindictiveness that he metes out to desperate homeless families, the ghetto and barrio poor and anyone else he perceives as getting in his way. But the unions, and especially the crucial transit union, have the organized power to shut this city down.

The TWU is directly up against the capitalist state, its courts, its cops, and ultimately its military force which was recently unleashed against protesters in Seattle. How do you fight to win? The working people's struggle must not be driven underground. Without the right to act as a union, the plain consequence of Giuliani's action would be to make the only recourse ineffective guerrilla struggle. What is urgently posed is the independent industrial and political mobilization of the working class. The key is unleashing the power of the multiracial labor movement in New York City in mass, militant action in a thought-out way, one which minimizes the damage in terms of jail sentences and other consequences.

Labor's power has been shackled by the union misleaders who tie the unions to the capitalist class enemy, its government and political parties, particularly the Democrats. Hospital workers Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, former co-chairman of the state Democratic Party, throws hundreds of thousands of dollars in union dues into the Democrats' coffers, including for Hillary Clinton's election campaign. From Bill Clinton's destruction of welfare to Democrat Spitzer's lawsuit against the TWU, it must be clear that the problem is not just Giuliani and the Republicans. Indeed, Giuliani's slave-labor "workfare" scheme—which wields impoverished and heavily minority welfare recipients as a club against the unions by forcing them to work in formerly unionized municipal jobs to maintain their meager benefits—is simply lifted from Clinton's anti-welfare program.

The Democrats represent the interests of the capitalists no less than the Republicans do, and in some ways they are more dangerous, like wolves in sheep's clothing, because they posture as "friends of labor." Don't be fooled! Working people need their own party—not a party of electoralist reformism but one which fights for the class rule of the workers. Such a party would lead workers in struggle and also serve as a tribune of the workers in the capitalist legislature, opposing laws which attack union rights.

No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle on the picket lines. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, their militancy, their organization and discipline and their relation to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society. The capitalists are winning because the power of labor, its strength to stop production and profits and decisively cripple the enemy, has been hamstrung by the labor tops.

WV Photo

TWU Local 100 members and other NYC unionists formed backbone of labor/black mobilization which rode KKK out on October 23.

When Giuliani was a U.S. Attorney for the Reagan administration in 1981, he helped bust the PATCO air traffic controllers union. The entire union membership was fired for exercising its right to strike. Now Giuliani thinks he can get away with the same tactics against NYC transit workers. But not even Giuliani can arrest all 33,000 transit workers, and Wall Street knows it can't run the center of American and world finance capitalism without the subways and buses.

Remember what happened when the government tried to break the 1966 transit strike using the Condon-Wadlin Act and a judge had union president Mike Quill arrested for violating a court injunction. Quill retorted: "It is about time that someone, somewhere along the road, ceases to be respectable. Many generations of great Americans before us have taken this road, and if they didn't take this road, half of you would be on home relief.... The judge can drop dead in his black robes, and we would not call off the strike." That strike won, and the Condon-Wadlin Act became a dead letter. The only illegal strike is one that loses!

But current Local 100 president Willie James has already pledged not to defy the union-busting order against the TWU. This performance shows where his loyalties lie: with the bosses. Now Giuliani has launched a witchhunt against James' opposition, the New Directions wing of the local bureaucracy, as a ploy for going after the union as a whole. New Directions has brought the union-busting courts into the TWU repeatedly throughout its history and shares all the same class-collaborationist policies as the James leadership, including supporting the presence of transit security cops in the union. Both James and New Directions made clear their opposition to a strike in the crucial weeks leading up to the contract deadline. Today, an attorney for New Directions announced in response to Giuliani's threats that he had "advised them that they should be very careful about using the word strike." Nonetheless, it is imperative to close ranks as a union and defend New Directions and all TWU members who come under attack from the capitalist state. Disputes among different elements in the union must be argued out within the union. Against the capitalist class enemy, the union must have a united stand. Labor must clean its own house! *Cops, courts out of the union! Hands off New Directions!*

Government intervention is aimed not at "cleaning up" the unions but at weakening them and reinforcing the capitalist state's grip on labor. Meanwhile, Giuliani is flooding the subway system with thousands of cops to enforce his union-busting decree. The cops are not workers, as the labor misleaders who enroll them in the unions assert, but the strikebreaking thugs of the capitalist class.

The bosses' state—the cops, the military, the courts—is nothing other than the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole. Its purpose is to repress the struggles of the working class and, ultimately, to prevent the workers from smashing the system of private property and taking power themselves. What you're seeing now *is* bourgeois "democracy"—that is, the dictatorship of the capitalist class. You may have the right to vote every four years, but when you move against the bosses the velvet gloves come off and we're up against the iron fist.

The injunctions pushed through by Giuliani and Spitzer in fact outrageously threaten *anybody's* right to advocate strike action! Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the Spartacist League, announced: "I will *not* advise my client to bow to Giuliani's diktat. The Spartacist League is a Marxist organization. We defend the democratic right to speech and advocacy and the workers' right to strike. We stand on the principles of the class struggle and the understanding that the rights of the working people cannot be defended except through struggle against the capitalists and their government."

The AFL-CIO tops mobilized thousands for the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle to denounce "slave labor" conditions...in China, still a bureaucratically deformed workers state. This anti-Communism and protectionism is in the service of the interests of the American imperialist rulers and their drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China. In this the AFL-CIO bureaucracy demonstrates how its primary concern is defense of the "national interest" of the American capitalist class. Yet meanwhile, right here in New York City, labor is being threatened with prison and union-busting fines for exercising the elementary right to strike! *Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!*

The kind of workers party we need was seen in action on the streets of New York on October 23, when over 8,000 working people came out in the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—which is associated with the Spartacist League—to ride the KKK out of town. Nobody should forget the role of the Democrats, who opposed the working-class mobilization and defended the Klan's racist rally and even made back-room deals to share a sound permit with the racist terrorists. Al Sharpton, who once served as an FBI informer just like Ronald Reagan, went so far as to file a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the KKK! The capitalist Democrats feared the independent mobilization of the workers more than they feared the Klan. The capitalists hold the Klan and Nazis in reserve to be unleashed as shock troops as a last recourse in the war against the unions, blacks and other minorities.

The NYC rulers' attack on the heavily black and Hispanic transit workers union underscores a basic truth. In racist capitalist America, the fate of organized labor and that of the black masses are closely bound together. There will be no effective defense against union-busting unless the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights.

Two possible roads lie before the working class. There is the continuation of the labor bureaucracy's acquiescence to what is possible and "practical" under capitalism, which time and again has led to defeat and disaster. Or there is the revolutionary strategy proposed by us Marxists. We seek to forge a revolutionary party that brings to the working class the consciousness of its historic class interests, to fight for its own state power through workers revolution. The realization of even the most basic necessities of life for the mass of the population—employment, education, health care, housing—requires the overthrow of capitalist class rule and its replacement by a workers government which rips the means of production from the bourgeoisie and creates a planned, socialist economy. Those who labor must rule!■

Transit...

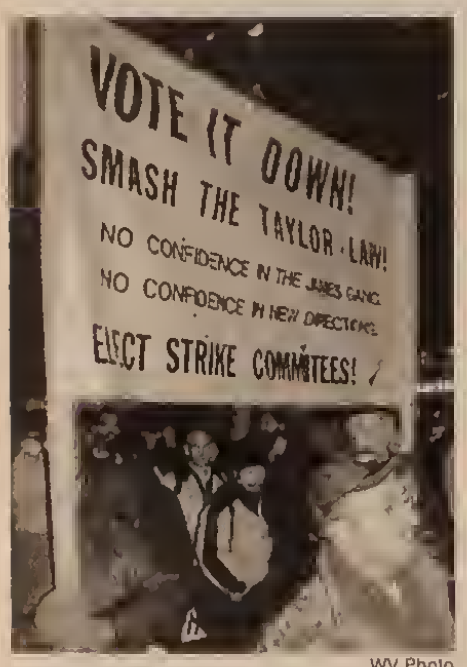
(continued from page 1)

police-state-style assault on the TWU showed, is somewhat elastic.

Giuliani rants that Marxism has "been disgraced all over the world," vituperating against "the whole notion of class warfare, which really comes out of the teaching of Karl Marx, trying to divide people into different classes." If Marxism is so "disgraced," then why is Giuliani screaming about it so much? The ignorant Giuliani to the contrary, Marx did not invent the idea of class warfare. Marx's contribution was to recognize that the class struggle must lead to the working class seizing state power and through that to the abolition of class society.

If the working class is to fight back against the one-sided class war being waged by the bosses, some ABCs of Marxism are very much in order. The fundamental starting point must be the understanding that capitalist society is indeed divided between two major classes: the working class which is forced to sell its labor power in order to survive and the property-owning capitalist class to whom its labor power is sold. As Marx stated more than 150 years ago in *Wage Labour and Capital*: "The interests of capital and the interests of wage labour are diametrically opposed to each other."

The labor bureaucrats, from the AFL-CIO tops on down, reject this elementary understanding. They oppose the very idea of independently mobilizing the unions—



WV Photo

Transit workers' banner at December 15 Brooklyn protest opposes policy of capitulation pushed by both wings of TWU bureaucracy.

either economically or politically—in any serious confrontation with the capitalist order. Their entire strategy rests on a program of class collaboration, a purely electoral and legalistic strategy of lobbying for pro-labor legislation and voting Democrat. What they see as "allies" are in fact agencies of the class enemy—the government and its cops and courts. But the government, backed up by the military power of the state, defends the right of private property and is hostile to the workers. Injunctions, "cooling-off periods," anti-strike laws like the Taylor Law—these are all expressions of a *system* whose whole purpose is to prevent the unions from taking action in the interests of the working class.

The political role of the labor bureaucracy is to enforce such reactionary laws and bind the workers to their class enemy. This all-sided program of class collaboration is codified in the support of the union misleaders to the capitalist Democratic Party, to which they are tied by a thousand threads. These are the ties that the labor movement must break to free it to struggle against its class enemies.

Even as the TWU was girding for a possible strike, the NYC municipal labor tops were mobilizing union resources for Senate candidate Hillary Clinton, who hails the Taylor Law as a "wise law" because "public employees should not legally be allowed to strike." The racist Ed Koch, who as mayor worked to break the 1980 transit strike, urged Giuliani and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) to "stand firm" against the "bastards" who want to "bring the city to its knees by engaging in an illegal strike." And liberal Democrat Spitzer stood firm for *his* class, banning workers in his injunction for the MTA "from in any manner or by any means, directing, calling, causing, authorizing, instigating, conducting, continuing, encouraging, threatening, participating in, assisting in, or approving of any strike, work stoppage, sick-out, slowdown," etc., etc. In court, Spitzer ran point against the transit union.

With "friends" like these, who needs enemies? Many TWU members and other NYC workers and minorities saw the real face of the Democratic Party on October 23, when it acted as the main force *against* the massive mobilization of working-class power that rode the Klan out of town. The Democrats rally to the defense of the "rights" of the union-hating, racist terrorists of the KKK, but they come down hard against the right of labor to organize and strike.

In the anti-Klan mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which is associated with the Spartacist League, workers also saw firsthand what a class-struggle workers party would look like in action. As Marxists, we understand that the only road to victory for our class lies in mobilizing labor's power independently of and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. The working people need a party that fights for *their* class interests, a workers party committed to overturning this whole system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression.

A workers party will be built not in counterposition to the trade unions, which are organizations for economic defense of the working class, but in the crucible of big class battles out of which will emerge a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions. Such a leadership must be based on a program of militant struggle against the entire capitalist system, beginning with opposition to any intervention into the unions by the capitalist state, its cops and courts.

For Trade-Union Independence from the Capitalist State!

The extent of the police-state-style mobilization against the TWU is itself a measure of the potential power of this union. So, too, is the fact that even with the union held for ransom in shotgun "negotiations," the MTA came up with a wage package—12.5 percent over three years—which is being denounced by the big business Citizens Budget Commission as too generous. This takes a lot of nerve when Wall Street moguls have set aside *$13 billion* for their Christmas bonuses alone this year! After three years, the annual wage raise for all 33,000 transit workers will total barely a quarter of the $600 million the MTA currently shells out every year in interest payments to Wall Street bondholders.

The truth is this pay raise will not even put a dent in the massive decline of NYC transit workers' wages over recent years, which average $10,000 a year less than those of Long Island Rail Road and Metro North rail workers employed by the MTA. And the wage raise will largely be paid for through concessions involving speedup and amalgamation of job categories.

The proposed contract maintains the "workfare" provision pushed through by James in 1996, under which welfare recipients are forced to work as slave labor in formerly unionized cleaners' jobs. It undermines seniority rights by curtailing workers' job "picks," which will reinforce management's capacity to victimize union militants. Other provisions will force cleaners, for example, to do maintenance and repair work. Forcing workers to do jobs they are not trained for is a recipe for making the subways and buses more dangerous for transit workers and riders alike.

New Directions has called to vote down the James sellout. It should be voted down. But this is all empty talk since ND is opposed to the union taking any action in defiance of the Taylor Law and the courts. What this really means for ND is going along with the next step under the Taylor Law, which is binding arbitration by a government mediator, who would be as "impartial" as the courts which threatened massive fines against the union. What ND spokesman Roger Toussaint proposes is *working without a contract* to "wait out the year until members can choose a new better union leadership" and to "join the municipal unions in one grand negotiating coalition" (*New York Post*, 17 December). This stalling tactic dovetails with the line of the municipal union tops who, having refused to lift a finger against Giuliani/Spitzer's union-busting, now hope to hold off their upcoming contract negotiations until they get a Democrat to replace Giuliani in City Hall. Here we can clearly see how the labor misleaders use Democratic Party electoralism to stop the workers from acting in defense of their own class interests.

It is such class collaboration which has set up the labor movement for decimation by the bosses and their state. As the U.S. geared up for World War II and the Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt implemented an array of laws to hamstring the newly forged industrial unions of the CIO, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained that in this era in which capitalism is dominated by huge trusts and monopolies, the trade unions

> "have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation. In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of the superprofits of imperialist capitalism....
>
> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940)

Trotsky's description of the labor bureaucracy acting to discipline the workers could not be etched more vividly than in the scenes of TWU members being ordered by their own union officials to obey the anti-union injunctions. When a supporter of the SL-affiliated Labor Black League was stopped by police from distributing our leaflet defending the right to strike at a Manhattan bus depot on December 16, Local 100 vice president Gil Rodriguez came out and joined forces with the cops, urging them: "If he is advocating a work stoppage, he should be arrested. We've told our members that it is illegal to advocate a work stoppage" (see box, page 11).

It is necessary to fight *for the complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions from the bosses and their state!* The union tops' bowing and scraping before capitalist "legality" is exemplified by their acquiescence to binding arbitration, which is a crucial weapon of

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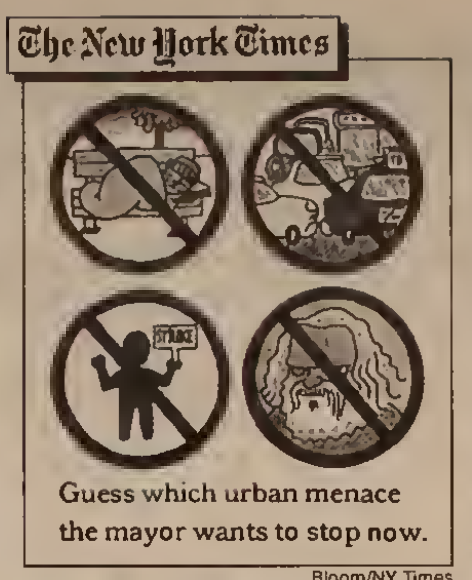
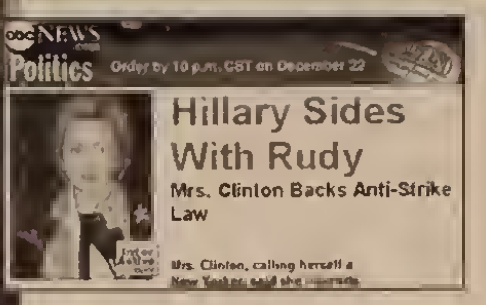


Bloom/NY Times

In union-busting assault on NYC transit workers, Mayor Giuliani rails against "Marxists" in TWU.

Jones/Public Employee Press



AFSCME DC 37 public workers head Lee Saunders boosts Democratic Senate hopeful Hillary Clinton, who hails strikebreaking Taylor Law. Pro-capitalist union tops chain workers to class enemy.

WV Photo

In response to Giuliani's redbaiting, ND draped itself in Stars and Stripes at December 15 rally while instructing workers to obey union-busting injunctions.

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the bosses to weaken and demobilize the power of labor. The same is true of the dues checkoff system, whereby the MTA deducts union dues from workers' paychecks. As was seen when the Taylor Law was invoked in the 1980 strike to cut off dues collection, the dues checkoff is wielded by management and the capitalist state as a weapon to control the union treasury and choke off the workers' fighting funds. Union dues should be collected by elected union officials on the shop-floor. Moreover, this would serve to make the leadership responsible to the members it was elected to serve.

On all the *political* essentials, i.e., subordinating the interests of the workers to the class enemy, there is total agreement between New Directions and Willie James, as well as the rest of the AFL-CIO misleaders, who have devoted considerable effort in recent years to bringing cops and prison guards into the unions. Both wings of the TWU bureaucracy support the presence of MTA security cops in the union. James invited spokesmen for the "unions" of the NYPD killer cops onto the platform at huge TWU rallies on November 17 and December 8, even as their uniformed brothers in blue were manhandling trade unionists and imprisoning them inside cop barricades. At the December 15 New Directions rally, an ND spokesman directly appealed to the strikebreaking cops menacing the demonstration by demanding higher wages for them, saying, "They're the heroes. They deserve more." The cops are not workers; they are racist killers and armed thugs against the workers whose job is to serve and protect the profits and power of the capitalists.

Only weeks before the strike deadline loomed, ND launched yet another of its court suits against the TWU. As we wrote then, "It is rank treachery to go to the class enemy under any circumstances, and particularly on the eve of a class battle" (*WV* No. 724, 26 November). This "opposition" has repeatedly resorted to the bosses' courts against the union to boost its own aspirations for bureaucratic positions against the James leadership. Such treachery complements union-busting attacks from without, by helping to place the union ever more firmly under the grip of the government. The government's injunctions show exactly whose class interests the courts serve. Anyone who really believed that the courts can be used in the interests of the workers should ask: Why, then, were massive fines threatened only against the union and not against the MTA? The answer is simple: because the courts are part of the same capitalist apparatus as the MTA. *Cops, courts out of the labor movement!*

The cops and courts are at the core of the capitalist state. The state is not neutral, as the labor bureaucrats would have it. It cannot be pressured or "reformed" to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed, as claimed by reformist "socialists" like the Communist Party (CP) and the International Socialist Organization (ISO). The ISO backs ND and itself has a long history of supporting court intervention in the unions, particularly by Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which basically acted as the agent for the Justice Department in the government's decades-long vendetta against the powerful Teamsters union.

The assault on the TWU is an object lesson in the Marxist understanding of the state. As the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) explained in its 1938 "Declaration of Principles":

> "The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society, in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods, is an illusion. In the United States, as in all capitalist nations, we live, in actuality, under a capitalist dictatorship; and the possibilities for purely legal and constitutional changes are therefore limited to those which fall within the framework of capitalist property and social relations."

History has shown that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the existing apparatus of the capitalist state. Rather, that state must be smashed through a workers revolution, replacing the dictatorship of capital with a dictatorship of the proletariat which will usher in an egalitarian socialist society.

Class Collaboration vs. Class Struggle

The unions which the pro-capitalist labor tops today seem prepared to hand over to the bosses on a silver platter were built at the cost of the lives and livelihoods of thousands of workers in the course of bloody, bitter class battles. The entire history of the American labor movement is one of laws broken and court injunctions defied. Otherwise there would be no labor movement.

The forging of the TWU was an enormous victory. Before that, many workers on the subway, bus and trolley lines, which were then owned by a number of private companies, were forced to work split shifts spanning 14 hours or more a day for wages which barely exceeded the poverty level. Struggles to win a union were marked, as in 1895, by pitched street battles with thousands of cops, company agents and National Guardsmen. They often meant mass arrests and firings and scabherding. During a 1918 strike, a scab motorman crashed his train into a tunnel wall, killing 92 people, the worst accident in New York transit history.

DeMaria/NY Daily News

TWU Local 100 head Mike Quill ripping up injunction on eve of January 1966 strike. Strike rally near City Hall. Quill was jailed, but strike won and smashed anti-labor Condon-Wadlin Act.

AP

AFL-CIO

AFL leaders William Green and George Meany with Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt. AFL and CIO union tops backed anti-labor "New Deal" administration, enforced no-strike pledge to support U.S. imperialism in World War II.

The TWU was finally organized in the mid-1930s by Mike Quill and other supporters of the Communist Party and socialist-minded Irish republicans. It emerged amid the massive struggles which built the industrial unions of the CIO. That unionization drive was kicked off by three citywide general strikes in 1934—in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco—led by avowed socialists and communists. The strikes of the late 1930s, particularly in the auto industry, were virtual wars involving mass pickets, plant occupations and "secondary boycotts" against scab goods. The CIO organizing drives broke down the racist barriers of the Jim Crow system that characterized the AFL craft unions, as hundreds of thousands of black workers—many of them former sharecroppers and tenant farmers from the South—took their place as a powerful new strategic component of the industrial proletariat.

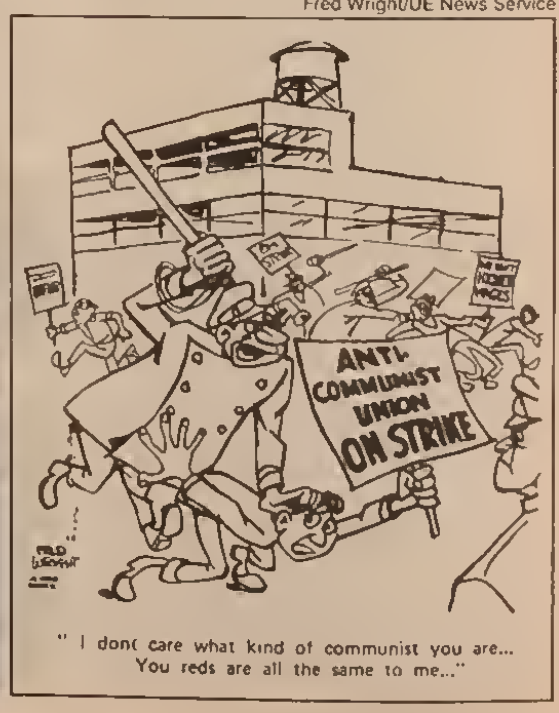
Fearing the radicalization of the working class which these strikes signaled, old-line labor bureaucrats like Mine Workers leader John L. Lewis moved to prevent the reds from leading the industrial unionizing drives. The burgeoning labor militancy reflected a broader political groundswell that could have led for the first time to a workers party independent of the two capitalist parties. But this surge toward independent political action was instead channeled, mainly by the Stalinized Communist Party, into support for Roosevelt's Democratic Party and its "New Deal" coalition. The CP's support to the New Deal was an expression on American terrain of the "People's Front Against Fascism" line adopted by the Stalinist Communist International in August 1935, which called for political support to a supposed "democratic" or "anti-fascist" wing of the capitalist exploiters.

The class-collaborationist New Deal coalition, which literally extended from black Communist labor organizers to KKK Southern sheriffs, put organized labor into an unholy alliance not only with its liberal class enemies in the North but with the diehard Dixiecrat segregationists of the Deep South. Before the Civil War, the Democrats had been the party of the Southern slavocracy, resting as well on the electoral support of, for example, Irish Catholic immigrant workers in the North. It was under the New Deal that they came to be falsely identified as a friend of labor and black people.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its reformist tails have long pushed the myth that the New Deal was the heyday of "progressive" politics. In fact, the aim of the New Deal coalition was to co-opt the unions through a series of government regulatory agencies like the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) and,

TWU

Breaking with CP amid Cold War witchhunt, Quill (at right) organized vicious red purge in TWU in 1948. Cartoon put out by United Electrical Workers, one of the unions targeted by witchhunt.



Fred Wright/UE News Service

more broadly, to buy "class peace." The 1935 Wagner Act gave the NLRB wide powers to determine which unions would be recognized as bargaining agents by the employers, and the period immediately following saw a far more rapid expansion of company unions than real unions. Today, NLRB regulations continue to be wielded against union organizing efforts by allowing employers to stall union recognition for years.

Another key aspect of the New Deal was to ideologically mobilize the population for the impending imperialist war. It is precisely because it has historically had the support of a majority of working people that the Democratic Party has been the preferred war party of U.S. imperialism throughout the century, from Woodrow Wilson (World War I), Roosevelt (World War II), Truman (Korea), to Kennedy and Johnson (Vietnam) and on to the Clinton administration's recent war against Serbia. During World War II, the labor misleaders (especially the Stalinists) enforced a "no-strike" pledge on behalf of Roosevelt and the capitalist class and called on working people to die for U.S. business interests in the imperialist slaughter.

In contrast, 18 Trotskyists, leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters, were imprisoned under the 1940 Smith Act because the SWP—and the newly founded Fourth International of which it was a part—called on the working class in the U.S. and in all the imperialist powers to oppose their own bourgeoisies with a perspective of workers revolution. In spite of Stalin and his foreign policy, the Trotskyists' policy toward the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state still based on the working-class property forms resulting from its origins in a social revolution, was unconditional military defense against attacks by any capitalist power. Trotskyists called for proletarian political revolution to oust the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, whose collaboration with the imperialists and opposition to socialist revolution internationally undermined the workers state.

When, following World War II, U.S. imperialism launched its Cold War against the Soviet Union, its erstwhile ally against Nazi Germany, this also meant war against the U.S. working class. In 1946, the country was swept by the biggest strike wave in its history. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy feared this massive labor upsurge and joined with the government in purging thousands of Communists and other militants from the unions while acquiescing to the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which imposed anti-Communist bans in the unions and outlawed many of the militant tactics which had built the CIO. That same year, New York State enacted the Condon-Wadlin Act, which mandated the mass firing of public sector workers who went on strike.

Having loyally supported the Democratic Party throughout the New Deal and World War II, Quill was among those Stalinist trade-union leaders who opportunistically broke with the CP when the Cold War got underway, organizing a vicious witchhunt in 1948 against leftist militants within the TWU. It was then that the dues checkoff was instituted in transit by Democratic mayor William O'Dwyer, with the aim of helping Quill consolidate his position within the union in the face of a substantial base of support for the Communists. For years, Quill worked in cahoots with the city's Democratic Party machine, quelling the militancy of the membership. It is no accident that the first citywide transit strike coincided with the inauguration of liberal Republican mayor John Lindsay in January 1966.

But when it came, that 12-day strike demonstrated the power of the transit union to bring the city to a grinding halt and Wall Street to its knees. Served with an injunction a day before the walkout, Quill tore it to shreds. He was thrown in jail after defying another injunction a few days later and died of a heart attack shortly thereafter. But the bosses were reminded that they couldn't run New York if transit didn't run. The union returned to work only on condition that there would be no reprisals against any striker. The government was forced to revoke its threats and soon repealed the Condon-Wadlin Act.

The Taylor Law—enacted in September 1967 as a replacement for Condon-Wadlin, substituting massive fines for mass firings—can likewise be turned into a scrap of paper. The 1980 strike was not broken by the Taylor Law but betrayed by the TWU Local 100 tops and the opposition "dissidents"—forerunners of New Directions—who all caved in to the capitalists' howls when the strike really started hurting.

Protest to TWU Local 100 Leadership

Union V.P. Urges Cops to Arrest Defenders of Right to Strike

December 21, 1999

Willie James, President
Executive Board, Transport Workers Union Local 100

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

On the morning of December 16, at the bus depot at 11th Avenue and 41st Street, a supporter of the Marxist Spartacist League and a member of its fraternal organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense, were distributing a leaflet in defense of the right to strike—and of the very existence—of the TWU and all city workers unions.

Three NYPD squad cars arrived and officers detained the LBL supporter. The police took his ID, asked what he was distributing and threatened him under the terms of the union-busting injunctions brought by New York State attorney general Eliot Spitzer and Mayor Giuliani banning not only the right to strike but even its advocacy.

At this point, some police detectives came out of the building accompanied by Local 100 vice president Gil Rodriguez. Approaching the cops who were holding our supporter, Rodriguez urged: "If he is advocating a work stoppage, he should be arrested. We've told our members that it is illegal to advocate a work stoppage."

Rodriguez' action is scandalous for someone who claims to represent the interests of organized labor. On December 15, the *New York Times* reported that Rodriguez was telling transit workers to respect what the courts have ordered. A day later he was *urging the cops* to enforce this strikebreaking injunction. Collaborating with the cops against socialist defenders of labor is of a piece with the TWU officials' policing the union ranks for the benefit of the bankers and bosses.

Fraternally,
Diana Kartsen
for the Spartacist League/U.S.

Those Who Labor Must Rule!

The pro-capitalist union tops who won their spurs purging reds from the unions went on to serve as CIA conduits during the Cold War and as ardent supporters of Washington's counterrevolutionary war in the 1960s and early '70s against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The anti-Communism of the union tops and their adherence to government anti-labor laws led to a steady weakening of the labor movement beginning in the 1950s.

So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very means by which the unions were built. The *Wall Street Journal* (16 December) article noting the TWU's power was headlined, "Why Labor Unions Have Grown Reluctant To Use the 'S' Word." United Auto Workers (UAW) chief Stephen Yokich told this mouthpiece for big business: "We don't have to go out there and rattle our swords.... If you start rattling that sword, you've got to be prepared to do it." Former UAW head Douglas Fraser talked of how "workers realized that their fortunes were tied to the company's." It was not the "workers" who got a seat on Chrysler's board of directors for services rendered—like breaking wildcat strikes—but labor sellout Fraser! Now Yokich has a place on the Chrysler board.

The trade-union misleaders, who long ago separated themselves from their working-class base, see the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. For the union tops, the "national interests" of corporate America stand higher than the counterposed class interests of the workers. In his 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained the material basis of the opportunism of the labor bureaucracy:

> "The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism"

Just as they served as labor auxiliaries for U.S. imperialism in World War II, today the union tops seek to line workers up behind their "own" bourgeoisie in the face of a new intensification of competition among the imperialist powers. This was seen at the World Trade Organization summit last month in Seattle, where the AFL-CIO tops organized protectionist protests upholding U.S. corporate interests against foreign competition and fomenting anti-Communism against the Chinese deformed workers state.

A couple of years after Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, we wrote in "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (*WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984): "In Reagan's America it's open season on the unions, on blacks, the poor, the illegal aliens, the radicals—we're all targets of the drive to roll things back to the way they were when the robber barons rode high in the saddle, when the only business of America, said Calvin Coolidge, was business." Things are, if anything, worse in Clinton's America. Emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the American ruling class acts like it no longer faces any challenge from any quarter to its viciousness and rapacity.

At the same time, the ever wider chasm between a handful of filthy rich at the top and the mass of the working population and poor has created vast discontent at the base of this society. This was reflected in the widely popular and solid 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS and the following year's UAW strike which shut down the GM empire. In New York City, this anger has been seen in the outpouring of protest over the police torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in Brooklyn two years ago and the cop execution of Amadou Diallo in the Bronx earlier this year, in the massive response to our labor/black mobilization against the Klan and in the widespread support among city workers for the TWU. The recent decision to move the trial of the four cops who gunned down Diallo in a hail of 41 bullets from the Bronx to a "safer" venue in 85-percent-white Albany is an expression not only of the rulers' racist contempt for the city's minority population but a recognition of the anger which continues to seethe among the working people.

As we wrote at the time of the protests against the Diallo killing, when the Democrats were trying to get out in front of the outrage and channel it into electoral pressure politics ("Beware Democratic Party Hustlers—Enemies of Labor, Blacks," *WV* No. 710, 2 April):

> "The mass outrage against the cops *does* need an organized political expression. Not one aimed at strengthening the hand of the Democrats, the political tool of the very capitalist rulers whose interests the cops 'serve and protect,' but one which provides a proletarian class axis that can weld the social power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the inner city through mass labor-centered protest against cop terror.
>
> "The ranks of powerful unions like the Transport Workers Union in New York include thousands of black workers who know that it could just as easily have

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

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Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

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(312) 454-4930
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Tues. 5-9 p.m.
and Sat. 12-3 p.m.
328 S. Jefferson St.
Suite 904

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Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
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Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
Public Office:
Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

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Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

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(415) 395-9520
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Statement by Death Row Political Prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal

Defend the TWU! Defend the Right to Strike!

WV Photo

How can there be a right to strike if labor is punished, penalized and impoverished for exercising it? In fact, there is no such right, for a right that is punished is not a right at all.

Rights are not something given, but something that's fought for. That is why I support TWU Local 100 and the strike that they're contemplating.

History in America teaches us that labor has fought many battles and must fight battles to win against tremendous odds. The odds, of course, are those of capital.

We now have a 40-hour workweek, you have child labor laws, you have workmen's comp. Those things were not gifts from capital, they were fought for. There were bloody wars in this country, all across the country—Haymarket in Chicago, Washington, D.C.—all across the country for simple rights of labor.

The courts are not the friends of labor, they are the friends of capital. And the police are not the friends of unions, they are the agents of capital. They will not defend the rights of labor, they will defend the rights of the rich—we saw that in Seattle in the WTO protests. The right to fight is a right that must be exercised in order to be made real.

It is time now to support this central right of TWU to strike and then to be paid fully for their labor.

Ona MOVE,
From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal
14 December 1999

Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370

Transit...

(continued from page 11)

> been them as Amadou Diallo. Our call for labor protest has found deep resonance among the transit union membership. They have the power to stop the world center of finance capital dead in its tracks."

The allegiance of the labor bureaucracy, as well as a majority of the working class itself, to the Democratic Party is the main obstacle to successful class struggle in the U.S. Among the black population, this allegiance is reinforced by the likes of Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, who are representative of a layer of black middle-class politicos co-opted by the racist rulers in the wake of the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s. Beginning in the early 1970s, black Democrats were installed as mayors in big cities across the country because they were seen as better able to contain the seething discontent of the ghetto masses and hold in check the heavily black municipal unions. Typical was liberal NYC mayor David Dinkins, who assured Wall Street that "they'll take it from me" as he went on to slash the municipal workforce while adding 6,000 more cops to the payroll.

It is necessary to break with the Democrats and forge a workers party. The best workers party in history was the Bolshevik Party led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917, creating the first workers state in history. That party was composed of the vanguard layers of the proletariat and those revolutionary intellectuals who came over to the side of the workers. It steeled the working masses for the seizure of state power through political combat against the labor bureaucrats and opportunist "socialists" of the day. It was built through leading bitter strike battles against the employers and through acting as a tribune of the people in fighting for democratic rights for women, Jews and oppressed nationalities against the tsarist autocracy. It used bourgeois elections as a platform for revolutionary propaganda and sent its elected representatives into the tsarist parliament to serve as spokesmen for the working class against the political parties of the capitalists. Defending the workers' interests through industrial and political action is exactly the role that a workers party would have played here in fighting against the assault on the TWU and all of labor.

Lenin's Bolsheviks combatted illusions that the workers could come to power through parliamentary means. They fought for workers rule through elected workers councils (soviets), an aim which was realized by the October Revolution. That is the kind of party the Spartacist League is fighting to build, a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will champion the fight for black freedom, linking the power of labor to the anger of the ghettos and wielding that power in defense of the rights of immigrants, women, gays and all the oppressed. The October 23 anti-Klan mobilization brought to life the connection between labor's fight and the fight for black freedom. Black oppression is the cornerstone of racist American capitalism. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power and there will be no proletarian revolution to end class exploitation unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

It is necessary to defend welfare and other existing social programs against all the vicious government rollback schemes and to defeat the union-busting "workfare" scheme which forces heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant welfare recipients to work in the subways and in other formerly unionized municipal jobs. But our aim is not to keep millions of desperately poor people consigned to permanent misery. Organize "workfare" workers and all the unorganized with full union wages and protections! Fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay!

A banner carried by MABSTOA bus maintenance workers at the December 8 rally read, "Without Us...No Surplus." This points to a basic truth. Within this system based on private ownership of the means of production, it is labor which creates the wealth (including profit) in capitalist society. To maintain and increase their rate of profit, the capitalists must constantly attack the workers' standard of living and what rights and gains they have won through struggle. For the working class to free itself from the chains of wage slavery, it must emancipate all of society from capitalist oppression by breaking the power of the bourgeoisie, expropriating the capitalist class as a whole and creating a new state where the working class is the ruling class. It is the task of a revolutionary party to bring to the proletariat the consciousness of its historic task as the gravedigger of capitalism.

In a socialist society, the surplus value which currently goes into the coffers of the Wall Street tycoons would be used to rebuild the decaying subway system, the schools and the hospitals; to provide free mass transit and medical care and free, quality, integrated education for all; to provide decent, affordable housing for all. But to secure all these things requires a workers revolution which overthrows the capitalist system and replaces it with an egalitarian socialist society internationally. ■

Holiday Appeal Speeches...

(continued from page 4)

going so far as to file a "friend of the court" brief on their behalf! The International Socialist Organization did its part in happily doing all the donkey work to build the Democratic Party diversion on October 23. All of these political organizations, which worked in league with the capitalist government, exposed themselves as protectors of the Ku Klux Klan and as enemies of labor, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, immigrants, Jews, gays and all of the intended victims of fascism.

For Revolutionary Leadership

It was Philadelphia Democratic Party mayor Frank Rizzo who stood at the head of the Philadelphia cops' campaign of racist hysteria against the MOVE organization, which led to the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal. When Jamal was in his teens, he was arrested during cop raids against the Black Panther Party carried out under the FBI's COINTELPRO, or "Counter-Intelligence Program," which was used to disrupt, harass and assassinate civil rights leaders, antiwar activists and Native American movement leaders.

The police bombing of the MOVE household in a black neighborhood of West Philadelphia in 1985, in which eleven people were killed—burned to death, including five children—was carried out by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode. Under Democrat Clinton, over 80 people, including 25 children, were killed by federal agents near Waco, Texas in 1993. It was Clinton who was responsible for bombing Serbia back into a pre-industrial economy.

The Democrats are a party of racism and war. It is through the labor bureaucracy that the unions are tied to this party of the class enemy. It is the protectors of the Ku Klux Klan like Al Sharpton and the official black Democratic Party establishment who tie black people to the party of racist capitalism.

We can only move forward by forging a revolutionary leadership, that is, a workers party that has as its aim the elimination of capitalism and the construction of a socialist society. The October 23 anti-Klan mobilization showed what kind of leadership we're talking about. That leadership was inspired by the October Revolution of 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky.

Today, let us go forward with determination to tirelessly destroy the illusions the Democrats use in order to pacify and weaken the labor movement; to strengthen and deepen the struggles of the labor movement; to reinforce the revolutionary will of the working class; to fight to win workers to the demand, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty!" Break with the Democratic Party! Build a workers party that will end racism, injustice, poverty, exploitation, fascism and imperialist war by defeating every obstacle standing in the way of the working class seizing power in a socialist revolution! ■

King City...

(continued from page 7)

Democrats like California attorney general Bill Lockyer and pushing toothless "corporate campaign" appeals to Basic's big customers like food giants Lipton and Kraft, calling on them to boycott the company's products. Like all capitalist enterprises, these companies are not the allies of labor but its enemies, and even if they should "boycott" Basic Vegetable it would only be if it served to increase their own profit margin—e.g., if they found a cheaper non-union supplier.

Latino workers have increasingly played a combative role in California labor struggles and can provide a living link to class struggles throughout the Americas. Basic strikers, themselves targets of anti-union, anti-immigrant attack, had heard of the Partisan Defense Committee's October 23 labor/black mobilization that rode the race-terrorist KKK out of New York City. Strikers snapped up the *Workers Vanguard* (1 November) supplement drawing the lessons of that powerful display of labor's power. As we noted in that supplement: "One chant in particular resonated at the PDC mobilization: 'Asian, Latin, black and white—Workers of the world, unite!'" The article concluded that to realize the aspirations of workers and the oppressed, what is needed is "a workers party, which can bring the consciousness to the working class of its social power and historic interests in fighting the rule of capital and every manifestation of the barbarity of this system."

The Basic Teamsters strike is a battle for all labor. We urge our readers to send contributions to the Basic Striker Relief Fund, 207 North Sanborn Road, Salinas, CA 93905. ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December.**

Our next issue will be dated January 14.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1999 SUBJECT INDEX

Issue No. 704 (8 January) through No. 726 (31 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1999, from issue No. 704 (8 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 726 (31 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August. This index includes a supplement to *WV* published on 1 November following the New York City October 23 Mobilization to Stop the Klan.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Victory! All Charges Dropped Against Geronimo!, #708, 5 Mar. (12, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 708 dated 5 March 1999, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon. Thus:

  Japan—See **Imperialism; Russia; U.S.: International Relations.**

  means that articles about Japan can be found by going to the subject head **IMPERIALISM**, by going to the subject head **RUSSIA**, and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategory **General.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy and threats or acts of war involving the U.S. will be found under **U.S.: International Relations**.
- The periodic columns by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row**; articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign.**
- Articles on the war in Kosovo are listed under **BALKANS** in the subcategory **General.** Articles on actions against the war are in the subcategory **Antiwar Actions** while articles on the campaign to raise money for the workers at the Zastava auto plant which was bombed by NATO are in the subcategory **Zastava Campaign.**
- Articles on the New York City October 23 Mobilization to Stop the Klan are listed under **FASCISM** in the subcategory **NYC Anti-Klan Mobilization.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

  C: Correction

  CSDN: Class-Struggle Defense Notes article

  L: Letter

  S: Series

  YSp: *Young Spartacus* article

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IRS: Hands Off Defenders of Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #713, 14 May (2)

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- **Antiwar Actions**—And see **Civil Liberties: Cases; Left Organizations; United Secretariat.** See also—**Education.**

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